THE BOCK FAMILY FROM LICH 1700s TO 1874/5



Researched and compiled by Marion Davies 2023



© Marion Davies 2023

The right of Marion Davies as author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

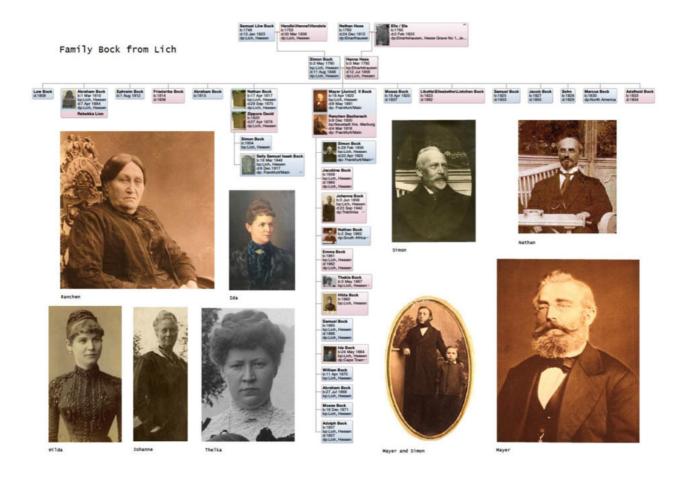
All rights reserved

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying recording or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the author.

Completed 2023 and self-published.

davies.marion@gmail.com London

An outline of the Bock family tree from 1749 to 1870



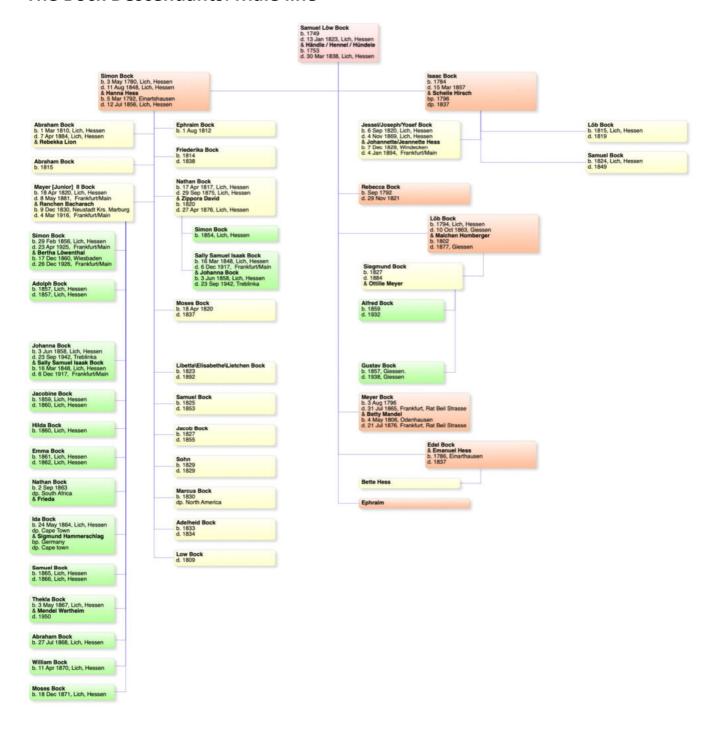
Designed by Ricann Bock

Table of Contents

An outline of the Bock family tree from 1749 to 1870	3
The Bock Descendants Male line	6
Introduction	7
Acknowledgments	7
Lich and Jewish Life in Oberhessen	10
The Jews of Oberhessen	12
Jewish Lich	13
The fate of the Jews from Lich	17
From the Court/Civil records	17
Summary of the Bock family in Lich, with thanks to Hanno Müller	19
Samuel Löw (Bock) [19], (1749 - 13 January 1823) and Händle / Hennel / Hündle, (1753 - 30 M 1838)	Aarch 22
Simon Bock [23] (3 May 1780 – 11 August 1848) and Hanna Hess (5 March 1792 -7 Decembe 1856). Married in 1810	er 29
Jessel/Joseph Bock [28] (6.9.1820 – 16.10.1869)	36
Mayer Junior /II Bock [29], (18 April 1820, Lich - 8 May 1881, Frankfurt am Main), and Ranche Bachrach, (9 Dec 1830, Neustadt near Marburg, Kurhessen - 4 March 1916, Frankfurt am Mai	
Simon Bock (29 February 1856 - 23 April 1925) and Bertha Löwenthal (17 December 1860 - 2 December 1927)	6 53
Family Hess: Hannah's Paternal side	58
Nathan Affron (Abraham) Heß/ Hess [Ein- 45], (1751 – 24 December 1813), and Ella Meier, (1765/6 -2 March 1833), both from Einartshausen	65
Family Wolf(f) Speyer: Hannah and Ella's Maternal side	74
Wolff Speyer [Ein-164] from Merzhausen	74
Mayer/Meyer Wolf/Wolff [Ein-152] (1731 – 1801) father of Ella (1765/6 -2 March 1833)	74
Family Levi	78
Jacob Levi/Levy [Ein-128] (ca.1678 – after 1755/56)	78
Shmuel Levi, also Samuel Levi [Ein-74] (ca. 1712/13 – after 14 Feb. 1791)	79
Family Bachrach	82
Marcus Bachrach's Ancestors	86
Marcus Mordechai Bachrach, (8.8. 1786, Neukirchen -1.1. 1875, Neustadt) and Beschen \Besg Barchen\ Besge\ Wallach (1802, Neukirchen – 1.4. 1870, Neustadt)	gen \ 90
Family Wallach	94
Wolf Wallach (1768, Ottrau- 17 May 1858, Neukirchen) and Ranche\Ranchen\Rankchen (1778) Naumburg - 4 Oct 1827, Neukirchen)	3, 95
Family Löwenthal	98
Samuel Löb/ Löb Samuel (from Schierstein) and Lina / Bine Isaak, (7 Nov 1754, Schlangenbach 16 March 1850, Schierstein)	d – 100

Isaak/Isaac Löb (later Löwenthal) (28 Jan. 1798, Schierstein – 7 May 1867, Schierstein) a Maier(Baum) (5 Feb. 1806, Schierstein – 27 April 1870, Wiesbaden)	nd Sara 102
Maier/ later Mayer Löwenthal, (10 Feb 1832, Schierstein - 5 Mar 1898, Wiesbaden) and R Hebrew name Rivka, also Trautel, Träudchen, Kahn, (8 May 1833, Partenheim in Rheinhe Apr 1908, Wiesbaden)	
Family Benjamin Wolf, patriarch of the family of Maier Abraham and Sara Maier	112
Maier Abraham (1772, Schierstein – 7. May 1867, Schierstein) and Mala/Meta/Amalie Hei Bockenheim – 11. Jan 1851 Schierstein)	rz (1769, 114
Mela/Mala (11 Jan 1851), Wife of Me'ir, mother of Sara – Grave 33, Wiesbaden, Alter Jüd Friedhof, (Schöne Aussicht). [2018 Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden in Hessen la 31]	
Family Gallinger	117
Jehuda Löw (ca. 1721, Wittelshofen - ?), patriarch of the Gallinger family.	120
Gütel/Gitel Gallinger (1748, Wittelshofen - ? Gaugrehweiler) and Nathan Abraham, parent	ts of Sara 120
Family Abraham	122
Rabbi Abraham, patriarch of the family of Nathan Abraham	122
Nathan/Jonas/Jonathan Kahn and Sara Gallinger (26.9.1784, Gaugrehweiler - 4.9.1873, Wiesbaden)	125
APPENDIX: Material from the archives supplied by Wolfgang Fritzche	126
Giessen and Lich Cemeteries	130
The houses in Lich owned by the Bock family	131
The Giessen branch, descended from Löw/Löb Bock [21]	138
Marion and Jonathan Davies visit Lich, May 2015	141
Further information	142
Glossary	142
Further Reading and Bibliography	142
Websites and Archives	143
Endnotes	144

The Bock Descendants: Male line



Introduction

My experience in researching my German family history is one of delight in discovering so many records, tempered by the frustrating lack of records concerning the female side of the family. These can be sometimes teased out. However, too frequently the wife is 'NN', not known. Fortunately, some of my female ancestors have proved accessible, but for others this is not the case.

This document is the story of my mother, Lieselotte Bier née Bock and her side of the family from Lich, Hessen. She was the daughter of Manfred Bock and Bella Fürth. Manfred's father, Simon, made the move from the ancestral 'home' in Lich to Frankfurt am Main in 1874/5, where Manfred was born in 1882. This volume focuses on the earlier years and Manfred's ancestors who lived in and around Lich, Hessen. More details about Manfred and Bella and the subsequent generations will be found in Volume 2.

The research for this document has been ongoing over many years and has involved archival searches, many online, unavailable to previous generations. As so often, following unknown paths has led to encounters with researchers in Germany and beyond and considerable sharing of information. As will be seen in the acknowledgments below I have also met and been helped by some extraordinary people in Germany who have dedicated time to delving into the erstwhile Jews of their area.

The impetus to speed up with this project has been the Stolpersteine laying for Johanna Bock and her son Hugo, due in March 2023, an initiative of *Frankfurter Cäcilienchor* which will be discussed below. This volume is dedicated to their memory together with those in the wider family who also lost their lives during the National Socialist period.

My apologies both for any mistakes in the following, and also to anyone who has helped me whom I may have forgotten to add below.

Acknowledgments

This work about the early Bock ancestors would have not been possible without the dedicated and meticulous research undertaken by Hanno Müller over the last forty years, in some instances together with his colleagues, into the history of the Jews from the villages around Giessen.

Anything pertaining to the Jewish inhabitants of the area found in the municipal and state records has been analysed and categorised into a series of published volumes. As well as painstakingly detailing the genealogical data, by sifting through the records, Hanno has established many previously unknown links within a family. He has also summarised the material according to several themes, which give a full insight into the lives of the Jews of the area from the 1600s on.

The following are the volumes that I have used extensively: Juden in Lich, Birklar, Langsdorf, Muschenheim und Ettingshausen. Hanno Müller, Friedrich Damrath, Monica Kingreen, Klaus Konrad-Leder, 2010

Juden in Schotten 1629-1945 und Einartshausen 1800-1942, Hanno Müller, Monica Kingreen, Frank Eckhardt, Ernst Ludwig Chambré Stiftung, Lich, 2016

Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen, Nachträge, Erweiterung Einartshausen, Hanno Müller, Ernst Ludwig Chambré Stiftung, Lich, 2022

Judenfamilien in Hungen und in Inheiden, Utphe, Villingen, Obbornhofen, Bellersheim und Wohnbach. Hanno Müller, Dieter Bertram und Friedrich Damrath, Ernst Ludwig Chambré Stiftung, Lich, 2009.

Having already published a volume of his findings based on his research into the Jews of Einartshausen and Schotten in 2016, Hanno updated his research and published an addendum in 2022.

Without duplicating the material, I have attempted to translate and summarise the findings where they touch on the lives of the Bock ancestors. The fascinating and fuller accounts are well worth studying. Where possible I have included Hanno's references to material in the *Staatsarchiv Darmstadt*, all prefaced by HstAD. Further sources can be found in the volumes.

The Lich volumes include the research of Lich resident, Inge Steul, who has done a major study into the historical ownership of the houses of Lich. During our visit to Lich in 2015 we were able to benefit from Inge's equally meticulous research when she took us on a tour of the town showing us the various houses where the Bock family had lived.

I would like to thank Inge for her kindness in spending time with us and ensuring we saw as much as possible relevant to our family. In March 2023 there will be a visit to Lich by over 20 members of the Bock family, and Inge has once again kindly offered to be our guide. Again, our grateful thanks.

Our visit in 2015 was all the more moving as Hanno generously picked us up from the station and took us to the Giessen cemetery to see the graves of members of the Bock family before taking us to Lich. There, to our amazement he had arranged for the ancient volumes in the town's archives to be laid out, fully annotated by him, with all relevant entries. This was an unexpected bonus. We would also like to thank archivist Anja Stark for her help that day.

Sadly, we have no personal documents from earlier times to flesh out this summary. Fortunately, however, for the later periods, Alice Goldschmidt [née Bock], Elsbeth Schloessinger [née Goldschmidt], Katie Kallenbach [née Bock], Arnold Oppenheimer and Joseph Straus have written their memoirs. Other details come from my mother Lieselotte Bier (née Bock) and Beatrice Heymann (née Hammerschlag). All these richly capture some of our family history for following generations.

Barbara Greve deserves wholehearted thanks and a special mention for the patience she has shown when teasing out the conflicting records associated with the Bachrach family. Her repeated studying of the records has helped link the disparate parts of their ancestry.

On the Löwenthal side of the family, I would not have been able to achieve nearly as comprehensive a record without the invaluable help of Dr Wolfgang Fritzsche, Kultur-Büro AHB. He did not give up in his searching and contacting various archives! He also met us on

the day we visited Wiesbaden, taking us to the cemetery and introducing us to the *Aktives Museum Spiegelgasse für Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte in Wiesbaden* and the helpful volunteers who were working there, whom I also thank.

This account would not have been possible without the input and helpful information and insights from many other researchers in Germany and family genealogists. They are referenced in the text, but I would like to list them here and thank them for their input, small and large:

Georg Siebert, archivist, Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt,
Matthais Bock, Giessen branch of the famaily
Dr. Med. Vet. Johannes Brumhard, Einartshausen
Herr and Frau Dörmer
Erhard Eller
John Peter Hess, Hess branch
Monica Zeiler and members of the Frankfurter Cäcilienchor
Dr Hartmut Heinemann, Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden in Hessen
Roger Cibella, genealogical researcher
Daniel Kester, genealogical researcher
Rolf Hofmann, Gallinger branch
Sam Shulman, Gallinger branch
Christian Michaelis, Gallinger branch
Dieter Peters who searched in his database of Jewish cemeteries for any Gallinger graves¹

My thanks also go to my cousin Ricann Bock who designed the wonderful family tree on the previous page. Thanks too to Pauline Gusack and Jonathan Davies who made very useful corrections to the text. I would also like to mention Ma Hornung who has in different ways

supported all my endeavours from her home in Frankfurt. Her father was a good friend of my father, already pre-war, and they would be delighted to know the extent of our friendship.

Final mention to our friend Lucy Wiseman, who has once again read this text and delved into an unknown family, making comments and changes that are invaluable. I can't thank you enough.

It is worth noting that for records from Lich, the Solms-Rödelheim archive has recently been given to the *Staatsarchiv Darmstadt*. Once digitalised the records should be accessible at $F 24 C 137/5^2$

All the volumes listed above, allocate family numbers that appear in square brackets [], and I have retained these.

 $\hbox{\tt [Ein-...] refers to someone from Einartshausen}\\$

[Scho - ...] refers to someone from Schotten

[Hung - ...] refers to someone from Hungen

There will be different versions in this document of Mayer, Meyer, Meier, and Maÿer (on the gravestone). The various records spell the name differently, so any apparent inconsistency should be ignored.

Marion Davies (née Bier), London, 2023

Lich and Jewish Life in Oberhessen

Our Bock ancestors came from the small town of Lich situated in the province of *Oberhessen,* Upper Hessen. Lich lies 50km to the north of Frankfurt and 12km from Giessen the provincial capital. The *Schloss,* castle, in the town has been owned for generations of counts (till 1792) and princes (from 1792 till the present), the Fürsten zu Solms-Hohensolms-Lich.



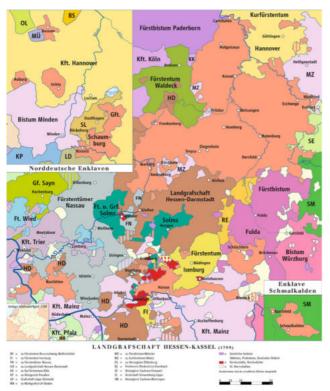


Tombstone in the Marienstiftskirche, Lich with the figures of Reinhard I. zu Solms-Lich, Fürst zu Solms-Lich, zu Lich, Butzbach, Hohensolms, Cleeberg u.Villmar (1491-1562) and his wife Maria zu Sayn (1505-1586)³



View of Lich around 1650

Germany, before the unification of 1871, was a totally fragmented country and consisted of over 300 large and small entities that merely shared the German language.⁵



Landgrafschaft / Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel in 1789 ⁶

The Landgrave was elevated to the Electorate of Hesse during the reorganisation of the Empire in 1803. The principality thus became known as *Kurhesssen*. The province of *Oberhessen*, Upper Hessen, emerged as part of the new order in 1815 after the Congress of Vienna.



Oberhessen 1905⁷

The Jews of Oberhessen

Jews have lived in *Oberhessen* since the twelfth century, but few documents remain from the hundreds of tiny Jewish congregations each usually numbering only a few families. Even so, these tiny congregations would often have their own teacher and a small place to pray in a room in a home, or, when they could afford it, and if allowed by the authorities, a synagogue. They managed to survive because of the multitude of small patronage holders directly responsible to the Holy Roman Empire. The patrons were not bound by the policies of their respective governing prince and could therefore admit and grant protection to Jews. Jews were treated as easily exploited assets and could be traded between local rulers. However, only Jews with sufficient assets were officially allowed to reside. They were called *Schutzjuden* as they were required to pay an annual protection fee, *Schutz*, in exchange for a letter of protection. In official transactions and registers, Jews with *Schutz* were always referred to as *Jud*, 'Jew', to make clear that they enjoyed special legal status.

Jews were easily exploitable and a welcome source of revenue. The protection fees were high and could increase at a whim. In exchange, the protection contract licensed the *Schutzjuden* to do business and included access to the judicial courts. For the duration of the contract the protected could not be expelled. However, protection was usually personal and inheritable only by one child of the family (usually male) and a new petition would have to be filed for any additional children who otherwise would have no independent rights of residence. Similarly, widows had no residential certainty. New contracts were often not forthcoming as there was no desire to have lots of Jews in any one place. Marriages were restricted and couples that wished to get married would have to wait until a 'space' could be found for them. Or they would need to move to somewhere where *Schutz* was available. The majority of Jews however could not afford the high protection payments. These might be allowed to live in the village, without any rights, but life was precarious as they could be expelled at any time for any reason and end up roaming the countryside as destitute, begging Jews.

In Hessen, Jewish families had for generations lived next to their Christian neighbours, trading with the farmers, and like them, owning livestock and growing grain for their own needs. 'A long-standing symbiosis in the sense of a durable coexistence for mutual advantage' is the term Monica Kingreen⁹ uses to characterise relations between Jewish and Christian families. Integrated into society, yet not really part of it. Conforming to the environment in behaviour and manner, yet fundamentally marked off. Belonging to a community of shared interests, yet not respected as members of a social community. In spite of periodic intense violence and persecution, and restricted to certain trades, some Jews prospered.

The end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 freed the peasants from serfdom, but they now had to manage their own economic affairs. Lacking the necessary experience, many were helped by their Jewish neighbours, who handled various business transactions for them. Periodic harvest failures and low grain prices led these farmers, who were usually unable to understand the wider economic situation, to blame the Jews and treat them as scapegoats (usurers/ exploiters, etc.). This, though common in other regions, was particularly widespread in Hessen.¹⁰

Historically, most Jews, and certainly the unprotected ones, were peddlers, as few trades were permitted to Jews. Jewish peddlers were derogatorily referred to as haggling *schacher*

Jews or *schacher* traders. Many peddlers dealt in 'rags', second-hand clothing, or any other sort of used goods that they could buy or exchange. Weekly, they would load their bulky pack with fabrics, hides, skins, notions, feathers, bedding, wool and other items.¹¹ This could represent the sum total of a 'business' and offered an inadequate livelihood. Cattle trading, similarly linked in the dictionaries with the pejorative term *schacher*, was also a common occupation for the rural Jews of Hessen. This was sometimes linked to their occupation as butchers. The dictionary ascribes the derogatory term *schacher* to this trade too. For some it was the main source of income.¹² They might also act as a middleman known as a *schmoozer*, particularly when dealing with a commodity beyond their means, such as cattle. Others traded in grain or hops.

Attending regional fairs was an important part of the year where Jews could buy and sell goods. It also was a social meeting point where news could be exchanged, and potential marriage partners sought. Crossing state boundaries however was expensive. In addition to the normal taxes, Jews had to pay the 'body' tax, the *Judenleibzoll*; a degrading tax specifically for Jews, that treated them as if they were an animal or commodity.

In 1806, the Solms-Lich lands were mediatised (annexed allowing the former ruler to retain his title and some authority) and made subject to Hesse-Darmstadt and later Prussia.¹³

Emancipation occurred in fits and starts throughout the German lands, and especially after 1807 and the Napoleonic era, German Jewry slowly became engaged with German culture, commerce and the professions. Significant in this process was the enforcement of compulsory secular education.

Jews living in the Electorate of Hesse were officially emancipated in 1833, some having to fight for their rights, though I have not been able to establish the exact situation in Lich. Peddlers and petty traders who traded without official permission were not permitted to become citizens, and were consigned to a life of poverty and hardship. Citizenship did not necessarily mean, however, that Jews would be treated with the full equality afforded to other citizens. Latent anti-Semitism and discrimination remained.

Currency

At the time of Samuel Löw Bock, 30 Gulden would buy a cow and 1000 gulden would buy a good house.¹⁷ Generally, 1 Gulden was equal to 60 Kreutzer. After German unification in 1871, use of these currencies was withdrawn. In 1873 the single Goldmark currency was introduced and 1 Mark was equal to 35 Kreuzer.¹⁸

Jewish Lich

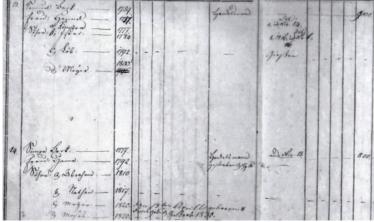
Jews have lived in Lich for many centuries as evidenced by their mention in old Church documents as well as those of the Solms princely house. Inge Steul found the first documentary evidence of a *Mikve*, ritual bath, in 1436 in the Lich archives. It has not been possible to establish what happened to the Jews of Lich during the Black Death and other periods of persecution and massacre. In 1437 a Jew, Isaak from Lich, is mentioned. Much later, ca. 1750, Aaron Ruben buys an hourglass for the church pulpit. Also in the records for the 1600s, are entries of the conversion and baptism of Jewish children aged 9, 10, and 12.

In 1628, there were 26 Jewish inhabitants, and by 1740, nine Jewish families had settled in Lich living as traders. ¹⁹

Samuel Löw [19] (1749 - 13 January 1823), is the earliest 'Bock' ancestor we know about with certainty. In 1784 he, as one of three *Vorsteher*, heads of the Jewish community, the others being Aaron Ruben and Löw Moses, signed an *Obligation* on taking a 125 Gulden loan from the *Stift* Lich, the Christian community of Lich, to buy a house to be used for a synagogue. The synagogue was located in Synagogenstrasse, house number 196 (now Charlottenburg 9).²⁰ The loan was paid off in 1792.²¹

In the 1798 *Einquartierungsliste*, list for billeting troops, eight families are listed (who presumably have houses in which troops could be billeted) of which two households are those of Samuel Löw and his brother Löw Heium (Chaim). The following extract from the 1798 *Einquartierungsliste* is a combination of the work of Hanno Müller, *Juden in Lich* page 221, and Inge Steul. There may be some confusion over names, but it demonstrates that in 1798, the Jews were not restricted to living in one particular street or area.

Family no.	Residence of	House no.	Current street name
[83]	Mentel, Jude (Mendel Katz)	37	Hintergasse 37
[75]	Gerson, Jude	49	Mittelgasse 8
[68]	Löw Moses (2 houses in same street)	52	Mittelgasse 2
[85]	Eliaser Katz	94	Hintergasse 22
[18]	Löw Heium and Henrich Weishaupt	143	Oberstadt 13
[19]	Samuel Löw, Jude (also 206)	165	Schäfergasse 23
[104]	Moses (Probably Moses Löw/ Löb)	196	Charlottenburg 9
[19]	Samuel Löw (also 165)	206	Oberstadt 14
[84]	Salomon Katz	210	Ohlengasse 3
[62]	Hirsch, Jude	238	Unterstadt 5
	AND ADDED BY INGE STEUL		
[76]	Herz Karbe	41	Mittelgasse 5
[69]	Jachet, widow of Isaak Löw	57	Müllereck 9



Musterliste of 1818, with Samuel Löw [19] and his son Simon [23], together with their children and fortune. Samuel Löw (9000 Gulden), Simon (800 Gulden) ²²

The Lich municipal *Musterliste* of 1818²³ is the first official record of all Jews and lists 15 Jewish heads of households representing an estimated 58 Jews including the Bock ancestors: Samuel Löw [19] and his sons Isaac [22] and Simon [23].

13. Samuel **Bock** [19] geb. 1759, Handelsmann, 9.000 fl. Vermögen, gest.

Frau: Hennel, geb. 1751, gest.

Söhne:a) Simon, geb. 1777, (verh.) im Ort Nr. 14, gest.

b) Isaac, geb. 1784, (verh.) 1816 im Ort Nr. 1

c) Löb, geb. 1792, (verh.) in Gießen, gest. 10.10.1863

d) Meyer, geb. 1800, dispensiert (vom Militärdienst?) 13.2.1821

14.Simon Bock [23] geb. 1777, Handelsmann, 800 fl. Vermögen

Frau: Hanna, geb. 1792, gest. 12.7.1856 Söhne: a) Abraham, geb. 1810

b) Nathan, geb. 1817, gest. 29.9.1875

c) Meyer, geb. 18.4.1820, Frau geb. 9.12.1830

d) Moses, geb. 1820, gest.;

Tochter: 1. Rückel, geb. 1815, gest.

Ten years later in 1828, the Jews numbered 71 and represented 3% of the population.

In 1810, a new synagogue was built next door to the old one, which was then knocked down. In 1921, a synagogue was built on Amtsgerichtsstrasse. The town council moved its offices there in 1948, and only in 2006 was the site converted into a memorial and community hall. Earlier, in 1988, a memorial to the 10 Jews who had been deported in 1942 was unveiled in front of the *Marienstiftskirche*, church, amid a certain amount of controversy. ²⁴ The Jewish cemetery, dating from the beginning of the 19th century is situated on Am Hardtberg, on a hill above the Lich brewery. It is believed that an earlier cemetery must have existed but has not been found so far.



Jewish cemetery, Am Hardtberg, Lich



The streets of Lich are lined with old timber framed houses; several are recorded as belonging to the Bock family in the 18th and 19th centuries and are detailed below.

The 1828 census elaborates the professions of the Lich inhabitants. We therefore know that Lich Jews, in common with most rural Jews, were cattle and horse traders, peddlers and traders in textiles and grain, some were soap and candle makers. As well as peddling, some owned shops and traded primarily in *Ellenware*, material merchandise that was measured by the *Elle*.²⁵

In general, the Elle trade was mainly hausierend, peddled from home to home, by the owner

or by his employees. Textiles would be wrapped in an oilcloth and carried on the shoulder.



An example of the *Elle* [on right wall] measure outside the Rathaus (Townhall) in Regensburg

In the nineteenth century, with the slow improvement in legal status and a relaxation of restrictions on Jews, including where they could live, the small rural congregations dwindled. An important factor was the expansion of the railway network and in around 1860, the main line to Frankfurt am Main opened from nearby Giessen. So, in common with innumerable other rural Jews, our Bock ancestors decided to head for new economic opportunities. In their case, in the 1870s, they moved to Frankfurt am Main. Unfortunately, we do not have any written correspondence or other details from this time.

Juden als Ortsbürger [local citizens] in Lich 26

Birth name	D.o.B	Date of Adoption as Citizen	Town	Wife	Occupation
Bock , Meyer	1796	1828, 05.12.	Lich	Betty (Mändel) 1806, born in Odenhausen	Handelsmann
Bock , Simon	03.05.1780	1834, 28.02.	Lich	Hanna (Hess), born in Einartshausen	Handelsmann
Bock , Nathan	10.01.1810	1835, 08.11.	Lich	Rebecca (Lion), born in Mardorf bei Kirchhain in Kurhessen	Handelsmann
Bock , Nathan	1817	1847, 04.01.	Lich		Handelsmann
Bock , Jessel	1820	1850, 18.04.	Lich		Ellenwarenhändler
Bock, Meyer jun. (II.)	18.04.1820	1854, 21.12.	Lich		Handelsmann

The fate of the Jews from Lich²⁷

In 1828 the Jewish population numbered 71. In 1933 there were 73 Jews. Violent anti-Semitic riots erupted in Lich in 1933, during which the SA assaulted Jews and vandalised their property. By the spring of 1938, 56 Jews had left Lich. Hanno Müller has detailed the history of that period in his Lich volume.

On *Kristallnacht/Reichsprogramnacht* local Jewish men were deported to Buchenwald, where one died. Rioters destroyed the synagogue's interior, burned ritual objects in the street and looted Jewish homes. The last five Jews of Lich were deported to Auschwitz in 1942. At least 34 local Jews perished in the Shoah.²⁸ French POWs were housed in the synagogue during the war.





Memorial to the murdered Jews of Lich erected in front of the Marienstiftskirche in 1988

Johanna Bock is the only member of the family who was born in Lich who was murdered by the Nazis. She was taken from Frankfurt am Main, where she was living, as was her son Hugo. As are detailed below, Stolpersteine, ²⁹ stumbling stones, in both their memories, will be laid in Frankfurt in March 2023. Alongside will be *Stolpersteine* for Hugo's wife's mother, Rosalie Kern, who was also murdered, as well as for his wife Martha Bock and their two daughters, Erika and Lili who managed to escape.

From the Court/Civil records³⁰

The Ettingshausen minute book starts in 1788. It contains over 600 pages detailing the court days that occurred every November. In it are also recorded all new subjects' oaths of allegiance to the local *Graf*, count. All lawsuits were recorded together with fines levied etc. and the real estate transactions made during the year. The information is useful in that it adds colour to these past lives, but results in an unbalanced view. Jews were listed because of their transgressions and in the main civil infringements; normal life is not recorded, thus confirming the stereotype.

Between 1805 and 1807 there were 2 appeals by the Schutzjude Samuel Löw of Lich before

the princely government of Lich about a dispute with the Red and White Tanners Guild regarding their authorisation for the purchase and sale of cattle hides according to the guild system.

1818-19 Appeal over the rights for trading in wool by the *Schutzjude* **Samuel Löw** Bock from Lich, against two others from Laubach and Wetterfeld.

1818-1819 *Jud* **Simon** Bock of Lich. Appeal over a dispute over the payment of a supply of yarn.

1823-1824 Confirmation of Princess Henriette Sophie v. Solms – Lich's bond of 12.000 Gulden. And that *Schutzjuden* Löw Bock's heirs are confirmed as creditors. These include Isaak, **Simon**, Meyer und Löw Bock from Lich, the Hess children in Schotten and the Worms children in Gießen whose guardians are Simon and Meyer Bock from Lich.

1829 Regulation: *Schutzjude* and their sons in this case, Meyer Bock [presumably the son of Samuel Löw] from Lich, are not to be treated as foreigners and will have to pay *Einzugsgeld*, entry fee, for their acceptance as local citizens.



- 1830-1837. Confirmation of the debt and pawn of Princess Henriette Sophie v. Solms

 Lich for 500,000 and 300,000 Gulden. Also, a pledge of the tithe of Rossbach to various creditors, including the heirs of Samuel Löw Bock of Lich.
- 1834-1839 **Samuel Löb** [sic] Bock's heirs demanded the enforcement of a debt and especially the seizure of salary.
- 1837 Prohibition of Nathan Bock of Lich to peddle due to the lack of a patent.
- 1839 A case against the *Vorsteher der Judengemeinde*, **Simon** Bock und Löb Levi Mendelsohn. Appeal over a dispute of trespassing (obstructing a window).
- 1847-1848 **Meyer** Bock was in dispute with a candidate for the Parish council over his entitlement for payment of a delivery of *Elle* goods. (Not clear which Meyer).
- In 1865 David Brodt, a master tailor, sought permission to enter **Meyer** Bock Junior's courtyard and basement at any time of day or night.³²

Summary of the Bock family in Lich, with thanks to Hanno Müller 33

Please note some names/dates may have changed since the Lich volume was published

Lich Heirat 18. 23.02.2	Name aus/n gestorben Bock, Heyum 1817	ach	geboren
	oo N.N.		
4004	1. Moses	25	
1834	2 Moyor	20	1809
20.05.2	2. Meyer 1866	20	1809
19.	Bock, Samuel	Löw (auch Samuel Löw)	
1749	13.01		
	=	ennel/Hündele	
1753	30.03		
	1. Simon	23	03.05.1780
11.08.2		4704	404
45.00	2. Isaac 22	1784	181_
15.03.1			1011
	3. Edel 59 4. Rebecca	93	1811 Sont 1703
1812	29.11.1821	9 3	Sept. 1792
1012	5. Löb 21	ca. 1792	
10.10.1		ca. 1732	
10.10	6. Ephraim		
	7. Meyer	24	1796/1800?
1829	•		·
20. 1809	Bock, Mayer I 20.05	II. (Meyer Heinemann) .1866	18
21. 11.10.1		19	1792/1794 7.6.1825
r/Grabst	eine : Die Gräbe	r der Eheleute sind auf dem Al	ten Friedhof in Gießen (er: AFh lib. II 10

Gräber/Grabsteine: Die Gräber der Eheleute sind auf dem Alten Friedhof in Gießen (er: AFh lib. II 107, sie: AFh lib. III 173) erhalten (BROSCHEK, 1995, S. 92).

oo Homberger, Malchen

05.06.1802 11.10.1877

1. Samuel/Siegmund

15.05.1827 1855 29.12.1884

Grab/Grabstein: Die Gräber (AFh lib. III Nr. 210 u. 211; BROSCHEK, 1995, S. 92) der Eheleute sind auf dem Alten Friedhof in Gießen erhalten.

oo Hirsch, Scheile		62	
1796	22.04	.1837	
	1. Löb	15.12.1815	
00.05.	.1819		
	2. Jessel 28	06.09.1820	1850
04.11.	.1869		
	3. Samuel		16.03.1824
05.05.	.1849		
23.	Bock, Simon	19	03.05.1780
11.08.	.1848		

oo Hess, Hanna Einartshausen 25	05.03.1792			
12.07.1856 1. Löw Seinen Tod bezeugte Eliaser Katz [85] Frau.				
16.01.1809 2. Abraham 26	01.03.1810			
1836 07.04.1884 3. Ephraim	01.08.1812			
4. Friederika 05.12.1838	1814			
5. Abraham	05.12.1815			
6. Nathan 27 1847 29.09.1875	17.04.1817			
7. Mayer) Zw.	29			
18.04.1820 1855				
8. Moses) Zw.				
18.04.1820 01.06.1837				
9. (10. Kind) Libetta/Elisabethe/Lietchen				
04.08.1823 25.06.1892				
10. (7. Kind) Samuel				
14.12.1825 17.10.1853				
11. (8. Kind) Jacob 29.12.1827 23.08.1855				
12. (9. Kind) Sohn				
04.07.1829 10.07.1829				
13. (9. Kind) Marcus				
02.10.1830 NAmerika				
14. (10). Adelheid				
07.07.1833 07.02.1834				
24. Bock, Meyer I. 19	03.08.1796			
07.01.1829 31.07. 1865				
oo Mändel/Mandel, Betty				
1806				
1. Samuel	24.04.1829			
15.05.1829	07.00.4000			
2. Nättchen	07.03.1830			
04.06.1833 3. Bertha	22.11.1831			
1853 06.04.1856	22.11.1031			
4. Emanuel Löb	25.11.1833			
5. Bette/Biene	15.10.1835			
1857				
6. Henriette/Philippine				
11.06.1838				
7. Helene/Lina	16.08.1840			
8. Adelheit	09.03.1843			
9. Theresia	03.07.1847			
07.06.1864				
25. Bock , Moses (auch Moses Heinemann)	18			
23.03.1834	480			
oo Stiefel , Carolina 129 04.10.1809				
OT.10.1003				

Bock, Abraham 23 26. 01.03.1810 27.01.1836 07.04.1884 Grab/Grabsteine: Sein Grab (Li-13) ist auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Lich erhalten. Siehe DAMRATH, 1989, S. 192. oo Lion, Rebekka 26.12.1812 ?1. Kind 27. Bock, Nathan 23 17.04.1817 03.03.1847 29.09.1875 Grab/Grabstein: Der Doppelgrabstein (Li-06) der Eheleute ist auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Lich erhalten. Siehe DAMRATH, 1989, S. 191. oo David, Zippora 1820 27.04.1876 1. Samuel 16.03.1848 2. Simon 05.09.1854 28. Bock, Jessel/Joseph 06.09.1820 16.10.1850 04.11.1869 Grab/Grabstein: Sein Grab (Li-03) ist auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Lich erhalten. Siehe DAMRATH, 1989, S. oo Heß, Johannette 07.12.1829 1. Hilda 02.08.1853 2. Willy 17.08.1854 3. Emma 17.10.1855 07.07.1857 4. Jenny 29. Bock, Mayer junior /II.(1859) 23 18.04.1820 31.01.1855 oo Bachrach, Ranchen 09.12.1830 28.02.1856 1. Simon 06.05.1857 2. Adolph 04.09.1857 3. Johanna "Sara" 25. Jan. 1939 03.06.1858 Murdered 4. Jacobine 22.08.1859 05.09.1860 24.08.1860 5. Hilda 26.09.1861 6. Emma 11.03.1862 7. Nathan 09.02.1863 8. Ida 24.05.1864 9. Samuel 26.07.1865 27.09.1866 10. Thekla "Sara" 19. Jan. 1939

03.05.1867

11. Abraham

12. William

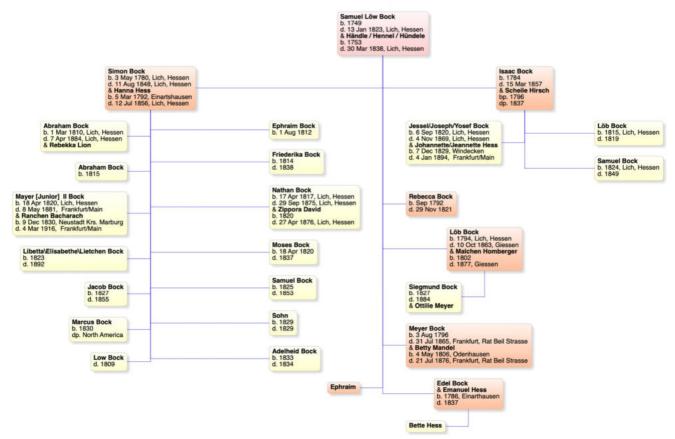
13. Moses

27.07.1868

11.04.1870

18.12.1871

Samuel Löw (Bock) [19], (1749 - 13 January 1823) and Händle / Hennel / Hündle, (1753 - 30 March 1838)



Samuel Löw is both the earliest recorded Bock ancestor and also one of the first Jews listed in the Lich municipal records. Unfortunately, nothing is known about his background or antecedents, though fortunately some aspects of his life are hinted at in the records of legal proceedings and business transactions. As one of the richest men in Lich, his wealth was significant, enabling him to own his house without a mortgage. In fact, he owned several houses - all still standing. It is not known where Samuel Löw's wealth came from.

The very earliest reference to Samuel Löw is in the 1775 records of the nearby village of Ettingshausen.³⁴ Here Samuel is referred as an adjunct to his brother Heyum /Chaim [18] - *Jud Heium des Handelsjuden Samuel Löwen Bruder von Lich.* Heyum was found drowned 'in the Wetter [river]' in 1817.



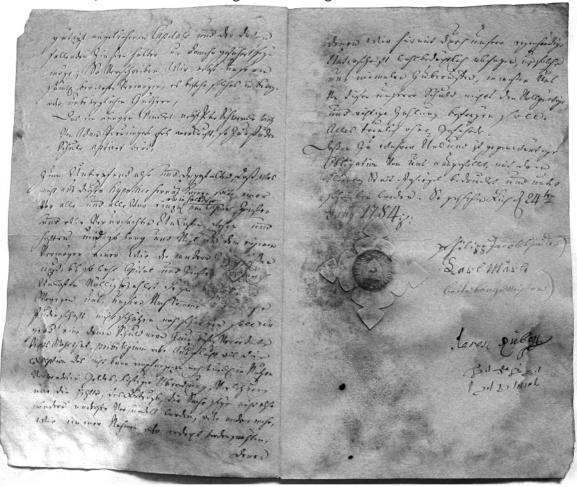
River Wetter near Kloster Arnsburg

Early records, dating from the last decades of the 18th century, refer to Samuel Löw as a *Schutzjude*, a protected Jew. After 1808, as required by the new law, Samuel Löw and his sons acquired 'Bock' as their surname. The reasons for choosing 'Bock' are not known.³⁵

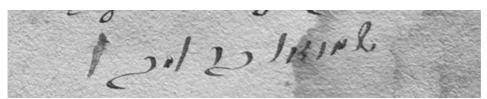
The earliest mention of a Jew living in Lich is *Loib Moses*, (Löw Moses [68]), who in 1772 had a house in Hintergasse. Samuel Löw is also recorded as living in that street, but this reference is undated.

In 1783 Aaron Ruben[5b] and Samuel Löw were guardians of the daughter (and possibly other children) of Jude Baruch[8a].

The earliest Jewish communal records start in 1784. Between 1784 and 1818 Samuel Löw[19] (signature in Hebrew, Shmuel bar Lieb) and Löw Moses[68] (signature in Hebrew, Lieb ben Moshe) were both, together with Aaron Ruben[5b], the *Vorsteher*, or heads of the Jewish community. All three were *Schutzjuden* and in 1784, as mentioned earlier, signed an *Obligation* to pay back the loan the Christian community had made to enable them to buy a house that could be used as a synagogue. Whereas Aaron's signature was in flamboyant German letters, the other two still signed in flowing Hebrew.



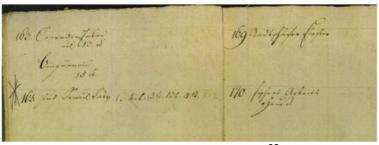
24 June 1784 *Obligation* with the signatures of the three *Vorsteher*: Aaron Rubens, Löw Moses, Samuel Löw 36



Shmuel bar Leyb, Samuel son of Löw

Samuel Löw was evidently regarded as having the authority in 1795, as head of the Jewish community, to check the *Krambuch*, trading book where the individual's income was listed, of another local Jew, Herz Aron [229], and confirm his arrears.

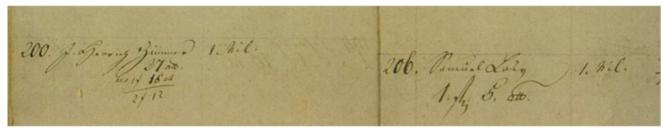
In 1798, in the Lich *Einquartierungsliste*, list of those allocated billets for soldiers, Samuel Löw was allocated one soldier. He is listed as owning house number 165, (Schäfergasse 23, named after the tannery, though it was originally called Schindegasse).³⁷



1798 Einquartierungsliste, house no 165 38

The house was located at the bottom of the hill, directly opposite the tannery. At the time it must have been an unpleasant and smelly place to live, one the locals would have regarded as only suitable for a Jew.

Samuel Löw also owned house number 206, (Oberstadt 14) in a more desirable part of town. In both cases the neighbours were Christian.



1798 Einquartierungsliste, house no 206 39

According to an older land register, Samuel Löw also owned house number 153, (Oberstadt 31), which passed to his son Isaac Bock [22] in 1830.

Further, in the *Hypothekenbuch*, Mortgage Book, of 1795, Samuel Löw lived in Hintergasse next to Caspar Müller's daughter Maria Elisabeth. ⁴⁰ Caspar Müller and his daughter lived according to Inge Steul in Hintergasse 9. So Steul suggests that in 1795 Samuel Löw Bock must have lived in either Hintergasse 7 or Hintergasse 11.

Samuel Löw died in house number 206 in 1823 and the house passed in 1830 to his son Meyer Bock [24]. Meyer lived there from 1829 to 1858.

The difficulties a Jew might have in acquiring property is evident from the following: The records state that in October 1793, the organist Philip Heller bought Johannes Hofmann's *Hofreite*, farmhouse with a stable, for 491 Gulden. After it turned out that Heller acted on behalf of Samuel Löw Bock, Konrad Albach lodged an objection against the auction, and the house was auctioned at a further date for 530 Gulden and Albach is recorded as the owner in 1799.

Samuel Löw is described in the records as being a cattle and goods dealer and also a moneylender. He and his sons were also described as *Ellenwarenhandeler* and in the 1821 Steinbach records, the Jew, Samuel Bock delivered for 30 Kr, ¼ *Elle* red cloth for a policeman's jacket: *dem Juden Samuel Bock zu Lich für ¼ Elle geliefertes rothes Tuch zu dem Polizeidiener Mantel 30 Kr.*

Some dealers sold *Ellenwaren* from their house, but there is no evidence that Samuel Löw did. In an 1838 lawsuit, his son Simon [23], no doubt like his forbears, was described as a peddler who traded from house to house and did not have a 'shop'. In the same case it is noted that his brother, Meyer Bock [24] has a 'shop' in Lich; (most likely a room in his house). However, all are described as 'selling from door to door'. (This lawsuit is referred to again in Simon's section)

Hanno Müller's view is that peddlers played an important role in providing the scattered rural farming households with goods not available in the local shops, perhaps the odd 'luxury', as few could spare the time or cost to come into town.

Samuel Löw, like many members of the wider Bock family was engaged in cattle trade and probably also kept a few cattle for the family's domestic use. He is recorded in the Ettingshausen minute book⁴¹ as having paid several fines for various infringements associated with his cattle dealing. In 1793 he paid 1 Gulden for having driven 2 pairs of oxen through the oats. In 1795 he was fined 4 Gulden together with his brother *Jud Heium* for tending a pair of bulls on the Geissen road. In 1799 he was fined ½ Gulden for riding a horse through the corn. In 1801 he was once again tending 4 pairs of oxen in the forest and had to pay a fine of 3 Gulden. In 1802 he was fined again, this time 6 Gulden, for tending 3 pairs of oxen in a different forest. In 1820 in the Steinbach records, mention is made of a small fine, possibly due to damage caused by his cattle, paid by Samuel Bock from Lich and his two sons.

When infringements and claims for damages are the sole source of information, the view is of people, unfortunately, who were not law-abiding. As very large flocks of cattle, oxen and bulls were regularly driven to market over vast distances, it is not surprising that there was plenty of damage to fields, hedges and properties. And even animals kept for domestic purposes incurred occasional damage.

Samuel is also mentioned in several records including the Court/Civil records (in the Introduction).

The level of these fines and court cases does not seem very high when the assets of Samuel Löw are taken into account. By 1818 he had a considerable fortune of 9,000 Gulden. At the time, a cow would cost about 30 Gulden and a good house 1000 gulden.⁴²

Numerous loans were entered in the Lich municipal mortgage book and Samuel Löw's name appears frequently as a significant moneylender. For example, he made 35 loans between 1785 and 1820 totaling 5,603 Gulden.

In 1822/23 Princess Henriette of Solms-Lich confirmed a debenture over 12,000 Gulden to his heirs. In 1831, the interest rate was reduced to 3½%. The debt was repaid in 1839 and divided amongst his sons. The record book in the Lich archives records each payment made with a receipt of interest.

On 29 December 1822, Samuel Löw lent the town of Lich 2,350 Gulden, at an interest rate of 5%. The loan was secured on a wood owned by the town situated by the Hattenröder Weg. It had a size of 175 Morgen, about 117 acres.



Obligation of a loan by Samuel Löw to the town of Lich of 2,350 Gulden, on 29 Dec 1822

Samuel Löw's two sons, Simon [23] and Meyer Bock [24] were named in the 1833 invoice of the Mayor of Steinbach as the executors of Samuel 'Levi' Bock in connection with a loan to the municipality of Steinbach of over 1,500 Gulden.

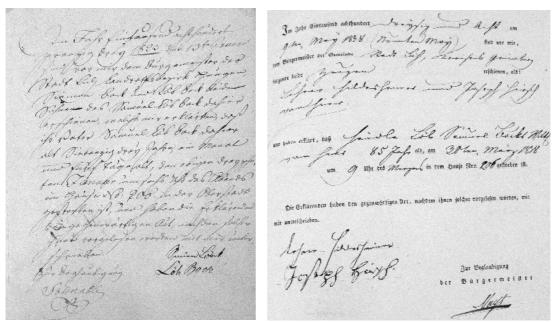
Among Samuel Löw's debtors were the father and son Wasenmeister, or knackers - a job title for those involved in disposing of animal carcasses and animal waste. ⁴⁴ They must have worked in or near the tannery opposite Samuel Löw's house.

Samuel Löw married Händle / Hennel / Hündele but nothing more is known about her or her origins.

They had the following children:

- 1. Simon Bock [23] (3 May 1780 11 August 1848) and Hanna Hess (5 March 1792 7 December 1856).
- 2. Isaac [22] (1784 1857). Married Scheile Hirsch. 3 children.
- 3. Edel [59] married Emanuel Hess in 1811. 1 child
- 4. Rebecca [93] (1792 -1821). Married Joseph Kaufmann. 3 children.

- 5. Löb/ Löw [21] (c.1792 -1863). Married Malchen Homberger. See below
- 6. Ephraim
- 7. Meyer [24] (1796 1865). Married Betty Mandel. 9 children. Both buried in Frankfurt/Main



Death reports of Samuel Löw 13 January 1823, signed by his sons Simon and Löb ⁴⁵ and

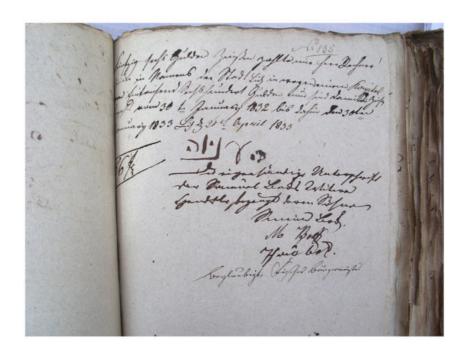
Death report of Hündle, his widow, 30 March 1838 46

After Samuel Löw's death, his wife Händle sought authorisation in 1824 for a *Hausierpatent*, permission to trade from door to door, *hausier*, for her nephew Moses Heinemann (Bock) [25]. The request was rejected because the nephew, 'the son of her brother-in-law' [Heyem, who was drowned in the weather in 1817] was not a protected Jew in Lich. She kept the *Hausierpatent* herself and 'employed' the nephew as a 'servant'. Canny!

As a widow, Händle is recorded as paying four times higher Municipal tax than the average Jew or Christian. In 1825, two years after her husband's death, she was the 17th richest of 540 taxable Lich residents. She was also the Jew with the highest taxed capital.

According to the 1833 records, five years before she died, Samuel Löw's widow did not own a house but did own a quarter acre garden. Händle died aged 85 in 1838 in house 206 where she had lived with Samuel Löw, and which now belonged to her son Meyer.

Signatures of the Bock ancestors



Fünfzig sechs Gulden Zinßen zahlte mir Herr Rechner Zimmer in Namens der Stadt Lich in wegen eines Kapital von Eintausend Sechshundert Gulden und sind damit die Zinsen bezahlt vom 30 te. Januarius 1832 bis dahin den 30ten Januarius 1833 Lich den 21ten April 1833

Die eigenhändige Unterschrift der Samuel Bocks Witwe Hendele bezeugt deren Söhne gez. Simon Bock, gez. M. Bock, gez. Isaac Bock beglaubigt, Fischer Bürgermeister.

56 Gulders of interest paid in the name of the Town of Lich on a Capital of 1600 Gulders, to Hendele Bock. 1833.



Signed in her hand by Samuel Löw Bock's widow Hendele, in Hebrew.

And witnessed by her sons

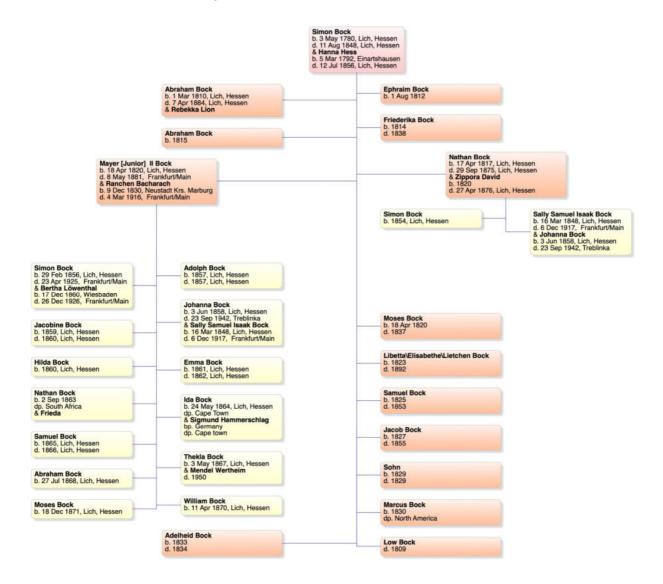
Simon Bock, Meyer Bock, Isaac Bock, also in their own hand.



47

Händle's signature indicates she could read and write Hebrew, but most probably not German. It contrasts strongly with the flowing, confident signature of her sons Simon and Isaac. Meyer's is more restrained and formal.

Simon Bock [23] (3 May 1780 – 11 August 1848) and Hanna Hess (5 March 1792 -7 December 1856). Married in 1810



Simon was, like his father, an *Elle* goods dealer and moneylender. There is no evidence, however, of him being a cattle dealer. An insight into the *Ellenwarengeschäft* business is obtained from the receipts and bills dated 1850, which were found in 2007 by Gerhard Dörmer when he renovated his house, now Oberstadt 13 (earlier house number 143).⁴⁸ Simon's son Nathan [27] had taken over this house from his father. The bills were found in a small bundle behind the oven in the kitchen. Although Simon died in 1848, the bills are all addressed to Simon Bock (once Simon Bock II) and it seems that the business continued as 'Simon Bock'.















Various documents and accounts sent to Simon Bock in 1850 even though he had died in 1848.

Found by Herr Dörmer in 2007 in his house Oberstadt 13.

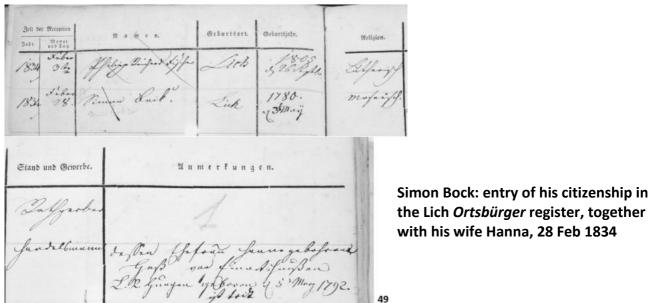
We met Herr and Frau Dörmer in 2015 and they showed us the kitchen where the bills had been found. Note how narrow the house was.



From the level of business indicated by the receipts, it is clear that Simon, and probably other members of the family, would have gone annually to the Frankfurt *Messe*, the large, famous trade fair held on the second day of Easter. Here he bought his stock, paying out in advance significant amounts of money. The receipts and bills indicate that large quantities of fabric were bought (and later sold) and included satin, cotton for work trousers, sacking, ticking to cover mattresses, gauze, buckskin, twill in a variety of colours etc. Cuban cigars ordered for a client in Giessen gives evidence of diversification (or it could have been a special request or a favour...). One account was from as far away as Meran in South Tyrol.

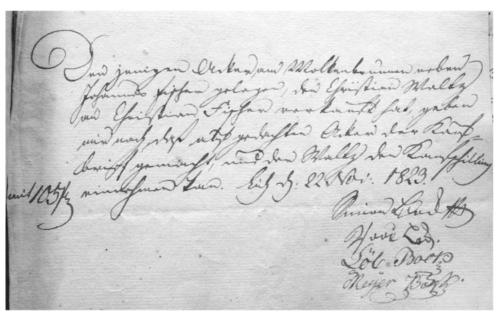
Between 1830 and 1842, like their father before them, Simon and Meyer Bock [24] were both Vorsteher, chairmen of the Jewish community.

Together with his son Abraham Bock [26], and brother Meyer Bock [24], Simon was noted in 1838 as paying 36 Gulden Einzugsgeld, a fee or tax imposed on 'new town citizens'. Upon payment the 'new' citizens undertook not to avail themselves of community benefits for the first three years. In 1834 Simon also paid on behalf of himself and his wife Feuereimergeld a fee paid to cover the cost of a leather bucket, so they could join a water chain in the case of a fire, obligatory for all citizens.



The tax paid by Simon was significantly above the average for both the Jews and Christians. In 1825 he was 37th richest out of the 540 taxpayers in Lich, and 20 years later he had maintained this position despite an increase in the population.

As moneylender, Simon made two loans in 1819 and 1821, recorded in the mortgage book. In 1830 and in 1833 he received 72 Gulden and 63 Gulden respectively from the city as interest on the loans his father had made. His sons inherited the loan/interest.



Entry in the 1750 –1826 *Hypothekenbuch*, mortgage book, 22.11.1823 with the signatures of the brothers Simon, Isaac, Löb and Meyer Bock ⁵⁰

Simon married **Hanna Hess** in 1810. She was the daughter of Nathan Hess [Einarthausen 45] (1751 – 24 December 1813) and Ella Meier (1765/6 -2 March 1833).⁵¹

Hanna was brought up in Einartshausen. The Hesse State Records refer to the imposition of a prison term on her for what seems like a minor misdemeanor that does give us the briefest insight into her life. What really happened with the church elder?

In June 1806, the church elder Johannes Lind presented the administrator Augst with a head of lettuce that Hanna, the daughter of the 'Jew Nathan Abraham' [Einartshausen -45], had stolen from him. Hanna resisted when Lind led her to the Amtshaus, town hall, calling him an old liar and claiming he had beaten her. Due to the theft, she was sentenced to spend 2 times 24 hours in the Pezzenloch, detention house. Augst wrote in his report that as stealing from fields was fashionable among Christians and Jews in Einartshausen, this punishment would act as a deterrent. The parents made three submissions to the authorities for leniency to convert the arrest into a fine, arguing among other things that a quartered soldier had demanded salad, whereupon Hanna had committed the 'ill-considered prank'. Her mother also stated that she was '15 years old and engaged to the son of the rich Jew Bock [Samuel Löw, Lich-19] in Lich, and might end the engagement and thus her daughter's future happiness or it might even become a gnawing worm for her and her certainly good husband'. These arguments held no sway, and Hanna had to serve 48 hours in the *Pezzenloch*. 52 The marriage took place, and history does not relate the real reason for the misdemeanor or if her future husband knew about it, nor if it resulted in a 'gnawing worm' in their marriage.

As **Simon and Hanna** had 14 children, one can only assume their marriage was reasonably satisfactory. All their children were born in Lich in house number 144. Five died in infancy, five died in their teens or twenties, and only four, Abraham, Nathan, Mayer and Libetta survived to middle/old age.

- 1. Löw died 1809
- 2. Abraham [26] (1810 -1884). In 1836 he married Rebecca Lion from Mardorf. He is buried in Lich and a broken part of his gravestone still exists (see below).
- 3. Ephraim 1812
- 4. Friederika (1814 -1838). She died at the age of 24 in the house number 144.
- 5. Abraham 1815 Probably the name was wrongly written in the register [see second child].
- 6. Nathan [27] (1817 1875). In 1847 he married Zipporah David from Homberg / Ohm. They are both buried in Lich and their gravestones still exist.

Nathan published the following advertisement in Lich on 16 May 1847

"Opening of business. Nathan Bock in Lich is recommended with his newly established business in 'Colonial-Specerei-iron and wooden goods as well as in hollow and sheet glass...at the cheapest prices." ⁵³ There are more details about Nathan in Müller's *Juden in Lich* page 65.

7. Mayer [29] (Twin) (18.4.1820 - 8.5.1881). In 1855 he married Ranchen Bachrach from Neustadt

- 8. Moses (Twin) (18.4.1820 01.06.1837). He died aged 17 "in the home of his parents number 144".
- 9. Libetta / Elisabethe / Lietchen (1823 -1892). Her grave and gravestone are in the Jewish part of the old cemetery of Giessen, although she does not seem to have died in Giessen.
- 10. Samuel (1825 -1853). He died at the age of 27 in house number 144.
- 11. Jacob (1827 -1855). He died at the age of 28 in house number 153.
- 12. Son (1829 -1829)
- 13. Marcus (1830-1853). He went to USA and in the register of births it was noted "In the summer of 1853, died in Baltimore, America according to the consulate's certificate".
- 14. Adelheid (1833 -1834)

Education:

Simon is not recorded as paying *Schulgeld*, school fees, for his oldest children, probably because primary education was not yet compulsory. He did, however, pay both *Schulgeld* and *Holzgeld*, school fees for fees for firewood to heat the school in winter, for his son Nathan and his younger brothers, as well as Nathan's sister Libetta. In some cases the records are for fees for Jewish religious instruction and/or school fees. It would appear that Simon paid for his children until they were 13/14.

Simon paid the following, according to the records:

Jacob, 1836-41, school fees for Jewish religious instruction

Nathan, Mayer and Moses in 1830, for wood to heat the classroom.

Libetta, Samuel, Moses and Mayer, in 1831 and 1833, for wood.

Libetta, in 1836, when she was 13, school fees for Libetta's Jewish religious instruction. In 1837, for schooling and wood.

Samuel, 1836-1838, school fees for Jewish religious instruction

Samuel, Jacob and Marcus, in 1837 -1840, for school fees and wood.

Marcus, 1837-1844, school fees for Jewish religious instruction.

Other school records show that in March 1836, Libetta was missing from school, without an excuse, but with her father's knowledge. Samuel and his brother Jacob were absent from school between 6 and 13 December 1838. 'Ostensibly because of a death that took place in the house (their sister Friederica died on December 5, 1838) and Samuel had imposed a 7-day mourning, *shiva*. Because of his apologetic appeal, the two sons of Simon Bock will not be punished'.

Houses and landownership:

Simon took over house number 165 (Schäfergasse 23) from his father and paid him 13 Kreuzer.

Sometime after 1829, Simon paid 45 Kreuzer for the house number 144 (Oberstadt 15). According to an older land register, it belonged to Johann Lotz. Simon acquired it through an exchange of houses: Johann Lotz and John Gilbert each took half of house number 165. House 144, similar to the neighbouring houses, had stables at the back. The Land Registry records that house number 143 (Oberstadt 13), also belonged to Simon [or his estate] for several years until 1851 and was taken over by his son Nathan. [27].

The 1833 records show that Simon Bock also had 2¾ Morgen⁵⁴ and 22 Ruthen⁵⁵ farmland.

In 1841, he bought 200 roof tiles from the municipal brick kiln and in 1844 bought both normal bricks and special rim (curved) bricks.

Simon died aged 68 in house 144.



Register of Simon's death on 11 August 1848

Hanna died aged 64 years in house 153 (Oberstadt 31), which at that time was owned by her brother-in-law Isaac Bock [22].

Attempts to remove the local citizenship rights of Simon Bock [23] and Meier ⁵⁷ Bock [24] in 1838 ⁵⁸

In 1838, Simon and his brother Meier (Meyer) Bock were involved in a protocol concerning their citizenship and local civil rights that was tied into the city's administration of *Loosholz*.

Loosholz was an entitlement for citizens to get wood from the town's forest. Jews such as Simon and Meier were not considered residents with citizenship rights and were therefore not entitled to partake in the lottery that allocated the differing qualities wood. Simon had somehow 'wangled' his way to get firewood. The protocol mentions that some Jews, despite a ban on such activities, sold the wood on.

Hanno Müller explained this further. By 1838 the richer Jews like Simon and Meier Bock had become local citizens, *Ortsbürger*, and the Lich council wanted to remove their local civil rights, *Ortsbürgerecht*. They also wanted to withdraw their *Staatsbürgerrecht*, citizenship, which according to Hanno was impossible. Formerly, by decree, a Jew whose trade was a *Schacherhandel*, peddling, could not become a citizen. However, generally peddling was a poor Jew's trade and Simon and Meier Bock were rich Jews. Hanno believes there was some anti-Semitism involved in the protocol, but also envy.

A rough translation of the protocol reveals its latent anti-Semitism:

The [local] Jews had never received Loosholz, but twice Meier succeeded in obtaining some. The regulations of 16 January of the year, however, expressly state that Jews who engage in Schacherhandel, cannot receive anything because, under such circumstances, they cannot be citizens. We are, however, compelled to apply today for the withdrawal of the citizenship right. Many years ago, the citizens mentioned here succeeded in acquiring citizenship. Later, a son of Simon Bock (Abraham?) was treated as a local citizen. But now, it can be seen that they have sought this right not as a general one, but only for their own advantage and to acquire considerable advantages

Simon Bock is a rich man who, with his many boys (of which not a single one learnt a trade but are all brought up in the spirit of Schacherhandel,) carries on the Elle merchandise trade. He has a Hausirpatent and sells from door to door but does not have a shop. He does not, therefore, endeavour to nourish bourgeois trades, while on the other hand his children can benefit as local citizens, and do not need Schutz for their marriages. And because he is rich, his children will not end up having to be supported by the community.

Meier Bock is also a wealthy man, whose children are small. His current expenditure is such that he can be expected to make efforts for his children's education. He has an Elle merchandise trade and also a shop. But he is hardly to be found in the shop because he also is travelling every day with his pack of goods and he, like all the other local Jews, is involved in the clothes trade, and is considered a Schacherjude.

Finally, we need to confirm that our considerations are not driven by **religious hatred** but rather we consider the societal context and are pleased to recognise the son of Simon Bock, Abraham Bock as a citizen.

Signed; mayors and municipal councils. 59

Samuel Löw's son, Meyer Bock [24] (1796 – 1865), was an *Ellenwarenhandler* and banker. He ran a very profitable *Cessionsgeschäft* where legal claims of a creditor were transferred to a third person. In 1854 he dealt in '*Amerikanischen Gold den Dollar'*. It is thought that his nephew Mayer 'Junior' [29] and other members of the family were also involved in this business. Meyer and Betty's son, Emanuel Löb Bock evidently had moved to Frankfurt by 1866. His entry in the Frankfurt address book locates him in Eckenheimer Landstrasse 4. His

occupation Handelsmann.



Meyer Bock 1796 -1865
Official death entry:
Bock, Meyer Handelsmann aus Lich im
Großherzogthum Hessen, verheiratet mit
Bette Mändel, 69 Jahre alt starb dahier
Altgasse No. 71
Montag, den 31. Juli 1865, Morgens um 7 Uhr.
[Frankfurt State archives]

Jessel/Joseph Bock [28] (6.9.1820 - 16.10.1869)

Jessel was the son of Isaac and grandson of Samuel Löw

On 16th October 1850, he married Johannette/Jeannette Hess (7.12.1820, Windecken – 4.1.1894, Frankfurt)

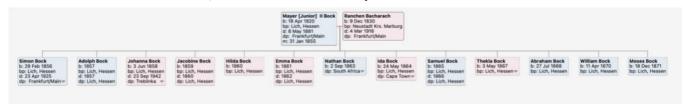
She was the daughter of Samuel Hess and Elise (born Schloss) from Windecken. Her sister was Auguste who married Maximilian Bier, my great-grandparents (and subject to another family history volume).

Jessel's gravestone is one of the few remaining in the cemetery in Lich. Jeanette's stone still stands in Frankfurt.



Jessel/Joseph Bock [28] (1820 – 1869), Lich Jewish cemetery

Mayer Junior /II Bock [29], (18 April 1820, Lich - 8 May 1881, Frankfurt am Main), and Ranchen Bachrach, (9 Dec 1830, Neustadt near Marburg, Kurhessen - 4 March 1916, Frankfurt am Main)

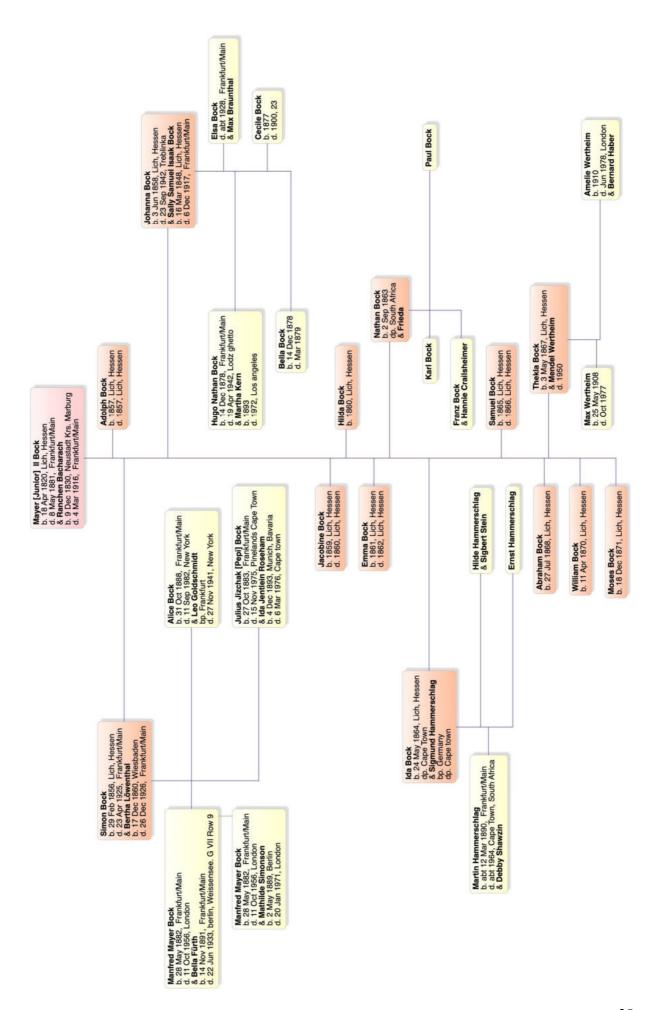




Mayer Bock Junior and Ranchen Bock (née Bachrach)



Mayer Bock Junior and his son Simon



Mayer was a Handelsmann, merchant, and in 1854 was adopted as a local citizen of Lich.



Mayer Bock Junior: entry of his citizenship in the Lich *Ortsbürger* register, 21 December 1854⁶⁰

Just over one month later, on 31 Jan 1855 when Mayer was 34, he married **Ranchen Bachrach**, who was 25 and came from Neustadt. She was the daughter of Marcus Mordechai Bachrach, a *Kaufmann*, businessman, and Barchen/ Besgen/ Beschen Wallach. As their marriage records are in the Lich archives and their witnesses were Jews from Lich, they must have got married in Lich.



Ranchen Bachrach record of birth⁶¹

Ranchen's signature on her marriage record is firm and indicates that she was well educated. Unfortunately, nothing more is known about Ranchen, apart from the fact that she managed to have 14 children, most born in very quick succession. Only four died in infancy, which in itself is quite a record!

18.	
	Sm 3abr Gintaufend achthundert freef wert freefying ben
	Sm gabr Cintaufend achthundert frief in fine fing ten gind vor mir,
	bem Burgermeister ber Bemeinde Lief
	erschienen die Ebegatten: Mugna Last janing in Las
	all fine francisconing for fund before Chefron Bounfar de anfarme
	all 24 Juston Zodgier Lod Magant Luchamy
	in Many Smil, Sinfing San Yam Jaylan
	fodann die beiden Zeugen: Julay der & min Manufla
	graft von fine
	and haben erflate, baß fie. Erftere, auf vorher von
	Großberzoglichem Sani bauch zu Ginglonn ausgewirften
	Beiratheschein am 81 den Janear 1855 laut
	Befdeinigung bee Rabbinen, welche fie biermit vorzeigen, gu
	topulirt worden feien, woruber ich gegenwartigen Met geführt habe, und welcher nach gefchehener
	Borlefung mit ben Erichienenen von mir unterschrieben worben ift.
-	Mayer Book, muige l South Book
	Ranchen Book Stegatten. M. Hoch
	Ganonen Groen 10 g Colly

Mayer and Ranchen marriage record, with their signatures, 31 Jan 1855⁶²

Mayer took over from his father Simon [23], house number 144 (Oberstadt 15). According to the *Brandkataster* in 1861 he insured this 3-storey house with an attached barn for the sum of 2,370 Gulden. In 1865, house number 144 passed to Johann Jung.⁶³

Between 1861 and 1864, Mayer rented, and then, in 1864, bought another 3-storey house, number 248/75 (Braugasse 9), which included outbuildings, woodshed, barn and a laundry.

Mayer sold house number 248/75 in 1875, presumably around the time he and his family left for Frankfurt. He had the privilege of not paying *Steuer*, council tax.

In turn, both of his houses were used to run his business, and no doubt Mayer must have used at least one room as a shop⁶⁴ from which he dealt in a surprising variety of goods.

In 1862 it is recorded that Mayer ran both an *Ellenwaren* trade and traded in flour, wool, spices, leather, and he also supplied seed. He owned a hardware/chandler shop and across the street, a *Branntweinzäpfer*, a barrel with a tap for selling distilled alcohol. In 1863, Mayer expanded and sold ready to wear clothes, in 1864, he traded wholesale in plaster and butter and from 1865 to 1868, dealt in small pieces of leather that had been cut out of a bigger piece. From 1861 to 1864, he also maintained a village shop in Landsdorf, 3 miles from Lich, which dealt in small lengths of material.

It is interesting to see that this was very much a family enterprise. Mayer's brothers Abraham, as recorded in 1861, and Nathan, in 1868, were involved in some of these and also other businesses.

Mayer's increasing prosperity is shown in the Municipal tax records. His taxable capital rose dramatically between 1856 and 1874. There were 670 taxable residents of Lich in 1858 and

he was in position 65. By 1866 he was in position 20 and was, in both years, the Jew paying the highest tax.

According to the memoirs of Alice Goldschmidt, her grandfather, always known as Mayer Bock 'Junior', founded the firm *Mayer Bock Junior, Mühlenfabrikate*, Commodity Brokers, Corn Merchants. According to Hanno Müller he started this firm in Frankfurt after having left Lich. A *Mühlenfabrikate* deals with products produced by a mill, and Alice stated that the firm dealt in grain and flour.

According to the Lich records, the family moved to Frankfurt am Main in 1874/75. The 1877 Frankfurt address book records him as living in Langestrasse 18 (*Parterre*, ground floor), and his occupation was *Kaufmann*. His business was carried out in the same building: 'Bock Mayer jun. *Mehl en gros*. Langestrasse 18'.

Mayer and Ranchen seem to have then moved to Obermainanlage according to their granddaughter Alice. Initially the firm Mayer Bock Jr. operated from their apartment. From their balcony overlooking the river Main, Alice remembered that she and her brothers watched the Regatta and river traffic.

Mayer died relatively young in 1881, at the age of 61.

Mayer was buried in Frankfurt, Rat Beil Strasse cemetery Block 33, No. 65. Ranchen died at the age of 85 and was buried next to her husband.









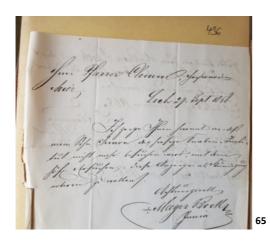
Mayer and Ranchen had 14 children, according to Alice. All were born in Lich, though only 13 are mentioned in the records. Four of them died in infancy. The first seven children were born in house number 144, the same house in which Mayer's mother had given birth to all her children. Mayer and Ranchen's other children were born in house number 75.

- 1. Simon (1856-1925)
- **2.** Adolph (1857 1857)
- **3.** Johanna (1858-1942)
- **4.** Jacobine (1859 1860)
- **5.** Hilda (1860 ?)
- **6.** Emma (1861 -1862)
- **7.** Nathan (1863-?)
- **8.** Ida. (1864-?)
- **9.** Samuel (1865 1866)
- **10.** Thekla (1867- 1944)
- **11.** Abraham (1868 ?)
- **12.** William (1870-?)
- **13.** Moritz/ Moses (1871-?)
- **14.** ? Siegfried. Not mentioned in Lich records, not clear if he existed.

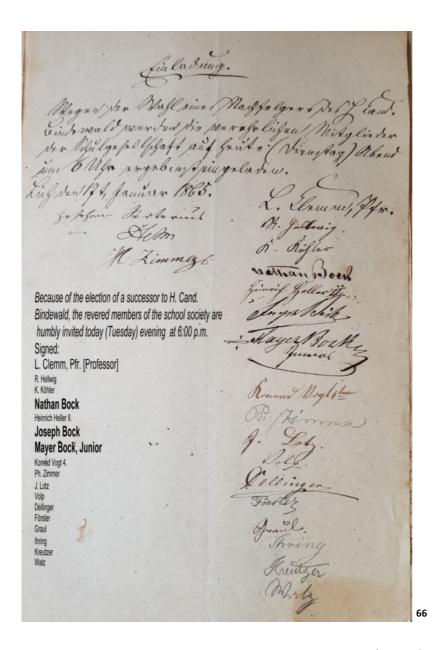
Mayer and Ranchen's children are the first generation of whom there are some reminiscences. These were fortunately written down by Alice Goldschmidt, the daughter of Simon as well as by Elsbeth Schloessinger and Katie Kallenbach in the next generation. Others who contributed their memories are Lieselotte Bier and Beatrice Heymann. Included throughout this account, is information from the official Lich municipal records.

1.Simon. (29 Feb 1856, Lich - 23 Apr 1925, Frankfurt)

From 1861 to 1868, Simon's father paid both school fees and for his Jewish religious instruction. The following letter was written withdrawing Simon from school when he was thirteen, presumably after his Barmitzvah. In all likelihood the school was teaching both a secular and Jewish curriculum. Reverend Professor Clemm was, as the second document, dated 1865, shows, running the *Privat-Schul-Gesellschaft*, Private School Society. Both documents are held in the Marienstiftsarchiv, Lich and were found by Inge Steul in 2019.



Herr Reverend Clemm,
Lich. Sept. 27, 1868.
I hereby inform you that my son Simon
will no longer be attending the local
boys' institute. Please kindly use this
notice as a notice of termination.
Respectfully,
Mayer Bock Junior



Simon married **Bertha Löwenthal**, daughter of **Mayer (Maier) Löwenthal & Regina Kahn**. Bertha was born on 17 Dec 1860 in Wiesbaden and died in Frankfurt on 26 Dec 1926; she was 66.

They had the following children:

- 1. Manfred Mayer (1882-1956), father of Edith, Walter, Lieselotte
- 2. Julius Jizchak (Pepi), (1883-1975) father of Herbert, Katie
- 3. Alice (1888-1982), mother of Elsbeth, Eva, Irma
- 3. Johanna (3 June 1858, Lich, 23 Sep 1942, Treblinka)

From 1864 to 1870, Johanna's father paid both school fees and for her Jewish religious instruction.

Johanna married her first cousin Samuel Isaak (Sally) Bock, son of Nathan Bock (1817-1875) [27] and Zippora David (remains of their gravestones are in the Lich cemetery).

Sally (Samuel Mayer) was born on 16 March 1848, in Lich, Hessen, and died in Frankfurt (buried in Rat-Beil cemetery), on 6 Dec 1917.



Sally was a merchant and *Lotterieeinnehmers*, lottery collector, in Frankfurt.⁶⁷ Sally went to Johannesburg 15 May 1895 and returned to Germany 10 April 1898. He was also in Africa from 26 April 1899 – 7 November 1899.

Johanna Bock

When she was forced to adopt 'Sara' as her middle name on 9 December 1938 Johanna was living in Zeppelinallee 2, Frankfurt. According to the Frankfurt Magistrates Court she was 'last living in Wöhlerstraße 6 or 8'.

According to Monica Kingreen, the Jewish nursing home in Wöhlerstraße 6, 8 and 13 was opened in 1936.⁶⁸ The following description of the 'old age homes', including the Wöhlerstraße home, in the Nazi period, is outlined on the website *Jüdische Pflegegeschichte* (Jewish Nursing History) – Biographien und Institutionen in Frankfurt am Main.

A particularly depressing and shameful chapter concerns the establishment of Jewish 'old people's homes' as collective camps in National Socialist Frankfurt. The need for Jewish old people's and nursing home places increased, among other things, due to immigration from the Hessian surrounding area and the expulsion of younger anti-Semitically persecuted persons who had to leave their frail relatives behind - also because of entry restrictions of the receiving countries. In addition to the increased use of existing institutions such as the Versorgungsanstalt für Israeliten and the Hospital der Israelitischen Krankenkassen, old people's homes were also occupied as ghetto houses ('Judenhäuser'). Due to the high fluctuation, the homes were often run by staff from outside the profession. 69

Johanna was forced to pay a *Judenvermögensabgabe*, Jewish property levy of 17,574 Reichsmark. In addition, under the pretence that she was financing her stay in the old people's home, she was forced to sign a 'home purchase contract' of 59,520 Reichsmark. ⁷⁰

On 18 August 1942, at the age of 84, Johanna was deported on transport XII/1, Train Da 503 from Frankfurt to Theresienstadt/ Terezín. The residents of 10 Jewish nursing homes, a total of 1022 people were deported on that date. The elderly from the nursing homes were

gathered and taken in trucks to the East wing of the Wholesale Market Hall (*Grossmarkthalle*) and then to train platform 40, from where the passenger trains departed. Three mass transports in August and September 1942 deported 3,500 Jews from Frankfurt. During this deportation phase, all elderly people over 65 years of age were put on the list, as well as wounded and decorated veterans of the First World War with their wives and children up to 14 years of age.⁷¹

On deportation, in common with other elderly people, Johanna was forced to sign a *nursing home contract* that surrendered her entire wealth; supposedly to pay for accommodation, food and care in the Theresienstadt old age homes. Johanna only remained in Theresienstadt for a month, as on 23 September 1942 she was taken on transport Bqb 1842 (with 1980 others) to Treblinka Extermination Camp where she was murdered.⁷²





Memorial at the Frankfurt Grossmarkthalle, market hall with railway tracks and entrance ramp



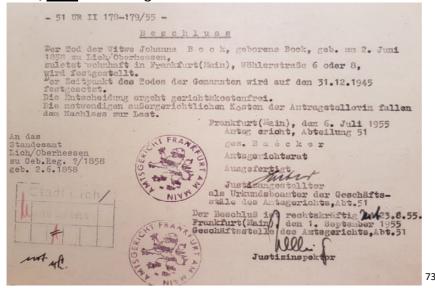
Memorial at the Frankfurt Grossmarkthalle, basement



Memorial stone to Johanna Bock Neuer Börneplatz Memorial Site, Frankfurt

There is an official document in the Lich town archives that was sent from the Jusitz Inspector in Frankfurt to inform the Lich *Statsamt* authorities that Johanna Bock, who was born in Lich, has died. The notification is dated 1 September 1955. There is no mention that

she had been unwillingly deported from Frankfurt, or acknowledgment that her 'death' is anything other than normal. Significantly the 'official' day of death is given as 31 December 1945, after the ending of the War.



Resolution document held in Lich Town archives regarding the 'death' of Johanna Bock

Johanna and Sally had the following children (as described by Alice Bock):

1. Elsa (? -1928). Very charming and beautiful according to Alice. Max Braunthal had a big dress store on the Zeil and one day Elsa came in with her mother and he fell in love with her, and they subsequently married. The Braunthals had one large room full of the 'most wonderful' paintings by Max Liebermann. According to recent research regarding the Gurlitt Estate, Max Braunthal married again in France. A portrait of Max Braunthal was found in the Gurlitt Estate and the provenance of the drawing is still undetermined.⁷⁴

Elsa and Max three children:

- 1. Erich who studied painting with Max Liebermann who probably made an exception to take a student on because Max Braunthal was his friend. Erich immigrated to Paris, married there and died very young.
- 2. Lotte, who had her mother's charm and her love and talent for music. Emigrated and lived in New York.
- 3. Anneliese (28.4.1913, Frankfurt 11. 2. 1944, Auschwitz). She married Herbert Cohen (1901-1944) from Hanover. They fled to Holland in 1937 and were deported in 1943 from Westerbork to Auschwitz. They both were declared dead in 1944. Herbert died in Monowitz. The Yad Vashem Page of Testimony records Anneliese as being a kindergarten teacher.⁷⁵
- 2. Cecile (1877 -1900), died aged 23.
- 3. Bella (1878 1879), Hugo's twin
- 4. Hugo Nathan (14. 12. 1878, Frankfurt 19.4. 1942, Lodz) Lawyer. Alice wrote that he had a very good baritone voice, and the two often sang *Duette* together. He married Martha Kern. Hugo Nathan was deported from Frankfurt am Main, 19 October 1941, to Litzmannstadt (Lodz), Ghetto.



Memorial stone to Hugo Bock, Neuer Börneplatz Memorial Site, Frankfurt

Johanna and Hugo: Stolpersteine research by members of the Frankfurter Cäcilienchor

After the 200th anniversary of the renowned *Cäcilienverein Frankfurt am Main e.V.*, the second oldest lay oratorio choir in Germany, a working group continued their commemorative work. They undertook further research into the Jewish members of the choir who had been persecuted by the National Socialists. They discovered that Hugo Bock, (see below), had, from 1910, been a tenor in the choir. He failed to escape and was murdered in 1941. Eventually the choir members managed to contact his descendants in California. A decision was made to finance and lay a *Stolperstein* in association with *Initiative Stolpersteine Frankfurt* in his memory. After several delays due to the Coronavirus epidemic, artist Gunter Demnig will lay stones in memory of the Choir's Jewish members. This is due to take place in March 2023.

Thanks to the choir's background research, the memorial for Hugo will include *Stolpersteine* for his mother Johanna, (see below), and his mother-in-law, Rosalie Kern, née Goldschmidt, (23.11.1867, -?, Treblinka) both of whom were also murdered. The location is Eschersheimer Landstrasse 69, Hugo's home until he was forced to move in 1937.

Rosalie Kern was taken with 1017 others on August 18, 1942, on Transport XII/1, No. 407, from Frankfurt to Theresienstadt. On September 29, 1942, she was deported from Theresienstadt on Transport Bs. No. 1445 to Treblinka. All the 2001 people on that transport were murdered.

Hugos' wife, Martha Lucie Bock, née Kern, (21.10.1893, Frankfurt am Main – 22.5.1972, Los Angeles), and their two daughters, Lili Cecilie Bergman, née Bock, (26.10.1913, Frankfurt am Main – 14.11.1973, Los Angeles) and Erika Stern, née Bock, (6.11.1918, Frankfurt am Main – 2.2. 2017, Los Angeles) who managed to escape to the USA, will also be remembered alongside Johanna, Hugo and Rosalie.

Most of the additional biographical details for Hugo below are thanks to the extensive research in the German archives undertaken by choir members, Monica Zieler and Matthias Knoche.

Almost at the same time, unbeknownst to me, members of the *Stolpersteine* committee in Lich were interested in commemorating Johanna, as she had been born there. I had been in discussion with them and once the two initiatives were linked, it was decided to lay a stone for Johanna in Frankfurt alongside her son and family.

Further information about Hugo Bock:77

Hugo was an active member of the *Cäcilienchor*, which he had joined in 1910 as a tenor. His wife Martha Kern was listed as a passive member of the choir from 1912. Hugo was

admitted to the bar at the Frankfurt am Main Regional Court in June 1909, and possessed his own legal office from 1912. On 17 June 1924, he was appointed notary public and earned the merit of acting as permanent representative in all legal and notarial matters for the French Consulate in Frankfurt am Main.

Hugo and Martha had two children:

a. Lili Cecile, (26.10. 1913, Frankfurt – 14.11.1973, Los Angeles), Married Alvin Bergman b. Erika, (6.11.1918, Frankfurt – 2.2.1917, Los Angeles), married Hans Stern (Sept 2, 1904, Hanau - April 13, 2001, Los Angeles).

In 1933, Hugo was banned from working as a notary and lost his French consulate clients. He gave up his office and by 1937 was working from his home at Eschersheimer Landstraße 69. Unusually, he only lost his admission to the bar in December 1938, as the authorities assumed that he had emigrated. To pay for the emigration of his wife and younger daughter Erika to the USA, he sold his flat for a fraction of its value and pawned valuable jewellery. His older daughter Lili had already emigrated to the USA in 1935. Erika told her sons that Hugo remained in Germany as he spoke no English, was in his mid-60s (regarded as old for that time) and wouldn't be able to work. And, like so many, he believed things would work out.

It is not known when he moved to Liebigstraße 50, his last residence before deportation. On 29 March 1941, he stated that he was employed by the Frankfurt Jewish Community as a canvasser for the Jewish Welfare Service with a net monthly wage of RM 156.24 which just covered his stated rental and living expenses of 150.00 RM.

On 19 October 1941 Hugo was transported to the Litzmannstadt (Lodz) ghetto where he was either murdered or died from illness and malnutrition on 19 April 1942.

Erika's sons John and Peter live in Los Angeles with their wives. Peter has two daughters and three grandchildren.







Passport⁷⁸

5. Hilda (1860, Lich - ? Frankfurt)

From 1866 to 1871 her father paid for her school fees and Jewish religious instruction. Hilda married Siegmund Hammerschlag, a business 'phantast' (a dreamer) and they went together to South Africa, but Siegmund was 'not successful', and they returned to Frankfurt,

where Hilda died sometime later.⁷⁹ Two documents in the Republic of South Africa archives relate to Siegmund's activites in South Africa. They show that in 1887, Siegmund Hammerschlag was in partnership with Hilda's brother Nathan Bock: 'Illiquid case. Payment. L Schultis, S Hammerschlag and Bock versus the Pretoria Gold Mining Company'. The documents from 1883 and 1887 refer to Siegmund as the surviving spouse.⁸⁰

7. Nathan (1863, Lich -?)

Nathan was known as the 'Spaas onkle'- the fun uncle- who gave the cousins Lieselotte, Elsbeth and Katie marzipan.

Nathan married Frieda Cohn in Frankfurt in 1889. They had three sons:

- 1. Paul Mayer studied law and had no children.
- 2. Carl/Karl Mayer was 'talented in everything, especially music'. Paul and Carl both went to Brazil, Sao Paulo, (possibly via USA) in late 30's. Both were unmarried and died in Brazil.
 - 3. Franz entered his father's Lithographic business. Married Hannie Crailsheimer (who committed suicide). Went with Paul to the USA in 1941 where Franz started a printing business. His cousin Alice Goldschmidt worked in the business after her husband's death.
 - a. One daughter, Ilse, who married Max Levy, (died in 1977). They had one son Allan.

It looks like all three sons were living in Wiesbaden. Paul and Franz certainly were made citizens on 29 August 1914 and Karl on 12 October 1914. Nathan and Frieda may have been in Berlin (1919).

Lieselotte: "Carl loved my sister Edith (his cousin) and she certainly liked him but she had at this time (late 20's early 30's) probably more serious relationships. Carl came to our flat many Friday evenings especially in the 30's and 'unsere Therese' (the housekeeper) really liked him, which was most agreeable as when he came there would be excellent roast beef! My father also liked him a lot and we saw more of him than any of the other relatives. I think this was mainly after my mother had died and Edith and Walter were in South Africa."

Nathan's niece Beatrice Heymann (Ida's daughter) wrote in 2017,

"I knew Nathan Bock very well, as he came to live with our family after coming to South Africa. I remember very clearly how amused the grown-ups were when I saw him for the first time. He wore a neatly trimmed small beard, and I whispered to the family, "Look! Uncle Nathan forgot to shave this morning!" He was the one who taught me to read, using the signs beside the railway line, the route of our walks most afternoons. I learnt S,T,O,P says Stop, and H,A,L,T says Halt, all in a heavy German accent. Uncle Nathan had white hair with a white goatee and was the image of General Smuts. On his return from the city, I loved hearing him recount how many autographs he had signed J.C.Smuts, so as not to disappoint the public who took him to be the General."

8. Ida. Born 24 May 1864 in Lich and died in Cape Town.

From 1869 to 1874, her father paid for her school fees and Jewish religious instruction.

Ida married her sister Hilda's widower, Siegmund Hammerschlag, two years after Hilda's death.

Ida and Sigmund had 3 children:

- 1. Martin (ca1890 -1964) (4 children: Renee, Beatrice, Manfred (1919 1971) and Sylvia)
- 2. Ernst. Unmarried
- 3. Hilde. One son

Lieselotte and the cousins called Ida the "Compass Aunt", because she always had a compass in her bag to make sure that she knew where east was when praying.

Ida's granddaughter Beatrice Heymann wrote in 2017, "Ida Bock as you know, was my grandmother, and the only one of my grandparents that I actually knew. I remember very clearly going to visit her each Sunday as a small child, with my parents. It was during the war, when most things were difficult to obtain, but my mother kept an unlikely stash of *Callard and Bowser* nougat, just for Granny Ida, and we would take her a box each week.

I remember her wearing a black velvet ribbon around her neck with a cameo in the centre. I thought her very stately and dignified, and I was much in awe of her. She would lean forward for me to kiss her cheek on arrival, and then I would be allowed to go outside to play in the mulberry tree, until it was time to go. I would be called in and Granny Ida would again lean forward for me to kiss her cheek in farewell. Not a very intimate relationship.

In our family home in Kenilworth, Cape Town, (called Brackley) we had two matching portraits, one each of Ida and Sigmund. I was told that these were painted as the engagement portraits of the betrothed couple, as was the custom in those days before photography".



Martin Hammerschlag with the road names after him

Katie was in touch with the family and wrote that some or all went back to South Africa, married there and Martin was very successful. He founded *Truworths*, a large department store chain, and for many years was Mayor of Cape Town. The Government named a street after him: Martin Hammerschlag Way. He employed Walter and Herbert when they emigrated to South Africa in 1934 (see volume 2).

10.Thekla. Born 3 May 1867 in Lich and died November 1944 in London, England

From 1873 to ?, Simon paid for her school fees and Jewish religious instruction. Thekla was very religious and was engaged for 10 long years to Judah Bamberger, who suffered from consumption. They finally married against the will of the family and he died one year later. Four years later she married a very religious widower in Fulda, Mendel Wertheim (died in 1950). Mendel had one son Abba (1897- Dec 1981) from his first wife. Abba married Steffi Hahn. Two of their children live in Israel and one lives in New York. (Source Alice Goldschmidt).

Lieselotte: "Mendel was a witness, or at least present at our wedding. They were very nice."

Thekla and Mendel had 2 children:

- 1. Max, (May 25th 1908 Oct 1977), unmarried, very charming, a poet, whose poems were appreciated. (Lieselotte: he loved Edith wrote poetry and songs but was not very fitted to normal commercial life). He survived the war in France (with a girl friend?) and then went to the USA where he died. His niece Leah remembered his books of poems and beautiful pencil drawings.
- 2. Amelie, (1910—June 1978) married Bernard Haber, London, one daughter, Leah, married to Moishe Gross, Manchester.

11. Abraham known as Abba (1868, Lich -?)

His residence was given as "Africa" and therefore had permission to annul his voluntary military service. (Lich records)

He also went to South Africa and then must have gone to the USA (?). He married Aline, and they had a daughter Irene. Irene married Sam Isaacs, and they called their daughter Aline, who married and lived in New York City. No children.

12. William (1870, Lich -?) of whom nothing is known. In 1889 it was noted that he had permission to annul his voluntary military service. (Lich records)

13. Moritz (probably Moses) (1871, Lich -?).

Alice referred to him as the youngest son and remembered that he was always sickly in bed and died rather young. Lieselotte wondered if this is incorrect and Moritz was the 'missing' 14th child, especially given this 1891 record in the Lich archives: *In 1891 it was noted that Moses, a merchant in Frankfurt had permission to annul his voluntary military service.*





Johanna Bock







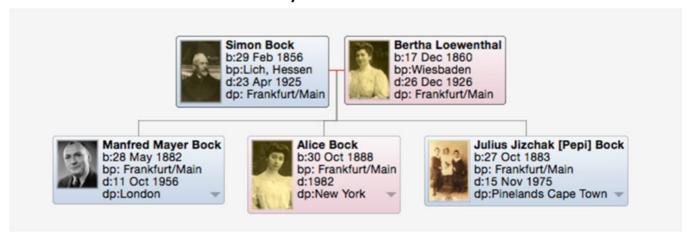
Nathan Bock Ida Bock Hilde Bock



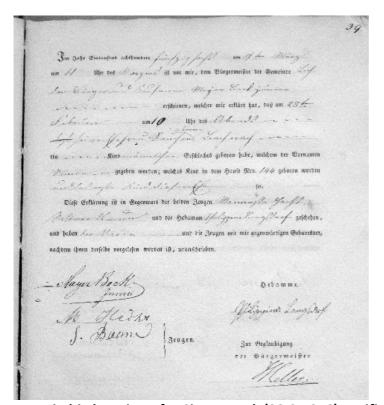


Thekla Bock

Simon Bock (29 February 1856 - 23 April 1925) and Bertha Löwenthal (17 December 1860 - 26 December 1927)



Simon Bock was born in Lich in house number 144 at 10pm.



Entry in birth register for Simon Bock (28.2.1856) notified and signed by his father, Mayer Bock junior.⁸¹

Simon's daughter, Alice recounted how the family moved from Lich, (in 1874/75 according to the Lich records) and the 'house of the green shutters' to Frankfurt where the family business grew considerably. As Alice relates, in 1881 her grandfather Meyer died relatively young, and his son, her father Simon, then aged 25, assumed responsibility for his younger brothers and sisters. As the oldest son, he conducted the business with his mother.

Simon Bock









1911 1912





Bertha Bock



Alice, Bertha (in a fabulous hat) and Simon Bock

In 1876, it was noted in the Lich records that Simon, now a *Kaufmann*, merchant in Frankfurt, was *dauernd unbrauchbar*, continuing useless!⁸²

On April 8, 1881, Simon Bock was discharged from the Grand Ducal Federation of Subjects to become a Prussian citizen in Frankfurt am Main. The letterhead was *Mayer Bock jun*. *Mühlenfabrikate, Frankfurt a. M.* and the character reference or certificate of good behaviour reads: *It is hereby certified that nothing bad can be said about Simon Bock, native of Lich, resident of Frankfurt*. Mühlenfabrikate translates as products manufactured in mills. The company were corn merchants/ brokers/negotiators and according to Simon's daughter Alice, the company was profitable and respected. They dealt mainly in grain (rye, wheat etc.) and soya beans from South America. About 10 people were employed in the firm.

	, , ,
Mayer Book jun.	2 18 or a Mr. Sesprel 18%
Mahlenfabrikate	Frankfurt a. Mr. S. Syrel 18 91
	pr 9/3. 81.
	pl 913.8"
Elu	
Cu	Liministani Lieto.
Christogool.	Lingarmifani, Sich.
11111	
6	
2/1	ing brakfriftings and them foffiffer
01110	e 6 . Senter town now were 15 iffer
Mutarifamousir	based ninghty atew many grant to feet
Enger gas moras	is, for bith in our valeyard uniform
in I hilm Pring	the french willigen Program, - and
118 100	1 La Designation
grando & Minustry	in for bishe is on buligelf Uniforty the frage wifegen Bying and grigaiffe
Sin for a Dring welf.	freedow Kopten bill Inot Topocoping
gi suburfinais.	Ja factioned
	Simon Bock
	(Mayer Bock's John)
	9()
	mig fratigue. borist un, it fratis y en. borist un, it fratis y en. borist un lieun book, galistig son til, in unten mofe fast fin sonker afre morn francist kaffinistet, bustog agen Ix son. leid 14 81.
1. Efabristo surga	y mug frattigan.
1 & Leimon Wholing	will am interior
Oligapi, 3 Lainmit 6 g and g. Maril 87.	111111111111111111111111111111111111111
2 3 Can mind 6 gan	flis " I am limon took, galitly soon til, in
Ing. ou	unles mote Just gir pankes a find own
9. Mgne 81.	Jean Baffirdingt, In Syagen Ix
9. 1	follow frankto wielto north live observed
and a free in	9 · 1 at 22
Jumself. sorts	ent 1 81.
Gelweit 600 amy nony	ralofytum Ofo garmay Johnson ;
1 11 to 5 has farmas y	List 94 81. And of Jaimet flowing ; Ofab. of & Common of garge I aby found new.
Culture and 25 mills	of MP
Williagnolum,	A.

Application from Simon Bock, to change his national status from Hessian (Hessen-Darmstadt (Lich)) to Prussian (Preussen (Frankfurt)) 8th April 1881⁸³

Simon married **Bertha Löwenthal**, daughter of Mayer (Maier) Löwenthal and Regina Kahn on 7 August 1881. Born on 17 Dec 1860 in Wiesbaden. Bertha died in Frankfurt/Main, on 26 Dec 1926; she was 66.

They had the following children:

- 1. Manfred Mayer (1882-1956)
- 2. Julius Jizchak (Pepi) (1883-1975)
- 3. Alice (1888-1982)



Julius and Manfred

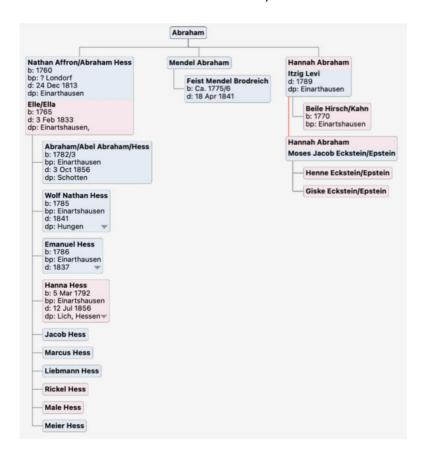


Manfred, Alice and Julius

Simon Bock and Bertha Löwenthal's descendants are described in Volume 2.

Family Hess: Hannah's Paternal side

Simon Bock's [23] wife Hannah, who was the daughter of Nathan Hess and Ella (Elle) Meier, came from the town of Einartshausen, 20 kilometres to the east of Lich.



Einartshausen



The Jewish community of Einartshausen

The first recorded Jewish presence in Einartshausen is in 1706, and at its peak in 1861, the Jewish population was 69 (16% of the total). The Jews of Einartshausen were largely ritual slaughterers, cattle dealers, scrap dealers, shopkeepers or dealt in property. The community maintained a synagogue and a mikveh. Although a Jewish school was established at some point between 1752 and 1766, the presence of a teacher was sporadic.⁸⁴

According to Dr Brumhard,⁸⁵ who lived in Einartshausen from 2000, and who worked to preserve the Jewish past, the synagogue was in use till the early 1930s. The interior was wrecked during the *Reichspogromnacht* in 1938. From about 1940, it was used as an agricultural outbuilding. The synagogue was demolished in 1964. There is a memorial plaque

on the village's community building.





Einartshausen Synagogue and street, historical photos, with thanks to Dr Brumhard



Einartshausen Synagogue, 1960s prior to demolition in 1964, with thanks to Dr Brumhard

The Jewish cemetery of Einartshausen is located north-east of the village, on the right side of the road to Schotten, on a small hill on the edge of a forest. Its age is not known; the oldest preserved tombstone dates from 1742. In 1886, the cemetery was extended. In 1938 many gravestones were smashed as part of *Reichspogromnacht and* were reassembled after the war. The key can be obtained from the *Bürgerbüro* in Schotten.

In 1780 the local clergy complained that the use of a Shabbat 'Goy' was almost like slavery, but after obtaining various opinions, the Count decided that these services to Jews on Sabbath should continue to be permitted.⁸⁶

The Jewish community of Einartshausen 87

The records prior to Nathan's arrival in Einartshausen show that despite the requirements and agreements of the Einartshausen Jewish community, not all the members complied. Some preferred to attend synagogue services in nearby Schotten and refused to pay the community fees, others did not want to pay for their children to go to school, whilst others refused to pay for the teacher. In 1760, the local government agreed to appoint a *Vorsteher* (leader of the community) and a *Baumeister* (treasurer) to help deal with the disagreements. In 1764, the community laid down their duties and rights. This was signed by Nathan's future father-in-law, Meyer Wolf [Ein-152]. (See below).

In May 1787, the court clerk reported that the *Vorsteher* Meyer Wolf [Ein-152] had approached him with a problem and a suggestion. Some Jews, although they were presently in Einartshausen and not travelling, would not attend the synagogue service, which (for the bulk of the prayers) needed a quorum of ten men. In June, the government ordered that in future, community leaders could punish the Jews who deliberately stayed away. The names of particularly recalcitrant men could be written down on a black board, and they could be punished a maximum of 5 guilders. ⁸⁸

Fines were easily acquired. In June 1815, Nehemias/ Nehm Bach[Ein-2], filed a complaint against the *Vorsteher* Elieser Michel who had fined him 1 guilder because he had carried the Torah in the synagogue, which he was not allowed. Nehm explained that he had bought the right to carry the Torah at an auction the day before the Feast of Tabernacles. Elieser countered that this right did not apply to 'half-holidays', but only to Sabbaths and 'normal holidays'. Gerson Katz [Ein-52] said that Nehm had the right to carry the Torah, but that he should not have picked it up himself, rather it should have been placed in his arms. Moses Eckstein [Ein-23] thought that only boys were entitled to carry the Torah on that day. The fine was reduced to half a guilder.⁸⁹

As will be seen, from these and other examples below, the impression from the records is of a rather quarrelsome lot! To an extent this is understandable, as the Jewish community were dependent on each other, but were also fighting for their existence, economically and societally, which, when the outside world was somewhat hostile, must have led to a lot of extra tension.

Further, it is clear from the records, that numerous representations were made to the authorities for a reduction or ending of the requirement to pay *Schutz*, protection money. Numerous excuses were given, but illness and age were principally used with varying results.

The economic importance of the Einartshausen Jews

The Counts of Solms-Rödelheim received income from the Jews in their area from a variety of sources. The first was protection money, *Schutzgeld*. However, Einartshausen was regarded as a remote village, and thus not attractive economically. On the other hand, the tax was far less than in more lucrative places, and so Jews were still drawn to live there. A *Shul* (synagogue) tax was paid for permission to hold religious services. This had to be paid even if there was no quorum of ten men, the number of men prescribed for holding a full service, and no services could be held. A further tax was the varying amounts Jews had to

pay to slaughter cattle, sheep and goats.

Fines were another source of income. These were numerous, and both the Jews and their neighbours were fined for misdemeanours such as insulting someone, crimes connected with wood including unauthorised entry and behaviour in the forest (e.g., breaking off branches), and stealing crops in a field or garden. Many were specifically aimed at the Jews, for example infringements of the restrictions on the Jews on Sundays. If they quarreled or insulted each other in synagogue, the leaders punished the misconduct with fines. Half of these had to be paid over to the rulers.

The Count also collected the annual fees from the Jews who had received concessions (distillery 10 guilders, bakery 15 guilders, flour trade 3 guilders, sale of kosher wine 3 to 5 guilders, and sale of Rhenish brandy 1½ guilders).

However, Hanno Müller concluded that overall, the income from the Jews, compared to the taxes paid by Christian residents, was rather insignificant.

The legal situation of the Jews in Einartshausen

Once *Schutz* and the right to marry/residence had been obtained, as long the request for renewal after three years was submitted, the fee paid on time, and the applicant was able to feed his family, the family's position was reasonably secure.

The rule of law was of course used to deal with misdemeanors and unpaid taxes etc. In addition, there were many disputes and sources of friction, and the arbitration of the court was frequently used.

Respecting Christian Sundays and holidays

Jews were severely constrained on a Sunday, and it was safer to stay at home. Working or being caught working was also forbidden. A severe penalty was imposed if a Jew went *across a field* on Sundays. The pastor was particularly rigorous in checking on the Jews and would send two senior churchmen to visit Jewish homes and report every small infringement to the Count.

Requests to visit friends in neighbouring areas on Sunday were refused. Additionally, Jews travelled long distances to sell in markets, or for example, buy goods in Frankfurt. It would have been advantageous if they had been able to load their wagons on Sundays and be on their way. A further reason was that customs officers were not on duty on Sundays, so they might avoid the special customs duty payable by Jews in some areas. Requests to allow this were made in 1761. The court clerk was amenable, but the pastor said Jews 'should stay in their homes and remain silent'. ⁹⁰ Further requests were made in 1764, by Löw Wolf [Ein-145] and his brother Meyer Wolf [Ein-152] and in 1771. The November 1771 request was signed in Hebrew by five Jews including Meyer Wolf [Ein-152], but as ever, was refused.





1771, Request by five Jews, Zalman/Salomon Joseph [Ein-72a], Meyer Wolf [Ein-152], Meyer Joseph [Ein-150], Liebman and Baruch Sachs(?) to load their carts and leave for market on a Sunday.

Music and leisure

The Jews of Einartshausen appreciated music, as can be seen from the numerous requests for permits for musicians to be present at weddings. In 1764, having musicians perform for the inauguration of the new synagogue was not allowed, but by 1780, Hanna, [Ein-123], donated a plaque with the Ten Commandments and it was carried, under great fanfare from the house across the public road to the Schul [synagogue] with instrumental music. The Pastor protested, but the Count authorised the music as the event was taking place on a Christian working day. In 1799 and 1802, young Jews were allowed, once a fee had been paid, to employ musicians for their pleasure and entertainment for a few days. The records show that Nathan's son Abraham raised the required amount. It is nice to feel that just sometimes Jews were allowed to enjoy themselves.

Unemployment, illness and death

There were however periods when the breadwinner's income fell sharply, for economic or health reasons, or their death, and the protection money could no longer be paid. Scribes, on payment, would help petition the administrators. Requests for amelioration were often rejected, and goods or clothes might be seized and auctioned. Families were evicted and forced to roam the countryside as destitute, begging Jews. The records show that not all Jews submitted calmly; some were caught hiding money, removing goods to another location, or fleeing at night.

The following is an illuminating example detailed by Müller.⁹²
Leißer Katz [Ein-142], who had paid his protection money of 8 guilders for 18 years, fell ill in 1765, could no longer trade, or generate income and fell behind with the protection money. The court clerk seized a box of white linen and clothes, whereupon his wife complained that there were no shirts for the children. The court clerk was ordered to collect the debt in installments. His wife went to beg in Frankfurt's Judengasse and must have returned with some money as she paid 5 guilders and received some garments back. In 1770, the debts had grown to 52 guilders (Schutz payments, rent and tax for firewood) plus 10 guilders owed to the Jewish community. As a result, the household goods were seized and auctioned off, and in October 1770 the family was expelled from Einartshausen. The auction yielded 24 guilders leaving a residual debt of 28 guilders. The court clerk learned by chance from a Jew that the Leißer's seat in the synagogue was worth money and the Jewish

community was asked to auction it, but no one made a bid. The next Jew to be offered Schutz was requested to pay for the seat but refused! Finally, the Jewish community was told to pay, and the court clerk boarded up the seat. (It is doubtful if this actually happened). In 1773, the Jewish community requested that the 8 guilders they were paying annually to discharge the debt could be waived. Just because they had made such a request, the two Jewish leaders were fined 3 guilders each.

Unmarried mothers

The authorities became involved in the pregnancy, called 'impregnation', between Rifke from Storndorf, and Henle Heyum[Ein-116] from Londorf, respectively Nathan Hess' maid and servant. This account exemplifies how tough it was to get justice for an unmarried mother. Not only that, but the mother herself was liable to being fined.

On 22nd March 1805, 24-year-old Rifke was questioned in Einartshausen by two officials. She said she had been pregnant for 18 weeks (since mid-November 1804) and the father was fellow servant Henle Heyum who had persuaded her to sleep with him by promising to marry her. She agreed to pay any fine that may be due. Two days later, Henle was interviewed and testified that he was 29 years old and denied the 'impregnation' he had 'never had to do with her' and the marriage 'he knew nothing about it'. Rifke seems to have returned home to Storndorf and failed to turn up to a further summons in August, as a result of which the clothes she had left in Nathan's house were confiscated. In April 1806, Rifke informed the officials that she could not have attended the appointment because she had just given birth, however as the baby was still alive and could not 'remain without a father', she asked for a date for a new hearing. In August, Henle confessed that he was the father but stated that he was penniless, supported himself by selling goods provided by others and promised, if he had the means, to marry Rifke. In September, Rifke requested that as Henle had acknowledged his fatherhood and the marriage claim, he should now be ordered to marry her and reimburse her expenses and the child's alimentation. The records then show that Henle was sentenced to pay 5 guilders annually for the child up to the age of 14 and, if he came into better financial circumstances, he should marry Rifke and reimburse her for the legal costs. Both also had to pay a fine of 15 guilders each. When it was confirmed that Rifke had paid her fine, her clothes were returned to her.

The wealth of certain Einarthausen Jews and house and land ownership

Jews were allowed to own property. Nathan Hess owned two houses and Meyer Wolf one house. The payment of a potato tithe is also proof that Jews, such as Nathan and Meyer also owned land. Despite the remote location, Einartshausen Jews were able to become relatively wealthy though fate often intervened. Nathan was the wealthiest Jew in Einartshausen, and his wife's father, Meyer Wolf was also wealthy.

Londorf

It is most likely that Nathan Abraham Hess came from Londorf, 28km northwest from Einartshausen.

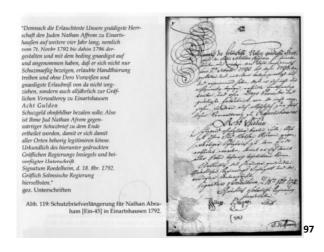
The first records of a Jewish presence in Londorf are from the seventeenth century. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the village belonged to the Nordeck zur Rabenau lords who, from 1650, had the right to admit Jews to their domain. The cemetery was first mentioned in 1722 and was located to the south of the town. The gravestones were desecrated in 1940, 1947 and 1965 but the cemetery still exists and can be found alongside the Christian cemetery. In 1838, at its peak, the Jewish population was 103, consisting of approximately 13% of the total population. In 1933 they numbered 40. By 1838, most Londorf Jews were cattle dealers, butchers or peddlers. It is not known when the synagogue on Allendorfer Strasse was inaugurated. The interior was destroyed during *Reichspogromnacht/ Kristallnacht*, in November 1938 and pulled down after WW2. 94

The closest one can get to Nathan's ancestry and place of origin is from the description Feist Mendel [Ein- 13] gave himself. Feist came to Einartshausen in 1802 and stated in 1808 that he was the son of Mendel Abraham from Londorf and that Mendel was Nathan Abraham's brother.

Nathan's father was almost definitely called Abraham (according to Jewish tradition sons are named 'ben' (son of) plus the name of their father. The 'ben' is often dropped in official records but is found in Jewish community records and gravestones). However, no one of this name has been found to date.⁹⁵

Again, according to Jewish tradition, Nathan's oldest son Abraham [Scho-59], born in 1783, was most likely named after his grandfather, who must have therefore already died.

Nathan, (who adopted the surname of Hess, as required in 1808,⁹⁶) possessed a *Schutzbrief*, (protective charter) which was extended in 1792 by the Rödelheim government. This extension was in the name of Nathan Affron. Affron was thus his official name, but he was also known as Nathan Abraham.



Nathan Hess' Schutzbrief, extension, 1792

Nathan Affron (Abraham) Heß/ Hess [Ein- 45], (1751 – 24 December 1813), and Ella Meier, (1765/6 -2 March 1833), both from Einartshausen

Nathan in Einartshausen

Generally, if a Jew applied for protection in Einartshausen, then, provided he had a good reputation, knowledge of German, was legitimate, could prove he had the necessary assets and also could pay the first amount of protection money, he would receive his right to residence, which in turn allowed him to marry an Einartshausen Jewess and start a family.

It seems as if Nathan had met all these requirements as he (recorded as Nathan Affrom) paid 12 guilders *Schutzgeld*, protection money, from September 1779 to February 1781. The archives contain the record giving him permission to marry Ella from Einartshausen, the daughter of the *'Jew Meier Wolf'* [Ein -152], on 7th November 1780.⁹⁸ It therefore looks as if Nathan arrived in Einartshausen at least one year before his marriage. Ella was fifteen when she got married and we do not know if Nathan came specifically to marry her, or if they were introduced or even met each other later. In all likelihood they were introduced, especially as both parties came from wealthy families.

Nathan continued to pay the annual *Schutzgeld* tax of 8 guilders for thirty years, until 1811/12.

Nathan's life in Einartshausen

Nathan was a man of several trades. As a butcher, in 1803/04 he paid taxes for a permit to slaughter one cow, thirteen calves and one goat. As a *Landesproduktehändler*, trader in agricultural products, he offered the highest bid at auction for peas which the local lord bought. In September 1807 again he made the highest bid for *Hühnerfrucht* (chicken feed?). He also sold *Ellenwaren* and was noted as a *Handelsmann*, a merchant/trader.

Nathan was the wealthiest Jew in Einartshausen and his wealth, which increased from 1500/2000 Gulden in 1802, to 6000 Gulden in 1808, was over threequarters of the total wealth of the rest of the Jews of the town. He owned and insured two houses, numbers 76 and 77, both consisting of two floors and a stable. He replaced the stable of house 76 with a barn. Nathan also paid potato tithes and owned land (fields).

On 1 May 1801, Nathan was appointed as *Vorsteher*, head of the Jewish community, for an initial period of three years by the count's government. Elieser Michel [Ein-70] and Gerson Katz [Ein-52] complained about him in March 1805 and demanded that he be replaced. Their demand was refused, and they were told that the local administrators had chosen the most suitable person. Nathan was probably regarded as the most 'suitable' as he was the wealthiest Jew and could potentially be forced to pay taxes or fines on behalf of those who could not afford pay them. In a delicate world where residency and other Jewish rights were nonexistent, all the community were responsible for each other. The role of *Vorsteher* was tricky, needing diplomacy and confidence as well as financial resources. Nathan imposed fines, tried to settle disputes, and also complained about his fellow Jews to the local authorities. But he was also recorded as requesting legal assistance on their behalf. Records found by Hanno Müller regarding the *Judenvorsteher* Nathan Abraham Hess:

1801, Nathan reported a dispute in the *shul*, synagogue, between Löser Michel [Ein-70] and the cantor Mayer Abraham [Heinemann Mayer, Ein-115].

1804 - Nathan delivered an account of the punishments he had imposed and handed over 4 guilders and 17 kreuzers to the authorities. 103

1805 - Elieser Michel [Ein-70] sued Nathan because he had punished him with a guilder because he had not, although he had been at home, come to the synagogue as the tenth man to make up the quorum. As a witness, Nathan cited the *schulklepper*, person who knocked on doors to get men to prayer, Joseph Isaac [Ein-131].¹⁰⁴

1805 Nathan was responsible for the calculation and collection from the Jewish community of 'war' taxes, presumably connected with Napoleon's campaigns.

1808 - Gerson Katz [Ein-52] sued Nathan, who wanted to impose 174 Pletten on him. 105 1808 - Gerson Katz [Ein-52] sued Nathan because he had punished him with a penalty of 30 cruisers.

1813: Gerson Katz [Ein-52] was appointed Baumeister (treasurer) by the district government, but Nathan had taken away the key to the box with the Jewish community's documents and cash, whereupon Gerson Katz asked to be replaced and proposed Nehm Bach [Ein-2] as his successor.. Nathan Hess rejected the latter on the grounds that he could not write (German?). Hanno Müller found this was incorrect as other documents showed Nehm Bach was able to do the accounts.

Nathan is also mentioned in some personal legal cases regarding contesting and defending commercial debts and having fines imposed on him. Infringements were a hazard of daily life for Jews, and non-payment of fines comes up frequently in the records.

Records found by Hanno Müller regarding the fines paid by Nathan Abraham Hess:

1781/82: Nathan Affrom had to pay a fine of 3 guilders "because of missed night watch". He had not done his share or provided a night watch for 14 months. 107

1785/86: Nathan Abraham paid a "civil penalty" of 3/4 guilder for failing to renew his letter of protection in time.

1785/86, and 1789/90: he had to pay a fine of 1/2 guilder for each year because again he had not renewed his letter of protection on time, his "*inadmissible apologies*" were not recognized in 1789/90.

1805/06: "According to the decree of 29 April 1805, Nathan Abraham and Gerson Katz [Ein-52] were punished by 3 guilders for mutual injuries [insults] each"; Aron Samuel [Ein-38] was fined 5 guilders for insulting Eliezer Michel [70] and Nathan Abraham.

1811/12, Nathan Abraham was punished with 3 guilders for employing a servant and a maid without permission.

Debt: 1798/99: He paid immediately the outstanding debts for the forest funds in 1795/96 and 1796/97.

Nathan was in a position to employ servants. In 1801, he employed Hirtz Nathan [Ein-120a]. By 1804, he employed four servants, and they, together with his sons visited the markets in the surrounding communities with his goods. The servants usually received a certain proportion of the profit they made. One of these was Henle Heyum [Ein-116] from Londorf. Nathan also employed a maid Rifke from Storndorf, whom, as discussed above, was made pregnant by Heyum.

One of Nathan's sons, Wolf Nathan married Sara Kahn, (widow of *Hofjuden* Jacob Buch), and moved to Hungen, 15 km away from Einartshausen. In a book written by his descendant John Hess, it is suggested that the origins of the Hess family may be from Eastern Europe: Being of Jewish origin, the family were obliged to leave eastern Europe in the 17th century, where opinion had turned against them. They were not alone, of course. It was the common experience for Jewish people to be so hounded. In fact, their particular group came to Germany and were settled by a Count near Hungen in the Duchy of Hesse. Initially they had no surnames, but as one of the conditions of acceptance, were obliged to take one. They chose the name Hess after the Duchy. 110

This is the only reference I know to the family's origins in Eastern Europe. 'Near Hungen' must refer to Einartshausen. Hanno Müller has said that given his extensive research, he has never seen reference to East Europe and the proposition remains conjectural. ¹¹¹ I would also question whether the surname was used prior to 1808 when acquiring a surname was compulsory. The main possible source for further information could come from the Solms-Rödelheim accounts, *Jahresrechnungen über Einnahme und Ausgabe*, in which the annual amount paid for *Schutz*, protection, by Jews is entered.

Nathan died aged 62, and although he is most probably buried in the cemetery in Einartshausen, his grave is no longer identifiable.



Entry in the Einartshausen records of the death of Nathan Abraham on 24 Dec.1813

Nathan married Ella (Elle) Meier the oldest daughter of Mayer Wolf [Ein-152].

To make their wedding a more joyous occasion, on 7 November 1780, Ella's father sought permission to allow him to have musicians at his daughter's wedding. He wrote to the government in Assenheim that his daughter, who is celebrating her wedding today, could not be consoled because she was not allowed to have musicians even for a single day. His request was made very urgently, by Expressen. His offer of 3 guilders for permission was accepted and one hopes Ella enjoyed her wedding day.

Ella has a mention in the records as the Rödelheim government condemned 'the wife of protected Jew Nathan Abraham', because she baked bread on Sundays. She was fined 20 cruisers.¹¹³

See below for further details about her family and ancestors.

Ella's father's will and position after Nathan's death

Ella's father's second wife, Jüdel, had two children from their marriage and Ella contested her father's will, which was opened in December 1800, as invalid. The guardians of her two stepchildren argued that Ella had 'secretly stolen a considerable part of the inheritance before the opening of the will'. Ella took an oath on 24.11.1802, to decide the case, but the guardians objected. In 1806 the case was still not decided, but one of the two children, a boy, had in the meantime died. Ella wrote on 26.08.1806 '.... I see myself already subjected to 5 years of litigation to obtain a paternal inheritance ...'. She complained that the guardians had been given far too long to reply to the writ she had submitted. She demanded that the files be submitted to the law faculty of the University of Giessen for a decision, but the Justice Office refused. The final result is not known.¹¹⁴

After Nathan's death in December 1813, Ella had several dependent children including four under fourteen and one only four years old. She was left with a considerable fortune and resisted paying the taxes that the *Vorsteher* Elieser Michel had allocated to her. On On 23 May 1814 Ella complained that the basis was 3,000 guilders. This had been calculated from the assets of her deceased husband of 5,000 guilders minus the 2,000 guilders that her son Emanuel had received on the occasion of his marriage in 1811. She wrote *'The man is dead, trade and earnings no longer exist'*, in addition, she still had small children, a slender body and had to pay other *'heavy taxes'*. ¹¹⁵

Her fortune in 1816 was 2500 guilders and in the *Musterliste* of 1818 she was described as a *Handelsfrau*, female trader/merchant, and had the considerable assets of 3000 Gulden and also a one-and-a-half-acre garden. The impression is of a lady who could fight for her rights and evidently was able to carry on her husband's business.

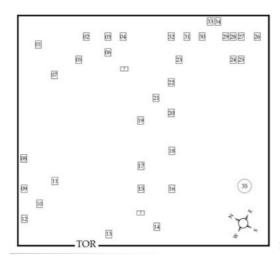
Ella died on 2 March 1833, aged 68 in Einartshausen in her own house, number 76.

Ella's gravestone is still standing in the Jewish cemetery in Einartshausen (Number 1). The stone can be found at the top right-hand side.



The gravestone, translated from Hebrew reads:

Modest she was in her words... her inner being was glorious like the king's daughter.
She was a graceful and wise woman and her soul ascended to the heavenly heights.
All the days of her life she walked a straight path keeping the commandments of the Lord.
Mrs Ella, daughter of the venerable Meir, wife of Chawer Nathan died and was buried on Monday, the 15th of Shevat [5]543.



Plan of the gravestones in the Jüdischen Friedhof Einartshausen

117

Nathan and Ella's children were recorded in the *Musterliste* of 1818. More information including their descendants, can be found in the volumes by Hanno Müller.

1. Abraham/Abel (1782/83 – 3.10.1856) [Scho-59]

Abraham paid taxes on his assets when he moved to Schotten in 1807. He was a cattle, wool and cloth dealer. His first marriage was to Krönle Jehlson and his second was to Hanna Stern.

In his capacity as head of the *Landjuden*, Abraham Hess addressed the Grand Ducal Government in Giessen on 27 March 1819. He announced that the Jewish teacher in Einartshausen had died at the end of 1818, and the three richest families had chosen a teacher for their children. They refused to let him also teach the children of the poorer Jews if they did not participate in paying his salary. The poorer Jewish families insisted, however, that the salary be paid according to the ratio of the parents' assets, which the rich refused. Abraham suggested that the Jewish community should hire the teacher. The Grand Ducal Government called on the judicial officer to 'seek to unite the Jewish community, in the spirit of kindness, but in the event of non-agreement to report back'. (Further information is missing). ¹¹⁸

Abraham Hess' grave is in the Schotten Jewish Cemetery, (No. 15). 119

2. Wolf Nathan, (25.05.1785-31.08.1841) [Hungen-45]

Wolf married Sara née Kahn from Hungen in 1809/10. She was the widow of *Hofjude* Jacob Buch [Hungen 18] who was purveyor in some respect to the court of the princes and counts in Braunfels. Wolf paid for two days of dance music at his wedding.

Wolf became the *Vorsteher* in 1815. He traded in *Ellenwaren*. The list of different materials he sold was extensive and included ready-to-wear shirts. Other popular goods would no doubt have also been for sale. Wolf employed assistants and also his son in his shop. His 'shop' might have been a room in his house, but it would have been his assistants who would have peddled the goods in the countryside around.

Both Wolf and Sara died in Hungen, and their gravestones are in the Jewish cemetery. (His: Hu-090 hers: Hu-091). 121

3. Emanuel, (Manel), (1786-4. 5.1837) [Scho-60] and Lich [59]

Emanuel was fined in 1798/99 for crimes he had twice committed in a field. Emanuel married **Edel née Bock, daughter of Samuel Löw Bock [Lich 20]** in September 1811 in Lich. *Und in den Schutz nach Schotten gezogen,* and she brought her protected status with her to Schotten, [Lich Heiratseintrag].

On 8 October 1808, Gerson Katz filed a complaint against the *Vorsteher* Nathan Abraham who had fined him ½ guilder for speaking during prayers. The reason for this was that Gerson's eldest son Salomon had taken his father's booth in the synagogue, while Gerson used the booth of Aaron Samuel [Ein-48], who had not been in Einartshausen all summer (because he was imprisoned). Nathan 's son Mannel then asked Solomon to leave his father's booth. During the prayers, Gerson pointed out to Mannel that it was his booth and that his son was very much allowed to stand there. For speaking during the prayer, Gerson was fined. In the course of the investigation, six witnesses were heard and the age and relationship to the plaintiff and defendant of each witness was asked and recorded. The court costs were paid by the plaintiff, so Gerson Katz did not receive justice. 122

4. Hanna (5.3.1792 - 12.7.1856) [Lich-23]

Hanna married Simon Bock [23] in 1810. See earlier.

5. Jacob, (1794-?)

In 1805/06 two servants, were punished (it seems with a prison sentence) 'because they deliberately and maliciously made the son of the *Vorsteher* Nathan Abraham drunk with brandy and therefore placed him in mortal danger'.

On 03.01.1824 Jacob signed (as *Vorsteher*) the application of the Einartshausen Jewish butchers for a concession for slaughtering.

6. Marcus, (1797-2.6.1866) [Ein-46]

Marcus' Hebrew name was Mordechai. He was the *Vorsteher* in 1827. He married Jette Strauss. His gravestone stands in the Einartshausen Jewish cemetery (No 9).¹²³

7. Liebmann, (24.4.1800-30.7.1859). [Ein-47]

Liebmann/Löw Hess filed a complaint on 14 August 1815, against the Vorsteher Elieser Michel [Ein-70], who had punished him with a fine of ½ guilder. Liebmann said that he was about to kiss the Torah at the synagogue altar when Simle [Simon], the son of Gerson Katz [Ein-52], pushed him so hard that he fell off the platform. He then slapped Simle in the face. Eliezer replied that he had only noticed that Liebmann Hess had slapped Simle in the face, whereupon Simle's teeth had bled, so he had punished Liebmann. The government office decided that Liebmann was punished with 1½ gulden and had to pay the legal costs of 32 kreuzer. 124

Liebmann married Berthe/Bette Kahn in 1832. His gravestone stands in the Einartshausen Jewish cemetery (No 10) 125

- 8. Rickel, (1804-?), married in 1829 [Ein-77]
- 9. Amalie/Madel/Malchen, (1806-29.7.1867). [Ein-3] and [Hungen-19] Amalie married Aron Buch in 1832. Her gravestone stands in the Hungen Jewish cemetery, (No.159)¹²⁶

10. Meier, (1809-?, USA) he married Helena Fetterer in 1847 [Ein-48] (not listed in the *Musterliste*)

Jacob and Liebmann, as was 'common' for wealthy young men, both avoided military service by arranging for someone else to take their place.

Hanna Abraham [Ein-23], was most probably Nathan's sister

Hanno Müller having studied the existing records intensively has only found one person, a widow, with the name Abraham: Hanna Abraham. He concluded from the evidence that she was most probably Nathan's sister.

Hanna's second husband was Itzig Levi (1742 – 1789) [Ein-123], and although it looked like a good match, things took a bad turn soon after their marriage. Itzig came from Schmalkalden, and initially was a servant. In 1766/67 he refused to be 'poached' by Mayer Wolf [Ein-152] and continued working for Israel Joseph [Ein-50b], a successful businessman, till at least 1771. It is not clear how he amassed what became quite a fortune as in 1772 he was accepted as a (single) protected Jew in Einartshausen, so he must have possessed the necessary assets. That year he accompanied Leib Wolf [Ein-145] on a journey to the "Hessen-Land", but two years later quarreled with him and became self-employed.

In 1774, Itzig married Hanna Abraham, the widow of his first employer, and gave her a bridal gift of 300 guilders. She seemingly married a successful businessman who had become wealthy quite rapidly. He traded in high-quality silk scarves, stockings and ribbons as well as expensive lace. These were fashionable articles, aimed at the wealthier feminine clientele. Experts estimated his stock at about 270 guilders, equivalent to two houses.

However, the same year as his marriage, Itzig returned from a journey exhausted, inadequately dressed for winter without shoes and stockings. He accused his wife of adultery and wanted a divorce. She agreed but was worried he might sell the house she had inherited from her first husband. In front of the court clerk, Itzig went for his wife's throat and was restrained by the clerk. He was declared insane by the Jewish community, but remined their responsibility. No one wanted him in their house, and as he could become violent, he was placed in shackles (tied to the bed) and families were allocated a sum of 5 guilders per month to take him in. The costs incurred were paid from his confiscated property. 'Treatment' did not help and in January 1778 he was examined and diagnosed with incurable 'hereditary melancholy'. When the existing cash was exhausted, the court clerk 'brought the sick man to his wife's house and demanded that she take care of him'. By

contract on 16.04.1778 the following was determined: First of all, she, the wife, supplies her unfortunate husband Itzig Levi with food and drink and must provide him with makeshift clothes for life, and so that he could not harm himself or others. She had to supervise him (in chains) His assets and specific goods were handed over so she could become (?remain) a trader. In addition, she had to pay his annual protection money ... as long as he lives. 129

Itzig's fortune was set at 800 guilders when his money, along with his and Hanna's goods were confiscated by the court clerk to pay for his expenses after his illness. Hanna's goods, listed in 1777, was estimated at only about 45 guilders, and contained fewer articles made of silk, but did include velvet, slightly cheaper lace, cords and buckles for men's shoes.¹³⁰

From 1778, and for the next three years, Hanna, unusually for a woman, and as contractually agreed, paid 8 guilders *Schutzgeld*. After, at her request, the amount was reduced to 6 guilders which she then paid for 8 years. To have been able to pay a man's normal protection money indicates that she must have been a successful trader and businesswoman.

Additionally, in 1780 the "Schutzjudin Hanna" could afford to donate a plaque with the Ten Commandments to the synagogue. In a solemn procession it was carried from the house across the public road to the shul [synagogue] with instrumental music under great fanfare.

Hopefully Hanna's final marriage to Moses Jacob [Ein-23] in 1789 was happier and certainly she subsequently had two more daughters, Henne and Giske.

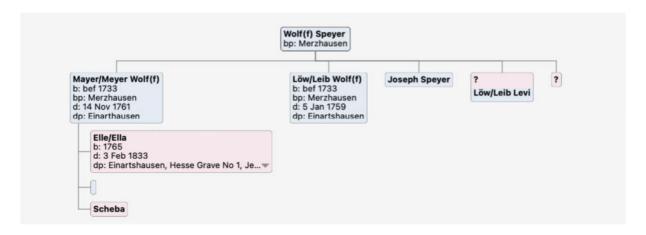
Summary of the Records from the *Staatsarchive, Hessen, Darmstadt* regarding Nathan Hess and his family.¹³²

(The description 'protected Jew' or 'Jew' and 'from Einartshausen' have been removed in the translations)

vHStAD, R 21		Calculation and payment of war taxes by the Jews of Nieder- Wöllstadt Fauerbach and Einartshausen by the Jewish head of the
J, 2931	1805 - 1806	community, Nathan Abraham
		Report of the Office Einartshausen over a dispute between the son
HStAD, R 21 J,		of a Jente and the Gershon Katz, [Rabbi] over payment of school fees
3358	1801	in the presence of Aberle, the son of Nathan Abraham
HStAD, R 21 J,		Imposition of a fine of 3 fl. on Nathan Abraham (Afron) because he
3762	1782	owes 14 months from not have guarded/kept watchat night.
HStAD, R 21 J,		Extension of the grant of protection by the government Roedelheim
453	1792	for the Jew Nathan Abraham(Afrom)
HStAD, R 21 J,		Establishing the obligation to pay duty on the sale of chandler goods
2244	1804 - 1804	by Moses and his wife, opposed by Nathan Abraham.
HStAD, R 21 J,		Complaint by Elle, wife of Nathan Abraham over the protracted
3212	1804 -06	lawsuit as to the validity of a paternal will and inheritance.
HStAD, R 21 J,		Charges for hiring Jewish musicians at wedding celebrations,
2917	1799 - 1801	especially by and Abel, son of Nathan Abraham.

HStAD, R 21 J, 2086 HStAD, R 21 J, 459	1804	The government Assenheim decision on an appeal by Nathan Abraham against Feist Mendle about the payment of merchandise. Applications from and Nathan Abraham for his 18-year-old servant Nathan Hertz to be issued passports for their commercial transactions.
HStAD, R 21 J, 3556	1802	Imposition of a fine of 20 cruisers on the wife of Nathan Abraham by the government Rödelheim because she baked bread on Sundays. Decision on a request for imposition of fines from the head of the Jewish community Nathan Abraham, on a dispute during the feast
HStAD, R 21 J, 3072	1801	of tabernacles between the Jew Michel and chazan Abraham Mayer, which led to an annoying disturbance of worship.
HStAD, R 21 J, 3776	1799	Summary of crimes by local Jews including Nathan Abraham to do with crimes associated the fields.
HStAD, R 21 J, 3364	1805	Decision on an appeal by Leser Michel against the head of the Jewish community Nathan Abraham Imposition of a prison term by the Government Assenheim on
HStAD, R 21 J, 3788	1806	Hanna, the daughter of Nathan Abraham who was accused of having stolen salad from the garden of the Church Seniors Lind. Complaint of Elle, the wife of Nathan Abraham, with the Government Roedelheim against the procrastination of her case
HStAD, R 21 J, 3216	1806	against the guardians of her stepsisters over the paternal inheritance.
HStAD, R 21 J, 3785	1805	Election and appointment of Jewish master builder Nathan Abraham in 1801with confirmation of the government Rödelheim.
HStAD, R 21 J, 3074	1801 - 1805	Election and appointment of Jewish master builder Nathan Abraham in 1801with confirmation of the government Rödelheim. Imposition of a fine of 5 fl because the head of the Jewish
HStAD, R 21 J, 3784	1805	community, Nathan Abraham, and Eliezer Michel scolded Aron Samuel as a <i>Agbaronschem</i> (thief).
HStAD, R 21 J, 2239	1798	Promissory notes of Simon Levi repayable to Nathan Abraham

Family Wolf(f) Speyer: Hannah and Ella's Maternal side



Wolff Speyer [Ein-164] from Merzhausen

Wolff Speyer was described as a *manorial merchant*, supplier of goods and produce to the Count and lived in Merzhausen in *Kurhessen*, Electoral Hesse, 330 km from Einartshausen. There is no evidence of him having lived in Einartshausen.

Wolff is first mentioned in the records in 1733 as having received a *Schutzbrief* in Merzhausen. ¹³⁴ In 1743, and 1744, he is recorded as the only Jewish house owner. His taxable capital shows that he was the richest Jew in Merzhausen. His son Joseph's descendants used the family name Spier. ¹³⁵

Wolf's wife's name is not known. In 1737 they are recorded as having three sons and two daughters.

- 1. Löw/Leib Wolf(f) [Ein-145] (before 1733 5.1.1759). Married 1791
 - 2. Mayer Wolf(f) [Ein-152] (before 1733 14.11.1761). Married 1801
- 3. Joseph Speyer (before 1733 -?). He received a Schutzbrief in Merzhausen in 1764 and was not mentioned later.
- 4. Daughter born before 1733. Married Löw/Leib Levi [Ein-67] in 1771 in Einartshausen.
- 5. Daughter born before 1733

Mayer/Meyer Wolf/Wolff [Ein-152] (1731 – 1801) father of Ella (1765/6 -2 March 1833)

Mayer Wolf came from Merzhausen. He was accepted as a protected Jew in Einartshausen on 4th May 1761. Later that year, on 14th November, he married for the first time. His second marriage was in 1793/94. The distance between the two villages is far, and perhaps the bride and groom's fathers, both the wealthiest in their respective villages, met at a fair. Certainly, Mayer had the necessary resources to pay for his *Schutzbrief*.

The name of Mayer's first wife is not known, but Müller proposes from the evidence, that Mayer's first wife, and the mother of Ella, was the daughter of **Shmuel Levi [Ein-74]**, see below.

Although Mayer had not planned to have musicians at his first wedding, the Rabbi told him that musicians *belonged to a wedding* and the permit was applied for retrospectively. The musicians played for half a day and their fee was one hat of sugar and six lemons.¹³⁶

In 1775/76 he was referred to as *Hesse Mayer Wolf* and in 1785 by Schmul Levi [Ein-74] as "*Hesse Mayer*". From 1772 to 1789, Mayer is recorded as a *Landesproduktehändler*, dealer in agricultural produce. His main occupation was trading in the local markets together with his brother, Löw Wolf. The nature of the goods they sold is not known, but according to the entries in his brother's passport, Löw traded in *Krämerwaren*, groceries. In February and November 1772 Löw (and Mayer?) were in Nentershausen, and in March 1773 in Ziegenhain. As discussed earlier, Mayer and his brother were several times refused permission to pack up their goods and leave for market on a Sunday.

Mayer seems to have been very successful. In 1776 he employed three servants, and in 1798 he also employed a maid. The records show the money he paid for slaughtering goats and lambs, but these seem to have been for his own use, which is regarded as an indicator of wealth. A further indication is that his daughter Ella married the wealthy Nathan, and she would have received an equivalent dowry. In 1763, he was renting, but by 1773 he owned his own house. As he paid *Kartoffelzehnt*, the potato tithe, he must have also owned a field.

Mayer was a signatory in 1764 to the first rules of procedure of the Jewish community. For 39 years until 1800/01, he paid the normal annual *Judenschutzgeld* protection allowance of 8 guilders. In 1773, together with Meyer Joseph [Ein-150], Mayer was responsible for the *Armenkasse*, the poor relief fund. In 1774/75, 1785 and 1787 he was Vorsteher. In 1791 he requested a reduction in the Jewish levies from the administration.

Mayer was fined for several infringements. Records show he paid his debts immediately: 1763/64: fine of 1/2 gulden because he had *gone on a Sunday without permission over the field* together with six other Jews.

1766/67: fined due to his trying to poach Itzig Levi [Ein-123].

1769/70, punished with 5 guilders for insults against Abraham Gerson's [Ein-0] wife, who was punished with 1½ guilders because she had reprimanded.

1771/72, fine of ½ gulden, because of a committed garden crime in the garden of Joh. Christian Zimmermann.

Other mentions in the records:

On 19 February 1772, the court clerk asked for a delivery to the Count's kitchen of 'one hat of sugar and six lemons' following the weddings of Löw and Mayer Wolf's sister and Schmuel Levi's [Ein-67] second son [Hirsch, Ein-120]. This request is evidence of the rarity of these two commodities in the interior of Germany and the ability of Jewish traders to source them. As the three men said they could not procure lemons, they offered two 'nice' roasts of veal. The calculations show that they would have saved money this way, especially as Schmuel Levi slaughtered calves himself. The arguments went back and forth - there was too much danger of damage to the roasts during the long journey from Einartshausen to the Count's residence in Rödelheim, so a live calf was demanded. This did not suit the men who made many excuses. Finally, they reverted to offering to procure and deliver the hat of sugar and the lemons (twelve owing from the two weddings) at the Easter Fair in Frankfurt, as had

been demanded at the beginning and this was agreed. ¹³⁷ One hat of sugar and six lemons was also the due for circumcisions.

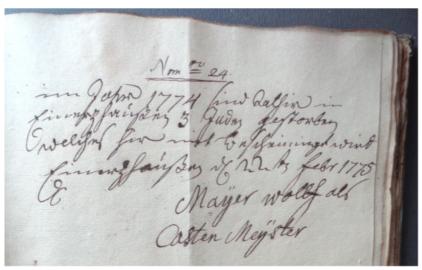
An auction was held in 1770 of the household goods that had belonged to Salomon Hirsch [Ein-48a]. He owed money after he had left to live in Frankfurt and his goods had been seized. Mayer acquired a spinning wheel, a stone jug, some wax, a *Kröppgen*, a tripod, a quilted skirt and a patterned tablecloth.

In 1771, there was reference to an eight-year lawsuit following accusations by Wolf Joseph Weyl [Ein-179] against the brothers Löw and Mayer Wolff. The accusations included a dispute over a deposit and massive *abuse* by the brothers.

1774, Mayer Wolf was interrogated in connection with the escape of Meyer Joseph [Ein-150].

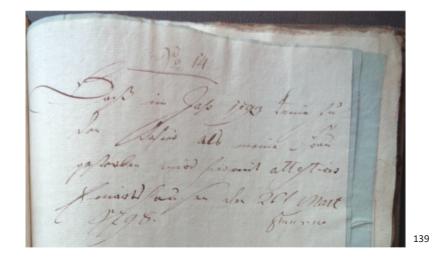
1776, the *Vorsteher* Shmuel Levi [Ein-74] complained that Mayer together with Salomon Joseph [Ein-72a] had tried to tear down the *women's stalls* in the synagogue, whereupon he had threatened him via the rabbi with a penalty of 5 guilders. Mayer wanted to saw a piece off a bench, which the rabbi had prevented by sitting on the bench. Shmuel Levi further reported that Mayer Wolf currently held three servants, when only one servant was allowed. He demanded that Mayer pay 4 guilders to the lordship and 3 guilders to the Jewish community for the servants he was not allowed to keep. If Shmuel Levi was indeed the father of his wife, it cannot have been a very harmonious relationship.

1779/80, *Jud Meyer's* wife paid a fine of 1½ guilders. She had described Conrad Gref's wife as a *whore*.



Maÿer Wollf wrote in his capacity as *Casten Meÿster*, treasurer, of the Einartshausen Jewish Community that three Jews had died in 1774

138



In 1793, Mayer Wolf reported that no Jews had died in Einartshausen that year, apart from his wife. It was not written in his hand, but signed by him in Hebrew, bottom right.

Mayer's wife was born around 1736 and died in 1793. They married around 1761

Mayer and his wife had the following children

- 1. Ella/Elle (1765? 3 February 1833) [Ein-152.1], [with Nathan Hess, Ein-45]
- 2. Scheba [Ein-52] (1770 approx. 1795)
- 3. Child, 1767, Meyer Wolf pays his/her funeral fee
- 4. Child, 1767, Meyer Wolf pays his/her funeral fee
- 5. Child, 1774, Meyer Wolf pays the funeral fee
- 6. Son (1777 -?), [Ein-138k] At his circumcision: one hat of sugar and three lemons
- 7. Son
- 8. Son

After the death of his first wife, Mayer married a woman about 40 years younger, Giedel/Jüdel Unna (about 1771 to 1856) who bore him two more children.

- 9. Daughter
- 10. Son who had died before 1806

After Mayer's death, these two children's guardians lent 1100 guilders from their inheritance to the municipality of Einartshausen. See above for Ella's contesting of her father's will and illegally appropriating the children's inheritance. Jüdel moved in 1801 from Einartshausen to Nidda (in 1802), and married the widower Abraham Katz [Ein-166].

Further Information about Löw Wolf [Ein-145], brother of Mayer:

Löw was accepted as a protected Jew in Einartshausen in January 1759. In 1760, he had a fortune of 150 guilders, indicating he had probably married well. Löw and Meyer traded together as described above. In September 1788, Löw's wife asked the authorities to waive the protection tax as her husband could no longer act because he had been suffering from vertigo for 16 years. Her son, who had previously supported her, could no longer do so and moreover they had been deceived by unfaithful servants, and they had fallen into poverty. The protection money was waived, and when she was widowed in 1791, she was no longer required to pay protection money. As Müller points out, the couple must have managed to save enough to provide a significant dowry for their three daughters.

Family Levi

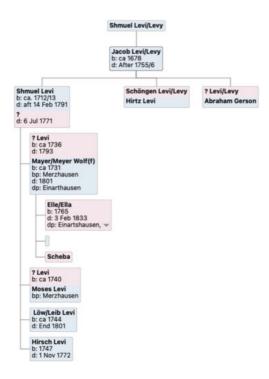
Ella's possible maternal grandfather

The name of Mayer's first wife is not known, but based on the evidence, Müller proposes that Mayer's first wife, and the mother of Ella, was the daughter of **Shmuel Levi [Ein-74]** (1712/13 -?), the son of **Jacob Levi/Levy [Ein-128]** (ca. 1678 – after 1755/56).

Müller's argument is as follows:

In 1769/70, Mayer Wolf paid a fee "to allow his sister to stay with him for a year (in document 8 from 20.11.1769 it says: "because of his wife sister"). Accordingly, and since Shmuel Levi [Ein-67] also wanted to be liable for the payment of the visitor's protection money. Müller concluded that the visitor, Moses Levi's [Ein-159] wife, was the daughter of Shmuel Levi and the sister-in-law of Mayer Wolf. That the wife was the daughter of Shmuel Levi [Ein-74], is also supported by the fact that at the time of the marriage the groom and the father of the bride were the richest Jews in their respective communities. 140

As this remains conjectural, the many records Müller details in his Einartshausen volumes have been summarised.



Jacob Levi/Levy [Ein-128] (ca.1678 – after 1755/56)

Jacob's Hebrew name according to his signature on an agreement of the Jewish community, was Jacob ben Shmuel Levi.

In 1732/33, Jacob paid *Schutz*, protection money, for the first time. Later he made differing claims about how long he had been resident in Einartshausen: in 1741 for 11 years (that is since 1730) and in 1746 for 21 years (that is since 1725).

In April 1741, Jacob applied for his Schutz to be reduced. He wrote that he no longer ran his

own household after the death of his wife a few years previously, that he lived with his son, and that he depended on the charity of others. The application was rejected, and it appears that he paid in 1742. However, in 1743, the bailiff reported that he wanted to have his protection withdrawn because he was working as a servant for his son. These applications carried on, and aged 68 in 1746, he turned again to the county government saying he was so dilapidated that he could no longer earn anything and asked for his protection to be completely or partially waived. By October 1746, he had been expelled from Einartshausen. Evidently, he paid up because of age and dilapidation he could no longer go around in exile. From then on the amount was reduced, but as his son Shmuel Levi was regarded as a wealthy Jew by the authorities, he was required to vouch for his father's reduced protection money. If he did not agree, the bailiff was authorised to arrest him.

Jacob's wife's name is not known, but from the records they had at least three children:

- 1. Shmuel Levi, also Samuel Levi [Ein-74] (ca. 1712/13 after 14 Feb. 1791)
- 2. Schöngen [Ein-172]. Married Hirtz Levi [Ein-50a] as a widow in 1746. (In 1761, he referred to himself as Shmuel Levi's brother-in-law)
- 3. Daughter. Married Abraham Gerson [Ein-0]. (In 1774/75 he referred to himself as Shmuel Levi's brother-in-law)

Shmuel Levi, also Samuel Levi [Ein-74] (ca. 1712/13 – after 14 Feb. 1791)

His Hebrew name was Shmuel ben Jacob Levi. He was also called Samuel Levi.

As Shmuel's father only attained *Schutz* in either 1725 or 1730, Shmuel would have been too young to have been born after this, as he was accepted as a *Schutzjude* in August 1739. Müller therefore argues that Shmuel was not born in Einartshausen.

Shmuel was a baker in Einartshausen and was also a flour merchant and was recorded as *making a living*. In 1761, he was the richest Jew in Einartshausen. In 1778, he applied to the county government for a waiver of his protection money as the bakery had been leased to someone else, and he had lost his income. He also stated that the court clerk had taken flour from his household and placed it in the manor house and then informed Shmuel that the flour had been stolen. These losses, and the fact that he was aged 65, were the reason he could no longer pay his protection money. The request was rejected because it was not written on stamped paper and the corresponding report of the court clerk was missing.

Three years later Shmuel reapplied. He was now 68 and had paid his protection money for 44 years and was too poor to pay. In his report, the court clerk confirmed the information, but pointed out that Shmuel still owned a house, could afford to pay, and could also be supported by his son. Moreover, the clerk argued that there were many poor Jews in Einartshausen who, if Shmuel succeeded, would use his case as a precedent. As a result, Shmuel was only exempted from paying 3 guilders in protection money for the year 1780. In 1781/82 he once again paid 6 gulden *Schutz*; after that he was no longer named as a protection money payer. He was still alive in 1791.

Shmuel is also recorded as having been a butcher (information taken from the liability to pay the *Schlachtgelt*, slaughtering tax) and probably also a cattle dealer. Shmuel paid for far

fewer animals than his son Löw [Ein-67], who was more clearly a butcher by profession.

Shmuel owned a house and his son Hirsch [Ein-120] was punished with a fine in 1771, because on a Sunday he had re-erected the vine that had blown down from the house.

Shmuel held office within the Jewish community. He was treasurer in 1761/2 and *Vorsteher* in the 1760s. As he still remained *Vorsteher* in 1776, the Jewish community requested the local authorities remove him in favour of Löw Wolf [Ein-145], (Mayer Wolf's brother).

Shmuel's many fines and record of taxes paid can be found in the Einartshausen volumes. Shmuel Levi's wife's name is not known. However, as *Shmuel Levi's wife*, she was fined and otherwise mentioned in the records in her own right:

1748/49: Hirtz Levi's wife [Ein-50a] insulted Shmuel Levi's wife and spat in her face and was fined one guilder.

1742/43: Shmuel Levi's wife was fined $\frac{1}{4}$ guilder because her goats had damaged Johannes Bley's young fruit trees. She was fined another 10 albus because she had told the owner of the fruit trees to kiss her 'A...'.

1754/55: In a dispute between Leißer Katzen's wife [Ein-142] and Shmuel Levi's wife, the administrator Weyl pawned and auctioned off a kettle to Shmuel Levi's wife. The county government punished Weyl 5 guilders for his unauthorised action. The kettle had to be returned and Leißer Katz's wife was fined 2 gulden, Shmuel Levi's wife 3 gulden.

1756/57: Shmuel Levi's wife carried a load of brushwood home and was fined. 1769/70: The wives of the heads of the Jewish community, the *Judenvorsteher* Shmuel Levi and Löb Wolff [Ein-152] were fined 5 guilders in Oct 1769. Meyer Joseph [Ein-150] had not paid the required 3 guilders to the Jewish community on the occasion of his mother's death [Ein-165]. The two wives had therefore appropriated the deceased mother's bed. However, the value of the bed (10 guilders) considerably exceeded the debt of 3 guilders: hence the fine.

Shmuel's wife's died 6th July 1771. They had at least three children:

- 1. Daughter who married Mayer Wolf [Ein-152] (ca. 1736 1793)
- 2. Daughter (ca. 1740 -?) who married Moses Levi [Ein-159] in Merzhausen around 1765.
- 3. Löw/Leib Levi [Ein-67] (ca.1744 end of 1801). *Schutz* 1771. He was a butcher and married Mayer Wolf's sister.
- 4. Hirsch Levi [Ein-120] (1747 1.11.1772). He died 9/10 months after his wedding and having received *Schutz*.

The following is another insight into the many requests made by the Jews of Einartshausen to avoid paying protection money, this time from Shmuel's son Löw:

At the beginning of 1791, Löw asked for a remission of protection money from the court. The court clerk reported to the court that Löb Levi was a man in his prime, about 42 to 43 years old, who could very well earn his bread if he were not so lazy. He had his own house and a 17-year-old son who already dealt in groceries. His rich father-in-law in Stadtlengsfeld helped financially and although his (second) wife had gout in her hands and feet, she could

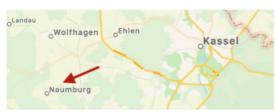
still trade in coffee in the house. His father was still alive, had been without protection for many years but was trying to earn a living. Löw Levi's 5-year-old child could not walk properly, had been crippled by his mother. According to other Jews, his wife was the driving force in the effort to get the protection money waived. The official in charge suggested punishing him with half a day's imprisonment, *because of his impertinent demand*. This suggestion was not followed, and rather Löb received a reprimand from the office and the protection money was not annulled.¹⁴²

Family Bachrach

Ranchen Bock's parents were Marcus and Beschen who were born in Neukirchen and died in Neustadt. 143



Neukirchen, Neustadt, Ottrau, Oberaula and Kirchhain are all very close to each other and 50 -70 km. to the north of Lich. Neustadt is 64 km south of Kassel.



Naumburg is 26 km southeast of Kassel

Neukirchen

The following is an excerpt and translation from the entry for Neukirchen in the LAGIS website. 144

Neukirchen is a small town in the Knüll-Gebirge. From the High Middle Ages, it belonged to the *Grafschaft Ziegenhain* as an official seat and from 1450, to the *Landgrafschaft Hesse*, the Landgrave of Hesse. Jews are documented in Neukirchen from the middle of the 16th century. In 1638 there were three Jews. There are incomplete records, but it is assumed that after this period there was a continual presence of Jews in the town.

The *Hessische Judenstättigkeit* mentions four Jews in 1744,¹⁴⁵ Arnsberg mentions 28 adults in 1777.¹⁴⁶ In 1816 there were nine Jewish families with their spouses and children as well as a bachelor and the teacher's widow with five children, some of whom were adults.¹⁴⁷

This small group of Jews must have had somewhere for prayer during the 18th century. It is known that prior to the synagogue being built in 1831, there was already a school and prayer room in a rented private house. At that time the community possessed just one Torah scroll, one *megillah*, scroll of Esther, and one silver *Yad*, a liturgical object used to point to the place when reading from the Torah.

The inside of the synagogue in Untergasse, today's Brauhausgasse, was devastated during the November 1938 *Pogromnacht/Kristallnacht*. Furniture and religious objects were burnt in the nearby market square according to a witness. ¹⁴⁸ The building was subsequently acquired by the city and served as a camp for French prisoners of war. After 1945, the building was bought privately and is now a residential building. Opposite the synagogue, a small memorial stone has been erected to the 52 victims of the Holocaust: nine people who

were deported and murdered and the other Neukirchen Jews who fled but still became victims of the National Socialists.

The community used a *Mikveh*, ritual bathing pool, in the cellars of the homes of Judmann and Haune Bachrach. These were halachically acceptable by the religious authorities as running ground water was used. However, in the 1830s, the secular authorities deemed these to be unhygienic and sealed them up. Judmann Bachrach pointed out that his pool had not been in use for twenty years. In the merchant Haune Bachrach's house the pool was located in a corner of the cellar next to the potatoes and the oil and vinegar barrels. To remedy the situation, Isaak Bachrach was granted permission, in 1835, to run a pipe from the brewing pump to his house to establish a generally accessible pool for women. For this, every year, he had to pay 3 Reichsthaler to the town treasury. After 1836, the ritual bath was located in the basement of the synagogue. How it was supplied with water and for how long it was used is unknown.

From time immemorial the Jews in Neukirchen buried their dead in the cemetery in Oberaula. ¹⁴⁹ In 1844 they established their own cemetery. ¹⁵⁰ The first burial there was of 25-year-old Esther, wife of Selig Wallach and daughter of David Wallach, who died on 28 June 1844. ¹⁵¹ The last burial was that of Julius Bachrach, who died on 5 October 1940.



Neukirchen 1656 [eBay]



Neukirchen 1930s [Neukirchen town website]

Neustadt (bei Marburg, Hessen) 152

The first records of the presence of Jews in Neustadt was around 1630.¹⁵³ In 1812, around the time when Marcus Bachrach moved there, (his and his wife Esther's first child was born in 1811), there were 24 families.¹⁵⁴ By 1827 there were 82 Jewish inhabitants.

Until 1857, the Neustadt Jews prayed together with the Jews from Momberg in Neustadt. The Jews of Neustadt lived mainly as traders (livestock, groceries, fabrics, shoes) and merchants (hardware, colonial and manufactured goods); there were two matzo bakeries. In 1773 a barn in Bogenstrasse was converted into a synagogue. It also housed a teacher's flat, a room for religious instruction and rooms for the accommodation of begging Jews. By 1857, the Neustadt synagogue had become too small for the growing communities and the Momberg Jews built their own synagogue in their town. At that time the chairman of the Neustadt community was Elias Bachrach.

In 1887, a new synagogue on Marburger Straße was inaugurated with room for 119 people. According to oral tradition, the *Mikve*, ritual bath, was around 1827, in Marcus Bachrach's house, number 72 rather than in the synagogue. ¹⁵⁶

A Jewish cemetery was established in 1828 and there are about 140 gravestones still standing. Previously Jews from Neustadt and from communities 20km around, (including Kirchhain) were buried in Hatzbach. In the latter only 42 gravestones have survived the Nazi era, the oldest of which is from 1840. 157



Neustadt, Junker Hansenturm, 1962

The research

Walter Bentley [Birnbaum] and Hans and Gini Bacharach, researched the Bachrach family and were in touch with each other in 1995. Walter's research was conducted as a young man in the 1930s in Frankfurt. These early genealogists did not have access to the world of the internet or to state archives. It is unclear if any original documents were seen, certainly no sources were cited and the family tree they proposed was scanty.

The spelling of Bacharach/Bachrach varies over time and place. Greve has pointed out that the name appears to have been written as Bacharach until 1777 and subsequently without the 'a' as in Bachrach. An example is Aron Bachrach's handwritten signature when he was a

witness at Esther's birth in 1809. As the later official records are for Bachrach, this is the version that will be used here. Other names, amongst many, that vary over the records, are Aaron/ Aron and Unna/ Una.

Originally, I came across Barbara Greve's name on the LAGIS-Hessen website, where her research is extensively quoted. My initial approach for help with the Bachrach tree was very kindly considered and her subsequent research is invaluable. Since 2017 we have been in contact, debating the inconsistencies in the records and in the early research referred to above. Not only has Barbara made very helpful comments and corrections on my initial text, but returned to the original records once again, and produced the following outline of the Bachrach ancestors, for which I, and the members of the family, are extremely grateful. Additional material was found in Alfred Schneider's book about the Jewish families of Kirchain that included a Bachrach family tree.¹⁵⁸

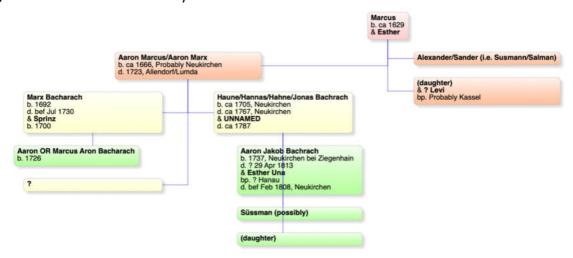
The sources for the following are many and are documented by Barbara Greve but not all detailed here. In general, the information comes from scattered sources in the Hesse Marburg State Archives - Hesse State Archive Marburg - from the stocks 330 Neukirchen, 40 a Rubr. 16, Kataster I Neukirchen,17/2, 49 d Neukirchen, Slg 1, Prot. II Neukirchen, 5, 180 Ziegenhain, 33 b and others.

Barbara Greve is a well-deserved winner of the Obermayer German Jewish History Award in 2010. Over many years she has painstakingly researched the small Jewish communities that surround her home in the Kreis Ziegenhain region of Hessen and documented the local Jewish victims of the National Socialist period as well as publishing histories of the communities.^[1]

I have included in square brackets information from the early researchers so that this information does not get 'lost'.

Marcus Bachrach's Ancestors

As researched by Barbara Greve, Dec. 2022. Original in German. Amended by Marion Davies



The earliest Bachrach ancestor that can be established is **Marcus**, who was first mentioned as being in Neukirchen in 1654 and 1657. At that point he did not have *Schutz*, a letter of protection. He was only offered *Schutz* in Neukirchen by the Landgrave of Hesse on December 14, 1663. Marcus was therefore probably born around/before 1629, since no Jew received *Schutz* before they were, at the earliest, aged 25. Marcus dealt in wool in Ziegenhain county. He was married to **Esther**. Esther might be identical to the woman who died in 1698 and was named as Aaron's daughter on her tombstone in the Oberaula cemetery.

The couple had at least three children:

- a) Unnamed daughter
- b) Alexander/Sander (i.e. Susmann/Salman
- c) Aaron Marcus/Aaron Marx

Marcus had died before 1683, when Esther was mentioned in a document dealing with her daughter's dowry: *The widow Esther, gave her daughter, 300 fl (guilders), which Christian von Romrod holds*. This unnamed daughter was married to a Levi from Cassel (Kassel).

Alexander/Sander (i.e. Susmann/Salman), was involved in a dispute over trade in gold.

Aaron Marcus/Aaron Marx was born in/before 1666 as he must have been at least 25 years old at the time of his marriage. Also, his father Marcus had received *Schutz* in 1663, and only after then would have been allowed to marry Esther. Aaron's given name supports the idea that his grandfather (Esther's father) might have been called Aaron and had already died by the time of his birth.

[Information from previous earlier family research with no source given: Aaron visited the graves of his parents in 1724. This implies that he lived elsewhere. In 1709 he asked to settle in Allendorf (not far away), where he died. His widow went back to Neustadt.]

Aaron was first recorded as **Aaron Bachrach** in 1697 when he received a so-called *Wollenpass*, wool pass, which allowed him to trade in wool. In addition to his other trading

activities, this trade must have been quite lucrative, because in the following year, 1698, he appears as Aaron Marx in a list of payments of *Silbergeld*, a tax, from the richest Jews in the Neukirchen county. In 1701 Aaron is again mentioned in connection with a large payment of *Silbergeld*. He is also mentioned repeatedly in the lists of tax estimates.

On July 14, 1714, the Jew **Arendt** (Aaron Bachrach) left the area. The document states that he still had a house in Neukirchen with a barn and a garden. There is also mention of three adult children, Marx, Haune and one other.

Aaron Bachrach apparently moved to Grünberg, where he owned a house, but then moved to Allendorf/Lumda. He died there in 1723. In 1726, there was a fire in Allendorf/Lumbda, which probably destroyed the house. His wife was ruined (probably by the fire) and returned to Neukirchen with a son (probably Haune), where she previously had had protection. She, and probably Haune, moved to her son Marx's widow's house. She traded in cattle and all kinds of small goods. However, she did not want to pay a widow's protection money (half the normal amount in Neukirchen), since she maintained that her trade was only on commission.

Marx Bachrach was most likely the oldest son. He was born in 1692 and married Sprinz, who was born in 1700. The couple probably lived in their father's house in Neukirchen after their marriage. Their 1 ½ year old son was named Aaron Bachrach (born 1726) in 1728. Aaron Marcus Bachrach, (he was erroneously called Marcus Aaron Bachrach in the records), was first mentioned in the archives in 1724 when he complained about the customs officer Klug. In the same year he received *Schutz* in Neukirchen.

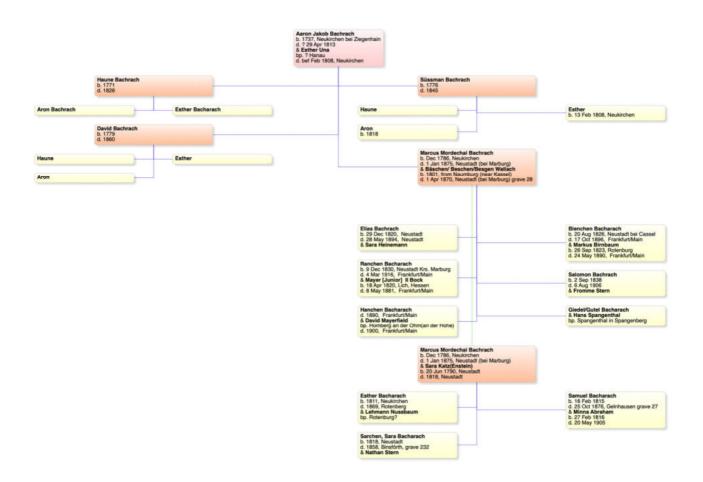
Marx Bachrach was not at all economically successful, because in 1729, one third of the protection money was waived. He probably died shortly thereafter, because on July 27, 1730, his younger brother, **Hannas/ Hahne/Haune Bachrach**, asked for protection in Neukirchen. These names all appear in documents from 1744 – 1777. The letter on the occasion of his request for protection, states that his father Arendt (i.e., Aaron Bachrach) left Neukirchen and moved abroad on July 14, 1714.

In 1733, **Hannas** Bachrach, who was born around 1705, still did not have a letter of protection, but the Landgrave of Hesse had promised to issue it on June 6, 1733.

At the same time, another Jew from Ziegenhain applied for protection in Neukirchen. However, this was strictly rejected by the city authorities. They argued that there had always only been two Jews in Neukirchen, and it would be preferable to accept Hahne Bachrach, (his name in the document), because his father had a good reputation and it was expected that his son would also pay the various taxes in full and on time!

Hannas was only mentioned again in the Hessian Jewish community records in 1744. The (Christian) writers probably changed the name Haune/Hahne/Hannas to the name Jonas Bachrach, which made more sense to them.

Hannas Bachrach died around/before 1767, because in that year his son Aaron Bachrach received his own letter of protection as a subsequent protected Jew.



The cadastre¹⁵⁹ of the city of Neukirchen only names his widow in the handing notice of 1775/77: Hannas Bachrach rel., 62, runs the trade in Ellen goods with her two children. She gets the goods from Frankfurt and Cassel and goes to the fairs once a year. Also has a small livestock trade. Annually, she sells goods for 200-300 Reichstaler there.

Hannas' widow owned her husband's house, land register entry No. 50, in Neukirchen. It was described as a simple house in the Obergasse between George Clos and Valentin Roth, and worth 80 Reichsthalers. The associated barn and stables were later shown in the land register to be worth 30 Reichsthalers. She died in/before 1787, because in that year the family house passed to her son Aaron, who formerly lived in number 89.

In addition to the first-born son Aaron (see below), Haune Bachrach had at least two other sons and a daughter about whose whereabouts nothing is known. The two sons *helped their mother with the trade*. Since only the first-born son was eligible to receive protection instead of the father, the other sons would have had to leave Neukirchen.

It should be noted that there is no definitive documentary evidence that Hannas/Haune was the father of Aaron, born in 1737. The evidence is purely based on the first names of the grandchildren (patronymic naming).

[Information from previous earlier family research: Debel/David and Süssman and are included as queries in the family tree, as it is possible that they were known to family lore]. In the same cadastre, the first-born son of Haune Bachrach, 38-year-old **Aaron Bachrach**, born in 1737, is already named as an independent protected Jew with his own household of wife and two children. We also learn that he had two sons and employed a (merchant)

servant and a maid. Aaron Bachrach trades mostly in yard goods and sometimes cattle. He goes to the fair once a year in Frankfurt and Cassel and buys the goods which he sells for 300 to 400 Rthlr. In the Jewish tax register it is entered as 75 Rthlr.

Aaron had *Schutz* from 1767. He owned the house with the land register number 89. His monthly contribution (tax burden) was estimated at 10 albuses, and he paid the full amount of 12 reichsthalers and 16 albuses annually in protection money. In 1787, he inherited his parents' house. It was transferred to his son Süssman in 1808. Aaron was called upon to pay additional taxes to the customary local taxes. This made him the highest taxed Jew in Neukirchen.

Aaron was married to **Esther Una (Unna)**. She probably came from the religiously highly respected Una family from Hanau.

Esther Una died before February 13, 1808, the date on which Ester was born to their son Süssman. In February 1809, Aron, aged 70, acted as the witness to Ester's birth. Aron's signature in the official birth records was Aron Bachrach. The Neukirchen branch of the family used this surname in the years that followed. Aaron Bachrach was last mentioned as a widower in a list of the Israelites of Neukirchen in 1809. His date of death is not recorded anywhere though he had definitely died by 1816. 160

The couple had five children. All sons were named son of Aharon Jaakov on their tombstones.

- 1. Haune (1771-1826)
- 2. Sara (1773), married Jeist Wallach from Ottrau
- 3. Süssmann (1776-1845)
- 4. David (1779-1860)
- 5. Marcus (1786-1875)

3. Süssmann Bachrach

Süssmann's Hebrew name was Elieser.

Kämer Süssmann Bachrach, (Kämer is a merchant of daily goods), married Fradchen Samuel, who was born in 1782 in Schotten, in 1801.¹⁶¹ Fradchen died in 1824 and was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Oberaula.

Fradchen Bachrach's gravestone in the Jewish cemetery in Oberaula 162

Süssmann called his first-born son Haune after his grandfather, as his father was still alive. The protection letter of Süssmann Bachrach dates to 1 January 1816. It referred to his having already settled in Neukirchen in the Westphalian period. The couple had five children. 163

Marcus Mordechai Bachrach, (8.8. 1786, Neukirchen -1.1. 1875, Neustadt) and Beschen \Besgen \ Barchen\ Besge\ Wallach (1802, Neukirchen – 1.4. 1870, Neustadt)

Marcus was born in Neukirchen (Knüll)¹⁶⁴ and then moved to Neustadt Krs. Marburg, Hessen where his children were born and where he and his wife were buried.¹⁶⁵ His Hebrew name was Mordechai.

There is no documentation showing when Marcus moved to Neustadt, though it could have been on his marriage which was sometime before 1809 (1808?), as the couple never lived in Neukirchen. [Greve]. Beschen, Marcus' second wife also came from Neukirchen.

Marcus' first wife was Sara Katz(enstein) (20.6.1790, Neustadt - probably 1818, Neustadt). She was probably a daughter of Samuel Katz (ca. 1750, Neustadt - 15.3. 1803) and Reisge (1755, Riede - 1809), widow at the time of her daughter's marriage.

Marcus and Sara had three children: 167

- Esther (1811- 1869) married Lehmann Nussbaum from Rotenburg. Buried in Rotenburg, grave no. 116¹⁶⁸ [Her father's name is not engraved on her tombstone. Additionally, she is not mentioned as a daughter of Marcus in various genealogies]
- Samuel (1815 -1876) married Minna Abraham and is buried in Neustadt, grave no. 27¹⁶⁹
- 3. Sara, Sarchen, Sarle (1818 1858) married Nathan Stern and is buried in Binsförth, grave no. 232¹⁷⁰

Samuel Bachrach is buried in grave number 27, Neukirchen. He was the co-founder of the local Bicycle organisation named 'Across Hills and Valleys'. He campaigned together with his half-brother Marcus Bachrach and Loeb Stern for voting and for being elected [?].¹⁷¹ Samuel's son Abraham (11.04.1843, Neustadt - 05.04.1918, Marburg), ¹⁷² married Jettchen, (3.2.1850, Rotenburg an der Fulda - 27.03.1887, Neustadt), daughter of Marcus Birnbaum and Biene née Bachrach.

As Sara was given the same name as her mother, it would appear that her mother died in either childbirth or soon after. Marcus must have been very keen to find a mother for his baby daughter, and he remarried **Beschen Wallach** daughter of **Wolf Wallach and Ranchen**, probably in 1818. She was from Neukirchen, his birth town.

Marcus was described as a *Kaufmann* in the death register. In a criminal trial (below) he was recorded as a *Handelsmann*.

Official records:

Criminal trial record. Charge / Offence: angeschuldigte Lizentunterschlagung, licentious accusation

Lawsuit type: Appellation. Day of decision: 05.05.1832, 11.01.1837. Person: Bachrach, Marcus. Residence: Neustadt

Handelsmann, HStAM, 261 Kriminalakten 1822-1836, B 85Bachrach, Marcus, 1832 – 1837, verz 4523949

Marcus and Beschen had the following children, all born in Neustadt:

- 1. Elias. (29 Dec 1820 28 May 1894). Buried in grave 63, Neustadt.
- 2. Bienchen (20 Aug 1822 17 Oct 1896). Died in Frankfurt am Main.
- 3. Hanchen (1823 1890). Married David Mayerfield. Died in Frankfurt am Main.
- 4. Giedel/Gütel. (18 Dec 1825) Married Hans Spangenthal, from Spangenberg¹⁷³
- 5. Beile (20 Aug 1826). Possibly married Stern and went to America¹⁷⁴
- 6. **Ranchen (9 Dec 1830 4 March 1916)**. Died in Frankfurt, buried in Rat Beil cemetery. ¹⁷⁵
- 7. Salomon. (2 Sep 1838- 6 Aug 1906). Married Frommet Stern.

The descendants of Marcus and Beschen have been helpfully researched by Schneider. The genealogy is copied below though it is not totally comprehensive.

The deaths of Beschen and Marcus Mordechai were recorded in the *Sterberegister der Juden von Neustadt 1824-1875*, the register of deaths, pages 16 and 20 respectively. Marcus is the last entry in the book!¹⁷⁷



Sterberegister, Neustadt of Beschen Bachrach born Wallach

Sterberegister, Neustadt, of Marcus Bachrach



Record of death for Marcus Bachrach, Neustadt

178

Marcus Mordechai was buried in Neustadt, Jüdischer Friedhof, grave number 37 179



Here lies an honest and sincere man; he loved the truth and was peace-loving: Chaver Mordechai, Son of Aaron Jakob. He died on 24th Tevet (1.1.1875) and was buried on the 26th Tevet. [5]635. May his soul be bound up in the bond of life

Beschen was buried in Neustadt, Jüdischer Friedhof, grave number 28. 180



Here lies the respected woman, Peschen, wife of Mordechai Bachrach.
She died on the second day of the new moon in Nisan,
[5] 630 (1.4.1870)
May her soul be bound up in the bond of life, until the resurrection of the dead, Amen.

Bachrachs buried in Neustadt as listed on the LAGIS website:

- 1. Bachrach, Abraham (1934) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 2. Bachrach, Bertha geborene Mann (1914) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 3. Bachrach, Beschen geborene Wallach (1870) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 4. Bachrach, Elias (1894) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 5. Bachrach, Hannchen (Hennel) geborene Rosenberg (1904) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 6. Bachrach, Jakob (1898) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 7. Bachrach, Jettchen, geborene Birnbaum (1887) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 8. Bachrach, Marcus (1875) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 9. Bachrach, Minna geborene Abraham (1905) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 10. Bachrach, Samuel (1876) Neustadt (bei Marburg)
- 11. Bachrach, Sara geborene Heinemann (1905) Neustadt (bei Marburg)

1. Elias, Eliyahu Bachrach¹⁸¹

According to a list of the male Jews in Neustadt and Momberg, which was probably begun at the beginning of the nineteenth century and continued for several years, Elias Bachrach, resident in Neustadt, son of Marcus Bachrach, was born on 29.12.1820 in Neustadt. 182

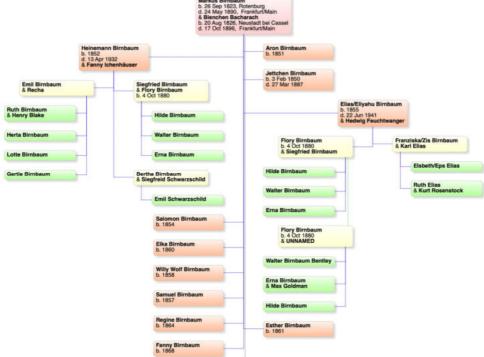
On 29.08.1850 when he was 29 years old, he married Sara Heinemann from Zimmersrode (Grave number 80), in Neustadt. On his marriage he was described as a *Kaufmann*, Elias died on 29.05.1894. (Grave number 63). His gravestone has his dates on the back engraved as 31 Dec. 1820 – 28 May 1894.

2. Bienchen Bachrach

Bienchen was born on 20 Aug 1826 in Neustadt and married Marcus Birnbaum (1823, Rotenburg – 1890, Frankfurt) in 1849. Marcus Birnbaum was the eldest son of Samuel Birnbaum and Fradchen. They had ten children:



Bienchen Bachrach (With thanks to Walter Birnbaum/Bentley, her grandson)



3. Hanchen Bachrach

On 3 Sep 1845 in Neustadt, Hanchen married David Mayerfield from Homberg an der Ohm. Hanchen and David had six children:¹⁸³

- 1. Dorah (05 Dec 1846)
- 2. Emma (15 Mar 1850)
- 3. Salomon (20 Oct 1852 1853)
- 4. Hilda (6 Dec 1855)
- 5. Elias (17 Oct 1856)
- 6. Maximilian (12 Apr 1858)

Family Wallach

Wolf was born in 1768 in Ottrau. He was a son of Salomon Wallach from Ottrau. ¹⁸⁴ In 1794 Wolf married Ranche/Ranchen\Rankchen\ Reinche\ Reinwe, from Naumburg. Ottrau¹⁸⁵

In 1662, Jews were mentioned in the village for the first time. In 1693, the patriarch Wolf Goldschmidt died in the village. He had originally, most probably, come from the Fulda area and Greve thought she had come across his name as Wolf Fulda.

In 1696 there were five Jewish families (Goldschmidt, Levi, Plaut, **Wallach** and Michel), in 1744 and 1776 eight families each. They lived there under the protection of the Landgrave of Hesse as well as the lords of Schwertzell. The choice of name for Wolf could have been in honour of the patriarch.

There is evidence that religious services, were held regularly in a private Jewish house. There is also evidence of a school in 1766, and in the same year Salomon Wallach purchased 46 pieces of calfskin parchment for the five books of Moses.¹⁸⁸

In 1835, the existing Mikveh in the cellars of the Jewish houses were sealed by the authorities. Although the construction of a replacement was demanded, the leader of the community, Salomon Wallach, (presumably a descendant of Wolf's father) pointed out the financial situation of his community as "partly too weak, but mostly impecunious". Due to their financial hardship, the inhabitants "would rather not use the bath and go to the river in harsh winters than submit to such levies." There is no information about the outcome of this dispute. 189

The Jews in Ottrau did not have their own cemetery but buried their dead in the large cemetery in Oberaula. 190

Naumburg¹⁹¹

Jewish families are recorded as living permanently in Naumburg, under the special protection of the Archbishop of Mainz, from the first quarter of the 18th century. In the annuity accounts of the Naumburg office in the middle of the 18th century, eight *Schutzjuden* are listed with their families. Ranche was born in 1778, so it is possible that one of these was her father. In 1804, the following Jewish heads of household paid *Schutz* to the local noble: Jacob Kaiser, Aron Moses, Schaft Elias, Selig Moises, Salomon Moises, Moises Kaiser, Joseph Kanter, Isac Moises. Panche's youngest son was born in 1806 and called Selig. Could this be a clue that her father was Selig Moises? The exact location of the Jewish cemetery where her parents and family may have been buried is no longer known.

Wolf Wallach¹⁹³ (1768, Ottrau- 17 May 1858, Neukirchen) and Ranche\Rankchen (1778, Naumburg - 4 Oct 1827, Neukirchen)

Wolf, in common with most of his fellow Jews was a cattle dealer and a trader in retail goods and owned a farmhouse with a stable in Neukirchen.

He received his Schutzbrief from Neukirchen on 1 January 1792.

In 1794 Wolf married Ranche/Ranchen\Rankchen\ Reinche\ Reinwe, from Naumburg (near Kassel), a distance of around 60km, when she was twentyone. Nothing more is known about her background.

Official record: *Handelsverhältnisse*, commercial conditions, of the Jews Wolf Wallach and his sons from Neukirchen, 1827-1828.¹⁹⁴

Wolf and Ranche are recorded in 1816 as having five living children.

- 1. Solomon, aged 21 (born 2 July 1795, Neukirchen)
- 2. Itzig, aged 19 (born 9 April 1797, Neukirchen)
- 3. Beschen, Besge, aged 14 (1801 1 Apr 1870, Neukirchen)
- 4. Juda, aged 12 (5 September 1804, Neukirchen)
- 5. Selig, aged 10 (born 26 April 1806, Neukirchen)

Ranche was buried on the Oberaula Jewish cemetary grave 46, on 4 Oct 1827. 195



Here lies the respected woman, a virtuous woman like Abigail.
Ranche, the wife of the honourable Wolf from Neukirchen, who died on Thursday, 13th Tishri [5]588. May her soul be bound up in the bond of life.

Wolf Wallach died on May 17, 1858. He was buried in the Neukirchen Jewish cemetery. His grave has not been recorded, but a gravestone might well still exist.

There are many Wallach's both in Neukirchen and the surrounding area including Kassel. But definitive links haven't been made to date.

The following is taken from Schneider's genealogy: 196

Family Bachrach

```
3.4: Die Genealogien der Familien in Neustadt und Momberg:
 34.1: Familie Bachrach / Neustadt:
 Aaron Bachrach oo Esther Unna (Neukirchen am Knüll)
 Sohn: 1: Marcus Bachrach oo Sara Katz (1. Ehe)
                               oo Besgen Wallach (T.v. Wolf Wallach und Ranchen)
        * Dez. 1782
                                * 1802 + 1.8. 187o (68 J.)
        + 1.6. 1875 (91 J.)
        Neustadt (Particulierer = Rentner)
 Kinder:
 1.1: Samuel Bachrach * 16.3. 1812 vgl. ff.
 1.2: Elias Bachrach * 29.12. 1820
 1.3: Binchen * 1822 00 10.5. 1849 mit Marcus Birnbaum (S.v. Daniel B. u. Friederike Rothschild, Rotenburg/Fulda)
 1.4: Hannchen * 1823 oo 2.9. 1845 mit David Meyerfeld (aus Hamburg), S.v. Abraham M. u. Giedel Moses aus
Obergleen bei Alsfeld

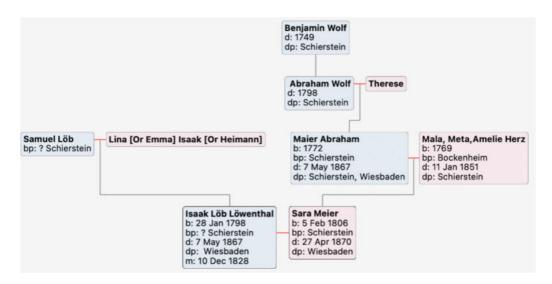
1.5: Giedel * 18.12. 1825 oo 28.1o. 1846 mit Hans Spangenthal ( S.v. Lób Sp. u. Rechel Stern aus Spangenberg)
 1.6: Beile * 2o.8. 1826
 1.7: Sarchen * 9.9. 183o
 1.8: Salomon Bachrach * 20.9. 1834 vgl. ff.
 Zu 1.1: Samuel Bachrach oo Mindel Abraham (T.v. Levi A. u. Rachel Katz (Rachel * Jesberg, T.v. Salomon K.)
         * 16.3. 1812 00 31.10. 1838 * 27.2. 1816 (Vgl. auch Josef Abraham, Neustadt 1824)
        +25.1o. 1876 Marktstr.13 +28.5. 1905
Kinder
 11.1: Aaron Bachrach * 14.7. 1839 vgl. ff.
 11.2: Sarchen * 8.9. 1841 oo 8.6. 1864 mit Meyer Strauß ( S.v. Löb Strauß u. Betti Stilling, Kirchhain)
 11.3: Abraham Salomon Bachrach * 11.4. 1843 vgl. ff.
 11.4: Esther (Emma) * 20.2. 1845 oo 25.10. 1871 mit Hermann Levi ( S.v. Jakob Levi u. Jette Herzberg)
 11.5: Levi (L&b) Bachrach * 8.11. 1846
 11.6: Jakob Bachrach * 28.10. 1848 vgl. ff.
 11.7: Settchen * 17.6. 1851 + 26.1o. 1852
11.8: Rickchen * 22.8. 1853 oo am 8.7. 1875 mit Nathan Hellmann ( S.v. Wolf Nathan H. u. Therese Oppenheimer
* zu Ebelsbach (damais 31 J.), wohnhaft Mainz)
zu 11.1: Aaron Bachrach oo 9.11. 1864 Hannchen Rosenberg ( aus Oberaula )
         * 14.7, 1839 Kreuzgasse 1 * 1845
                      dann: Markstr. 20 (später Karl Wackerbarth)
111.1: Josef Bachrach * 26.7, 1866 vgl. ff.
111.2: Bertha * 26.1, 1868 + 18.7, 1872
111.3: Leopold * 7.11, 1869 + 7.11, 1869
zu 111.1: Josef Bachrach co Adele Lehmann
          • 16.7. 1868
                    Ritterstr. 8
1111.1: Bertha * 18.2. 1894 + 8.1o. 1980
1111.2:Frieda * 29.4. 1896 Markstr. 21
1111.3: Siegfried Bachrach * 20.9. 1898 Ritterstr. 8
                                                    - 124 -
```

```
ni 11.3: Abraham Salomon Bachrach oo 14.6. 1874 Henriette Birnbaum (* 3.2. 1850, T.v. Markus B. und
        • 11.4. 1843
                                                            * 3.2. 185o
                                                                                 Bine Bachrach, Rotenbur/ F.)
        + 5.4. 1918 Marburg Marktstr. 148 (149) + 27.3. 1887 Noustadi
 Kinder:
 113.1: Bianka * 1874
 113.2: Sara * 14.4. 1875 oo 22.4. 1897 mit Adolf Kapp * 16.6. 1872 zu Hechtsheim, wohnhaft Mainz.
            für + erklärt zum 31.12. 1945 durch AG Regensburg
                                                                       (S.v. Siegfr. K. u. Babette Lorch)
 113.3: Fanni * 1. 12. 1876 00 8.2. 1900 mit David Strauß * 20.3. 1871 (S.v. Jakob St. u. Emilie Stern, Kirchhain)
 113.4: Rosa * 16.12. 1877 oo 2.8. 1901 mit Jakb Gans * 25.11. 1876 (S.v. Jakob G. u. Jette Kosch, Ffm.)
 113.5: Samuel Bachrach * 8.2. 1879 - später Marburg (Firma A.S. Bachrach)
 113.6: Adolph Bachrach * 18.7. 1880 - später Marburg (Firma A.S. Bachrach)
113.7: Willy Leopold Bachrach * 2.1. 1882 - spáter Marburg , dann Offenbach
113.8: Bella * 17.4. 1883 (für + erklärt zum 31. 12. 1945 durch AG Berlin/W.- Buch f. Todeserkl. 15528/1959)
113.9: Ludwig Bachrach * 20.7. 1884 - später Rechtsanwalt in Marburg (oo Bertha Bachrach)
113.1o: Sophia * 19.3. 1887
zu 11.6: Jakob Bachrach oo 27.7. 1880 Bertha Strauß (T.v. Baruch Str. u. Veilchen Rosenbusch, Amöneburg)
        * 28.1o. 1848

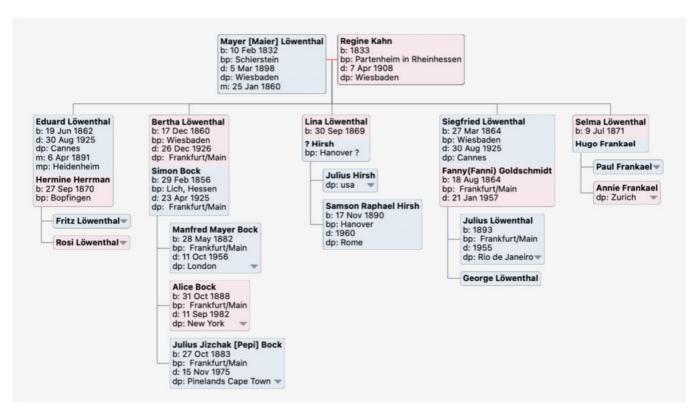
    1. 12. 1858

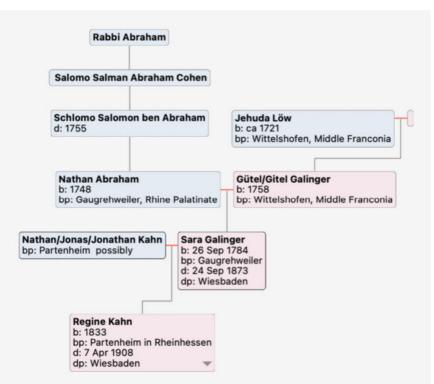
        + 15.12, 1898 Markstr. 13 (später: Hermann Blumenfeld)
116.1: Samuel Bachrach * 6.3. 1882 + 23.8. 1928
116.2: Tekla * 2.2. 1884
1163: Berthold Bachrach * 3.1. 1887
zs 1.2: Elias Bachrach oo 29.8. 1850 Sara Heinemann (T.v. Abraham H. u. Bertha Sonnenschein, Zimmersrode)
      * 29.12. 182o
                                          • 20.9. 1824
      + 29.5. 1894
                        Marbg, Str. 1 + 4.5, 1905
Kinder
12.1: Barde * 7 oo 19.1. 1874 Emil Vogel (* 7 S.v. Jakob V. II. u. NN. geb. Salomon, Mainz)
12.2: Abraham Bachrach * 21.6. 1853 vgl. ff.
12.3: Emma * 4.12. 1856 oo 26.5. 1880 mit Salomon Walther * 3.2. 1853 (S.v. Salomon W. u. Jette Stern zu
                                                                         Schlüchtern)
12.4.Ranchen (Rosa) * 27.5, 1860 oo 12.7, 1886 mit L8b Heinemann * 6.6, 1860 (S.v. Susmann H. und
                                                    Hannchen Fauerbach aus Mansbach)
12.5: Aaron Bachrach * 4.7. 1862 ff.?
12.6: Heinemann Bachrach * 17.8. 1863 ff.?
zu 12.2: Abraham Bachrach oo Bertha Mann
       * 21.6. 1853 oo ?
                                 • 6.7. 1858
       + 10.2. 1934
                                  + 16.10.1914
              Marburger Str.1
Kinder: 122.1: Bianca * 21.5. 1883 oo 22 2.1920 mit Bruno Rosenthal * 29.11. 1886 Kakwo/Westpreußen
                                                   (S.v. Louis R. u. Dete Hirschfeld in Danzig-Langfuhr)
              Amkg.: Bianka R. (Lehrerin) am 20.5. 1941 nach Roth, dann vom 15. - 31. 7. 1941 im Lager
                       Breitenau. Am 8.12. 1941 ins Ghetto Riga - dort +
                       Bruno R.: Vom 29.4. - 3. 12. 1941 im Lager Breitenau. Nach s. Freilassung am 8.12. 1941
                       von Roth aus ins Ghetto Riga - dort +
      122.2: Siegfried Bachrach * 2.2. 1885 + 15.5. 1885
      122.3: Martha * 23.8. 1886 + 8.8. 1890
      122.4: Friedrich Gustav * 17.4. 1889 ff.?
      122.5: Emmi * 9.1o. 1890
                                                     - 125 -
```

Family Löwenthal









Samuel Löb/ Löb Samuel (from Schierstein) and Lina / Bine Isaak, (7 Nov 1754, Schlangenbad – 16 March 1850, Schierstein)

Samuel Löb is the first known ancestor of the Löwenthal family, who is entered in the records as coming from Schierstein, now a suburb of Wiesbaden.

The villages

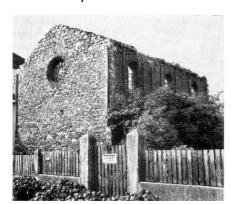


Schierstein, Wiesbaden, Schlangenbad, Bockenheim

Schierstein

The Jewish community in Schierstein was founded in the early 19th century and belonged to the Wiesbaden synagogue district. ¹⁹⁷ According to the website Alemannia Judaica, in the first half of the 19th century, services were held in a prayer room. ¹⁹⁸ This was said to have been a *cell-like*, *dull-humid room*. ¹⁹⁹

In 1853 and 1855, respectively, the municipality decided to build a synagogue and bought a piece of land in Kirchstraße (now Bernhard-Schwarz-Straße). The synagogue was consecrated In 1858 and had room for 40 men with 24 seats for women in the gallery. Count Wenzelaus Carl zu Leiningen-Billigheim donated a beautifully carved wooden stand crowned with the coat of arms of the Nassau. It had two panels and a prayer for the sovereign. However, since the government had not supported the synagogue's construction the Jewish community was in financial distress.





The Schierstein Synagogue ruins in the 1960's, and interior from before 1938²⁰⁰

In the following years several families moved away from the village, including **Maier/later Mayer Löwenthal**, as will be seen.

The Jews of Schierstein maintained a Jewish school and a *mikveh*, ritual bath, and employed a teacher, who also performed the duties of *chazzan* and *shochet*, prayer leader and ritual slaughterer. The Jewish population in 1843 was 65, in 1853 there were 14 families or households, and in 1867, 8 Jewish families.²⁰¹ The synagogue was destroyed in 1938, and in 1942 the remaining Jews were deported.

Until 1747, the Jews of Schierstein and Wiesbaden were buried in the Jewish cemetery in Wehen, north of Wiesbaden. From 1747 until 1890, they were buried in the Jüdischer Friedhof Wiesbaden (Schöne Aussicht). Several members of the Löwenthal family are buried there (see below). In 1890, a Jewish cemetery was established in Schierstein. Only one Löwenthal by marriage, Johanna Löwenthal, born Marx, 1868 – 1939, is buried there according to the information available.

A second cemetery in Schierstein was established in 1922, and Daniel Kester found two Löwenthals buried there whose names are on the same stone: Abraham Löwenthal (15 Dec 1862-18 Nov 1931) and Julius Löwenthal (6 Jan 1895-1 Feb. 1963).²⁰⁴

Early Löwenthals: Information from archival sources.

The central archives of the Lutheran church, Darmstadt, contain birth, marriage and death records indicated by a [D] below. See list in the Appendix.

Samuel Löb/ Löb Samuel (from Schierstein) married **Lina / Bine Isaak,** (Bine is the name in the death record) (7 Nov 1754, Schlangenbad – 16 March 1850, Schierstein) [D] (or Lina Heimann²⁰⁵).

Samuel is the earliest ancestor of the Löwenthal family that we can identify.

Samuel and Lina had one known son, Isaak. [D]

Isaak/Isaac Löb (later Löwenthal) (28 Jan. 1798, Schierstein – 7 May 1867, Schierstein) and Sara Maier(Baum) (5 Feb. 1806, Schierstein – 27 April 1870, Wiesbaden)

Isaak Löwenthal married Sara Maier on 10 Dec 1828. [D]

Sara was also born in Schierstein and was the daughter of Maier Abraham (1772, Schierstein – 7 May 1867, Schierstein) and Mala/Meta/Amalie Herz (1769, Bockenheim – 11 Jan 1851 Schierstein).²⁰⁶ Details about her ancestors are included at the end of the Löwenthal section.

Sara's father, Meier Abraham, is described as a *Handlesmann* and butcher in Schierstein[D] in the record of his granddaughter Babette's birth in 1829.

Isaac became a citizen of Schierstein in 1848.²⁰⁷ Before that he had a lesser social status with fewer *Beisasse*, rights, as prior to the 1820s no Jew was allowed to become a citizen. This had many implications, for example, every village had an area of grass reserved for the villager's cows which Jews, as non-citizens, were not allowed to use.



Schierstein Bürgerliste, Wiesbaden archives, 1848

Isaac is described as a merchant/trader (marriage certificate and his son Maier's 1860 submission detailed below), and must have been a butcher, as Maier's submission also states that he, Maier, had worked in and run his parent's butcher business. Isaac died from a stroke, aged 69, in Schierstein, 7 May 1867.

Isaac and Sara had the following children [D]

- 1. Babette/Breinle ((30.10. 1829 7.7.1876) married? Oppenheim/er. Buried in Wiesbaden, *Schöne Aussicht, grave number 377*
- 2. **Maier** (10.2.1832, Schierstein 5.3.1898, Wiesbaden)
- 3. Siegfried (1834 -?) born Samuel (document 342). Moved to Frankfurt in 1864
- 4. Sara (1837 -1900) married Abraham Stern and is buried in Frankfurt, Rat Beil, Field 38
- 5. Hanchen/Johanna (22.5.1839 -?) married Emil Meyer from Münster, Westfalen. He was a merchant and citizen of Neuwied [D]
- 6. Abraham (17.2.1842 **Schierstein** 27.1.1903 **Frankfurt**) died in Frankfurt.²⁰⁸ In 1872, he married Kaila/Caroline Stern (11 Jul 1853, Frankfurt 9 Jan 1927, Frankfurt). Daughter of Salomon Abraham Stern & Sara Goldschmidt. Abraham's will is in the state archive

of Wiesbaden Abt. 469/6 no. 6783. His descendants are outlined on the JewishGen genealogy site. 209

7. Amalie (1844 -1914) married Louis Hulsen and is buried in Frankfurt, Rat Beil, Field 38

Löwenthal, Sara, geb. Baum (27.4.1870) Grave 297, Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, (Schöne Aussicht). ²¹⁰ Daughter of Mei'ir (Mei'ir Abraham)





Sara Löwenthal (German text)
Hebrew text:
Friede, Friede deiner Seele,
der Wille des Herrn ist, dich zu versammeln,
der Allmächtige hat dich aus deinem Grab geholt.
Hier ruht
die angesehene Frau, Frau
Sara, Tochter des Me'ir. Sie starb
am Mittwoch, den 26. des Monats Nisan
[5]630 n.d.k.Z., und sie wurde begraben am
Donnerstag, den 27. des Monats Nisan [5]630
German text:
Hier ruhet
Sara Löwenthal
gest. d. 27. April 5630/1870

Isaak/Isaac Löb Löwenthal (28 Jan. 1798, Schierstein – 7 May 1867, Schierstein) Grave No. 266, Schöne Aussicht, alte jüdische Friedhof, Wiesbaden²¹¹





Hier ruht Isac Löwenthal (German text)

From the Hebrew:

Sein Leben lang war er aufrichtig in seinen Werken.

... seiner Hände verrichtete er seinen Dienst.

Er vertiefte sich über seine Rede bevor sein Ende kam.

Sein Schöpfer und seine Frau und seine Kinder und seine Angehörigen

wichen nicht vom Gebetshaus absichtlich.

Die Wohltätigkeit, die er übte, wurde stets gepriesen.

Und der Bescheidene ist beschämt, er hört nicht auf, deinen Namen zu preisen.

Noch gibt es Hoffnung für deine Zukunft.

Der Geist erhob sich zur Würde deines Volkes (?).

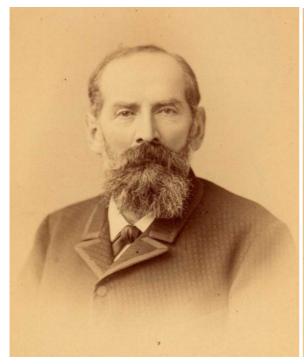
Gutes tat er sowohl seinen Verwandten als auch Fremden.

... in Treue wie ein vollkommener Gerechter.

Geliebt unten und oben liebenswert.... am lyyar ... Seine Seele sei eingebunden im Bunde des Lebens²¹².

(The sentiments are formulaic, and include that he was sincere, charitable etc)

Maier/ later Mayer Löwenthal, (10 Feb 1832, Schierstein - 5 Mar 1898, Wiesbaden) and Regine, Hebrew name Rivka, also Trautel, Träudchen, Kahn, (8 May 1833, Partenheim in Rheinhessen - 7 Apr 1908, Wiesbaden)





Maier was born in 1832 in Schierstein. The spelling of his name changes; in the official early records he is Maier, later Mayer, which is also the name on the back of his gravestone (Maÿer).

Maier married **Regine Kahn** from Partenheim, about 30 km to the southeast of Schierstein, on 25 January 1860. (See details about her family and ancestors below).

Maier was described in 1860 in the marriage documents, as a *Handelsmann* and *Bürger*, a merchant and citizen of Schierstein. [D] His father-in-law was also a *Handelsmann*.

On 11 September 1858, having recently got engaged to be married, Maier applied to become a citizen of the nearby and larger town of Wiesbaden. He described himself as the legal son of the merchant/trader Isaac. He wrote that he had trained as a butcher (presumably as an apprentice), qualified as a master butcher, *Metzgermeister*, with the grade 'very good' and worked in, and ran, his parent's business. He owned 1500 Gulden in assets and believed he possessed everything necessary to gain citizenship.

However, this may have been a cunning ploy! Mayer, who undoubtedly wanted to better himself, argued that there were already five butchers in Schierstein, and thus too many for him to make a reasonable living, whereas in Wiesbaden the ratio of butchers to citizens was less. In particular, he argued, he planned to slaughter cows and calves and thereby benefit the poor to buy cheap beef. The reasoning behind this is that Kosher ritual laws prevent Jews from eating the hindquarters. Usually, these forbidden parts were sold cheaply, either directly to the poor or to non-kosher butchers. Interestingly, the word Kosher is not mentioned in the application!

Maier had an additional argument. His submission stated that he was looking forward to getting married to a wealthy woman, and that her parents would only agree to the wedding if he obtained citizenship from Wiesbaden.

In his submission, Maier needed to provide witness statements both to give a character reference and also to confirm his financial accounts. He had to prove that he was a good man who could support himself and his family. The Mayor of Schierstein supported his application and wrote in December 1859 that Maier had saved 2000 Gulden, had an expected inheritance of 2000 Gulden, had cash of 4000 Gulden from his spouse, had his own wine and goods to the value of 2000 Gulden and expected a second inheritance from his wife of 3000 Gulden, totalling 13,000 Gulden: a considerable fortune. He also certified that Maier had a good reputation and operated his butcher's business and his trade in local produce with the greatest diligence.

Following their marriage in 1860, the couple moved to Wiesbaden on a 'temporary' basis, despite the fact that Maier had not received citizenship. Whilst living there 'temporarily', Maier reapplied In April 1866, saying that he had been living in Wiesbaden for six years. He now had three children and described himself as a wine merchant. He added that he had been running a wine shop whose sales, especially from his cellars in Rüdesheim and Schierstein, extended mainly to northern Germany. His business was going well and as he wanted to keep his permanent residence in Wiesbaden, he wanted to acquire local citizenship because of his children. His fortune of 10,000 Gulden included wine stocks amounting to about 20,000 Gulden.

It is not clear if Maier ever worked as a butcher in Wiesbaden. Mayer [spelling of his name has changed] was described in the birth register of both Bertha (1860) and Eduard (1862) as a *Landesproductenhandler*, a trader in local produce from the countryside. By Siegfried's birth he was described as a wine merchant.

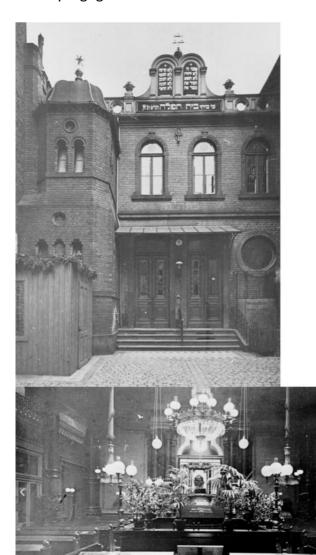
There is a further set of documents concerning the application of his widowed mother Sara, requesting permission to move to Wiesbaden where her son lived. She also had to submit financial accounts and said she owned about 12,000 Gulden together with her children, partly in property and partly money owed. The Schierstein Mayor again endorsed this application saying that she was welcome to return at any time. Her signature is unfortunately not on the document, so it is not possible to see how literate she was.

Alice Bock, their granddaughter, commented that Mayer, and later also his two sons Siegfried and Eduard, owned vineyards in an area on the Rhine, where the best German wine came from. Rüdesheim, where Mayer's wine cellars were located, was a famous wine producing village.

Alice and her brothers often visited their grandparents. They were taken to the vineyards where they ate grapes and saw the giant wine barrels in the cellars. In the autumn, their grandfather sent a barrel of *delicious, sweet grape juice* to Frankfurt. This juice was no doubt used for Rosh Hashanah and the *Chagim* (Jewish festivals). One birthday, her grandfather sent Alice a large doll's kitchen, which he had had made by a cabinetmaker. It included all the furniture, kitchen equipment etc. a little girl could wish for.

Meier and Regine were orthodox Jews. In Wiesbaden, they lived in Moritzstrasse 2 (1861/2 - ?) and then in 33 Friedrichstrasse, alongside the orthodox Friedrichstrasse synagogue. The street has been completely rebuilt and there is a more recent synagogue on the site. No evidence of their house remains.

After a synagogue in Wiesbaden with an organ and a mixed choir was inaugurated in 1869, orthodox Jews, in common with similar minded Jews in many German cities, left that congregation to hold their own services. The founding members included names in this document: *Abraham Kahn, M. S. Löwenthal, M. and S. Baum*. The Orthodox group grew and had severe disagreements with the main liberal community which it decided to leave. However, this was only allowed by law after March 1879 when they formed the official *Altisraelitische Kultusgemeinde* (Old Israelite Congregation). Soon after they inaugurated their synagogue at 33 Friedrichstrasse. State of the synagogue at 33 Friedrichstrasse.



Friedrichstrasse Synagogue; Wiesbaden, exterior and interior, photo prior to 1938²¹⁵

Mayer and Regine had the following children:

All the birth records for the children of Mayer and Regine are held in the registry in Wiesbaden.

Further details about the following are primarily from the recollections of their great-granddaughter, Lieselotte Bier née Bock.

1. Bertha (17.12.1860, Wiesbaden - 26.12.1927, Frankfurt) married Simon Bock

- 2. Eduard (19 Jun 1862 –1925, Cannes(?))²¹⁶ married Hermine Herrman Children:
 - 1.Fritz, married Gertrud Bauer.
 - a. Walter (New York)
 - 2.Rosi, married Ernst Dulken.
 - a. Margot
 - b. Herta Regina (1919-2005, New York)
 - c. Lisa. Died about 1932 in an airplane accident
- 3. Siegfried, (27 Mar 1864, Wiesbaden-?). Married Fanni Goldschmidt (1874-1957) (sister of Julius Goldschmidt and aunt of Herman Goldsmith)

Children:

- 1. Julius (1893-1955). He had two sons, Hans and George
- 2. George
- 4. Lina married ? Hirsch (from Hanover?)

Children:

- 1. Dr. Samson Raphael Hirsch, married Erna Falk. Both were hidden in Belgium during the war and died in Brussels around 1960. Lieselotte knew them very well and saw a lot of them when she was stationed in Brussels with the RAF, 1944-45. No children.
- 2. Julius, married Emmi Rubens. He was a biochemist and was one of the European academics whom Kemal Ataturk recruited for the new University in Istanbul in the 1930s.

Children:

- 1. Eva
- 2. Maria
- 3. Julia.

Emmi died in the U.S.A. Lieselotte: "We were very good friends in Berlin, and Julius tried to help me, unsuccessfully of course, to study medicine."

5. Selma married Hugo Frankel

Children:

- 1. Annie, who was in Zurich after the war and died there. She was a librarian, and "rather high powered". Unmarried.
- 2. Paul, went to Canada, (Toronto?) married there. Children.

Mayer and Regina are both buried in Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, Hellkundweg. Row 7 grave 7 and 8.



LOWENTHAL, MAYER MEIR 05. 03. 1898 DBERSETZUNG: Hier right

ein tenrer und rechtschaffender Mann, der Angaptel seiner Frau, die Lerone und totede seiner Johne und Tochter und trau, die wrome und vand der ganten Familie Herr Meir John von Itzchak Lowenthal, telig tein Andenhen, Harb am M. Adar 1558 n. hl. ± und teine feele hehrte In ihrtr anelle mrück

"Sup ist der Schlaf okessen leit" Rein schaften Gerechten wird er inhen Im Schaften Gottes und im breise der Gerechten wird er inhen Nur Gints bruar tet ihn durch seine guten Tarken. Jeine Schne frinke er auf den Lieg der Thora und der Gebork. Seine Hände haben nun Wohl kinter Gemeinde beige kagen. Golf begleisete zu schrille die Gie Gebork achte fein Mit belug heit und die Einde frirchtend tat er ginks alle geine Tage. Seine Nachhammen warden kinen guten Namen ehren.

Seine Seele sei eingebunden in den Bund des Lebens

217



COOKS	LOWENTHAL, Regine	grs. LAHN
geboren	00.00. 1833	
gostorben	07. 04. 1908	
Herkunft	•	

OBERSETZUNG: Hibr mht

Eine wichfige and bescheidene Frau, die wrone und 4) tierde ihre! Mannes und ihrer winder, beliebt bei allen Bekannten.

Bekannten.

Fran Rivka, Vitve von Herrn Meir Löwenthal, Rlig sein Incher von Herrn Nathan kahn, kelig sein Andenken.

Tochter von Herrn Nathan kahn, kelig sein Andenken.

Starb mit 75 Jahren am Dienstag b. Nissan und unrde am Donnerstag å. Nissan bles n. kl. L. begraben.

Sie handelte mit Llugheit und in Golfes Inrcht

Jhr Hort glanste an Gett ihr Leben lang.

Burch ibre Wohltatiokeit ervars sie sich einen gukn Namen

Jhr lebensvandel war makellos

sie führte ihre Söhne und Töchter auf den Weg des Glansens

und in then Gesokn Golfes

Jhre Frende war der Frede ihrer Gemeinde

Thre Frenche war der Frèck ihrer Gemeinche und im Gkonsen ging sie zum Gebet. Ihre dele wird im Paradies Then

Thre Seele sei gebenden mit dem Bund des Lebens

218

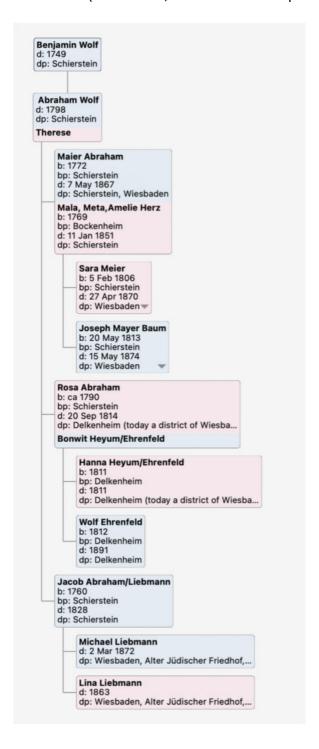
17)



Family Benjamin Wolf, patriarch of the family of Maier Abraham and Sara Maier

Maier Abraham (1772, Schierstein – 7. May 1867, Schierstein) and Mala/Meta/Amalie Herz (1769, Bockenheim – 11. Jan 1851 Schierstein)

Sara Maier (5 Feb.1806, Schierstein – 27 April 1870, Wiesbaden)²¹⁹



(1) Benjamin Wolf
d. 1749, Schierstein
(2) Abraham Wolf
d. 1798, Schierstein
& Therese
(3) Maier Abraham
b. 1772, Schierstein
d. 7 May 1867, Schierstein, Wiesbaden
& Mala, Meta, Amelie Herz
b. 1769, Bockenheim
d. 11 Jan 1851, Schierstein
(4) Sara Meier
b. 5 Feb 1806, Schierstein
d. 27 Apr 1870, Wiesbaden
& Isaak Löb Löwenthal
b. 28 Jan 1798, ? Schierstein
d. 7 May 1867, Wiesbaden
(4) Joseph Mayer Baum
b. 20 May 1813, Schierstein
d. 15 May 1874, Wiesbaden
& Jette Marx
(3) Rosa Abraham
b. ca 1790, Schierstein
d. 20 Sep 1814, Delkenheim (today a district of Wiesbaden)
& Bonwit Heyum/Ehrenfeld
(4) Hanna Heyum/Ehrenfeld
b. 1811, Delkenheim
d. 1811, Delkenheim (today a district of Wiesbaden)
(4) Wolf Ehrenfeld
b. 1812, Delkenheim
d. 1891, Delkenheim
(3) Jacob Abraham/Later Liebmann
b. 1760, Schierstein
d. 1828, Schierstein
(4) Michael Liebmann
d. 2 Mar 1872, Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, grave 325
& Sara Schneider
(4) Lina Liebmann
d. 1863, Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, grave 235
& Julius Herz

Maier Abraham (1772, Schierstein – 7. May 1867, Schierstein) and Mala/Meta/Amalie Herz (1769, Bockenheim – 11. Jan 1851 Schierstein) ²²⁰

At that time Bockenheim was a separate village to the northwest of Frankfurt. Maier Abraham is associated with the later surname Baum.

Meier Abraham, was a *Handlesmann* and butcher in Schierstein, according to the entry in the birth register for Babette (30.10.1829 – 7.7.1876), Sara and Isaac's daughter [D].

In the state archive of Wiesbaden there are two documents referring to Maier Abraham:

- Abt. 293 no. 970. Suspicion of the acceptance of stolen goods against Abraham Mayer, 1810-11
- Abt. 1163 no. 672. *Abrechnungen*, deductions, from Meyer Abraham, Schierstein in connection with *Naturalienlieferungen*, supplies of natural goods. 1827-1837

Maier Abraham and Mala had six children, two are recorded, Sara and Joseph. Confusingly in the records there appear to be two daughters named Sara.²²¹ The eldest Sara was born in 1800 and married? Kahn. The Sara who married Isaac Löwenthal was born in 1806 and was their third daughter. Two are recorded:

- Sara Maier (Baum) (5 Feb. 1806, Schierstein 27 April 1870, Wiesbaden)
 On 10 Dec 1828 when Sara was 22, she married Isaak Löb Löwenthal.
 She was buried in Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, grave number 297
- Joseph Mayer Baum. (20 May 1813, Schierstein 15 May 1874, Wiesbaden).
 He was buried in Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, grave number 337
 Joseph Mayer married Jette Marx.

They had one child:

Marcus. (26 Aug 1842, Schierstein - 6 Oct 1871, Schierstein).

Marcus married Julie Schneider

He was buried in Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, grave number 329.

His epitaph states that he was a citizen in North America and that he came back with his family to recover from an illness.²²²

Mela/Mala (11 Jan 1851), Wife of Me'ir, mother of Sara – Grave 33, Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, (Schöne Aussicht). [2018 Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden in Hessen list number 31]²²³



Hier ruht

eine geachtete und aufrechte Frau. Wohltätigkeitlagis hessen übte sie alle ihre Tage. Mit ihren Händen gab sie Almosen, ihr Brot verteilte sie unter den Armen und hörte nie auf, selbstlose Güte zu üben. Frau Mela, Ehefrau des Me'ir aus Schierstein. Sie ging ein in ihre Welt am heiligen Schabbat, am 5. Schewat, und sie wurde begraben am Montag, [5] 611 n.d.k.Z. Ihre Seele sei eingebunden im Bunde des Lebens.

Baum, Abraham (died 8.2.1867). Grave number 262 Wiesbaden, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, Schöne Aussicht²²⁴

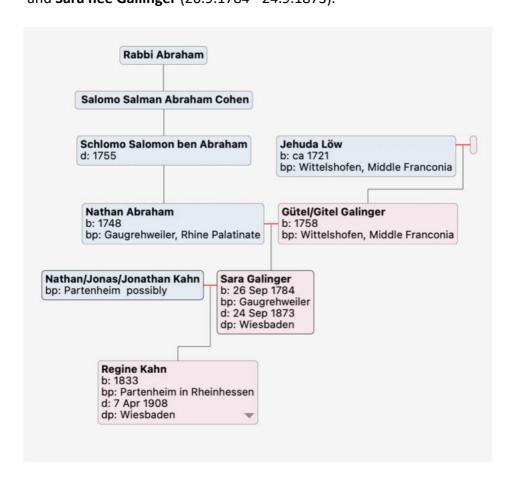
Although the day and month of death is slightly different from the information on the Aktives Museum database, ie 8 February 1867, Sara's father Maier Abraham is associated with the later surname Baum. There is therefore a chance that this is his grave. The Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden list a grave number of 263. The headstone has Eichenlaub und Fackel gekreuzt (hanging branch with oak leaves crossed with a torch).



Er starb am Dienstag, den I., und wurde begraben am Donnerstag, den 3. Adar Hier ruht ein treuer Mann, der untadelig wandelte in seinen Werken, er strebte nach Recht und Geradheit, geradlinig war er und wohltätig, auf dem Pfade der Guten wandelte er stets, von seinem Brot gab er den Armen und Bedürftigten. Dein Vertrauen war in Gott, und vor dir ging deine Wohltätigkeit. Ein Tag, als du früh aufstandest, kam deine Zeit. Oben, im Garten Eden ist deine Ruhestätte. Seine Seele sei eingebunden im Bunde des Lebens. Schierstein, den 3. Adar [5]627 n.d.k.Z.

Family Gallinger

Regine, Hebrew name Rivka, also Trautel, Träudchen, Kahn, (8 May 1833, Partenheim in Rheinhessen - 7 Apr 1908, Wiesbaden) was the only daughter of Nathan/Jonas /Jonathan Kahn (Nathan is the name on Regine's grave, Jonas is his name on his wife Sara's grave, Jonathan is his name on Sara's death record²²⁵ and Sara née Gallinger (26.9.1784 - 24.9.1873).



The villages and towns



Wittelshofen, Gaugrehweiler, Partenheim

Gailingen²²⁶

The first *Schtuzbrief* was granted to six Jews and their families in 1657. It guaranteed that they could trade and worship freely. However, they were also subjected to heavy taxes. The community grew steadily despite the hostility of the local population. The Alemannia Judaica entry for the town suggests that these families, or a few of them, had immigrated from the Schellenberg territory (Liechtenstein). In 1680 the Jewish community consisted of about 45 people and the following are named: Jacob Dreyfuss and his sons Marx and Abraham Dreyfuss, as well as his son-in-law Haium Mayer, Jacob Daniel with his son Daniel Jacob, Jacob Salomon, Simon Jacob and Lazarus Neuenburg. Around 1700 there were twelve households and a total of 58 Jewish adults.

As Jehuda Löw was born around 1721 in Wittelshofen, one or both of his parents must have left Gailingen before then. The only possible link with the names of those in 1680, is the inclusion of several men called Jacob and the fact that one of Jehuda's sons was called Jacob, possibly in honour of his grandfather.

The *Schutzbrief* specified that the Jews could have a place to bury their dead, and they leased a wooded area on a steep slope below the Bürgli Castle (reasonably far from Gailingen), which was unsitable for agriculture. Other local communities also used this cemetery. Gailingen's Jewish Museum website identifies the oldest grave as from 1692.²²⁷

Wittelshofen and Family Gallinger

One family from Gallinger can date its leaving to the founding of the town of Wittelshofen. This was elaborated by Mautner, referred to above, who included the research of Dr Joseph Gallinger in 1970, based on entries in the records of the Bavarian State Museum.

Wittelshofen in Upper Bavaria was founded in 1472. The Ducal House of Wittelsbach established a settlement there at the foot of the Hesselberg Mountain to support the castle on its peak. The castle, now destroyed, was the ancestral home of the Counts of Wittelsbach, from whom the former dukes and electors of Bavaria descended. Among the artisans enticed to establish enterprises in their respective crafts, was a Jewish grain miller, reportedly of giant stature, who came from Gallingen on the south shore of the Bodensee. Among the inducements granted him for settling in what was then a wilderness, he was given the title and status of Court Jew (*Hofjude*) as well as riparian rights for himself and his descendants. The mill property was still owned by the family in the late 19th century.

Mautner's family history also concludes (correspondence in 1936), that there is no conclusive connection with families who moved from Gailingen to Mannheim, in the 18th century. This family included the *Hofaktor* (Court agent) Moses Gallinger, born 1757, who moved with Sovereign, Prince Karl Theodor to Munich, while his son, Samuel Gallinger stayed behind in Mannheim. Moses Gallinger, acted as a forage and provisions contractor for the Bavarian armed forces. He signed the record of the Chevrat *Bikkur Cholim* (society, which visits the sick), as Moses Jakob Jechiel Gallinger. Mautner concluded that it was pure speculation to suggest that this 'Gallinger' was a brother of Jehuda Löw.

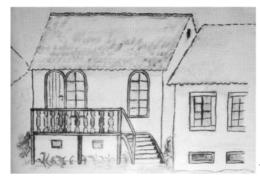
Gaugrehweiler 228



The village and scenery around Gaugrehweiler. Photo: Christian Michaelis

The community of Gaugrehweiler is located in the Appel valley, near Rockenhausen. Jews were mentioned as living there for the first time in 1675. In the course of the 18th century their number increased: in 1771 there were nine Jewish families in the village. Records in the archives describe many of the family as journaliers, day-labourers. In the 19th century the number of Jewish inhabitants increased until around 1835 (1804 - 54 Jewish inhabitants, 1835 - 82, which was 8.7% of the total population). The number slowly decreased as Jewish families left the village. The five Jewish heads of household recorded in 1808 were: Michel Becker, Jacob Eigner, **Mayer Gallinger**, Mayer Löwenberg and Ludwig Rothenberger.

A synagogue was built around 1764 in house number 26, North of the church. In 1790 the building became the property of the Jewish community. In 1884 it was in a dilapidated state. The money raised from the sale of the Münsterappel synagogue was for the repair, but this was not approved. For financial reasons the renovations could not be carried out until 1903. After the dissolution of the Jewish community in 1921, the synagogue building was sold and later demolished. There is a Jewish cemetery on the steep slopes of the hillside which was in use from before 1800.²²⁹



The Gaugrehweiler Synagogue, (now destroyed) ²³⁰

Partenheim (Kreis Alzey-Worms)²³¹

There was a Jewish community in Partenheim from at least the 18th century and the community grew steadily in the 19th century. (1804 - 75 Jewish residents, 1828 - 130, reaching a maximum in 1855 – 165, about 10% of the population). The Jews earned their living as shoemakers, butchers, wine merchants and cattle dealers/horse traders. Many also had vineyards. During the anti-Semitic riots of 1881 the vineyards were 'torn' away from the Jewish owners. There was a small synagogue, the date of which is unknown, in Schmiedgasse on land belonging to Josef Kahn. and (in the 19th century) a school and *mikve*, ritual bath. The congregation were buried in the Jewish cemetery in Jugenheim.

Jehuda Löw (ca. 1721, Wittelshofen - ?), patriarch of the Gallinger family. Gütel/Gitel Gallinger (1748, Wittelshofen - ? Gaugrehweiler) and Nathan Abraham, parents of Sara



Almost all the following information is based on the research and recollections of several members of the Gallinger family. The most useful has been the summarising document written in 1938 by Herb Mautner. This document was brought to my attention by Sam Shulman, to whom I most grateful. Sam was in touch with Christian Michaelis who, in 2018, very helpfully visited Gaugrehweiler and the Jewish cemetery there, as well as researching family documents and deciphering old records in the registry offices of Winnweiler and Alsenz. In the archives, Christian concentrated on the records for the family names Gallinger, Lebensberger and Schwarzenberg; the ancestors of myself, Sam Shulman and himself respectively. He did not find any mention of the father of Nathan Abraham.

Jehuda Löw, born about 1721 in Wittelshofen, is the earliest known Gallinger ancestor. It is believed his family originated from Gailingen, located close to Konstanz, on the Bodensee (Lake Konstanz). It is not known, when Jehuda Löw's ancestors had left Gailingen for the town of Wittelshofen, 250 km away.

The following is a summary of Mautner's account of the early family history together with some additions from Sam Schulman.

Jehuda Löw, the patriarch was born around 1721. There is no information, regarding his wife.

They had three (or more) children:

1. Josef Jonas Gallinger (3.3.1751, Wittelshofen – ca. 1835, Wittelshofen). Josef, businessman, married Nucha (1.3. 1771 – 15.9.1847, Wittelshofen). ²³³

Josef and Nucha had the following children, all born in Wittelshofen: Jonas (1792 – 1865) butcher in Wittelshofen, Treinle, Isak, farmer in Wittelshofen, Sarla, Lob, farmer and real estate owner in Wittelshofen, Vogele, Joel, and Simon, teacher in Wittelshofen and later jeweller in New York.

- 2. Jakob Löw, born 1755, and his wife (unknown) had one son; Simon born in Wittelshofen in 1807.
- 3. **Gütel/Gitel** born in 1758, left Wittelshofen at age 17, for the town of Gaugrehweiler, located in the Rhine-Palatinate, about 250 km away, to marry Nathan Abraham, who

120

owned a shop that sold 'notions'. Nathan was born in Gaugrehweiler in 1748. The wedding must have been in 1774 or 1775.

Nathan and Gütel had the following children:

- 1. Abraham Nathan, (1775-1821). After 1808, known as Abraham Gallinger
- 2. David Nathan, (1783-1821). After 1808, known as David Gallinger.
- 3. Schele, d.1810 (This information is via Sam, she was the first wife of his great-great-great grandfather Mayer (later Marc) Lebensberger.)²³⁴
- 4. Sara Gallinger (26.9.1784 24.9.1873)



According to local laws and customs, at that time, it was not uncommon, that whenever parents were married religiously, but not civilly, the civil law refused to recognize the legitimacy of the children. Instead they insisted, that the children adopt the name of the mother, i.e.Galinger.

Mautner: This is a very large family with several thousand descendants. Their name has undergone various changes: From Gallinger and Galinger, into Golinger and Garlinger.

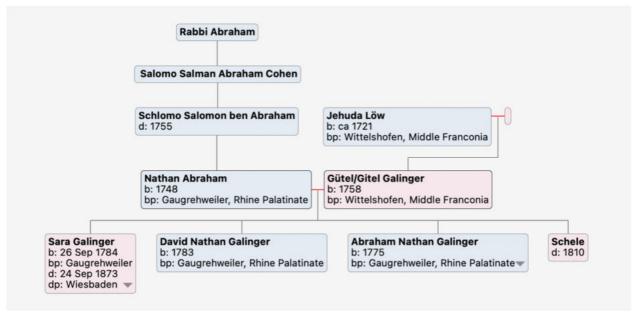
From the records, a victim of the National Socialist period

Probably a family member - Nathan Abraham:

KK (Mainz 1939) für Nathan Kahn, (geb. 19. April 1867 in Partenheim), wohnhaft in Mainz, am 27. September 1942 deportiert ab Darmstadt in das Ghetto Theresienstadt, wo er am 13. Oktober 1942, umgekommen ist

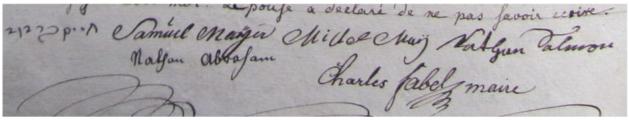
Family Abraham

Rabbi Abraham, patriarch of the family of Nathan Abraham



Family tree as proposed by Mautner

Included in the in the registry offices of Winnweiler and Alsenz, Christian Michaelis found the registration of a marriage in July 1801. Written in French, it includes details of the witness, Nathan Abraham, *mercier*, merchant/tradesman/possibly a draper, living in Gaugrehweiler, aged 55 who declared he was a friend of the *epouse* (bride or groom). His firm signature demonstrates his educated background and occupation. Possibly of relevance to the following quandary is that Nathan Salomon also signed the document.



The groom's signature in Hebrew. Signatures of Nathan Abraham and Nathan Salomon, 1801

Was Nathan Abraham's father a Hofjude/Court Jew?

The following is based on correspondence with Christian Michaelis and Sam Shulman who pointed out Bernhard Kukatzki's assertion that Nathan's father was a Court Jew.²³⁵ This claim is derived from the information in a book by Friedrich Christian Laukhard.²³⁶

In 1798, Laukhard, ²³⁷ a German novelist, philosopher, historian and theologian, published a book about the life of Graf Carl Magnus von Rheingrafenstein (1718-1795) who reigned from 1740 until his bankruptcy in 1775. ²³⁸ He included stories about two *Hofjuden*, Court Jews, Nathan and Solomon.

Michaelis helpfully has summarised Laukard's book with its satirical look at the decline of the Graf's domain. Not only that, but as Kukatzki stressed, Laukhard's 'history' is not always accurate, and he uses the antisemitic stereotypes, common cliches and tropes of the time.

The Graf was shown to be an ambitious, but rather stupid sovereign, with a court of clever criminals, immoral preachers, infatuated ladies, children of the wrong (female) sex, a corrupt justice and at the bottom a patient people. This highly incompetent spendthrift taxed his subjects dry and was finally imprisoned by Emperor Joseph II for ten years. He had been crowned in 1740 and began constructing his new palace in 1748. He married in 1750 and became bankrupt in 1775. His successor had to repay the debts and in 1783 the Graf was reprieved. Laukhard claimed his father had learned secrets from a whistle-blower at court.

Among the Gaugrehweiler courtiers were Nathan and Salomon. Nathan is identified as *der Jude Nathen von Grehweiler*.²³⁹ They were both engaged, because the former Court Jew had bought bad horses, of whom too many died. They were in charge of buying well bred horses as well as special procurements. This was probably after the completion of the new palace and stalls (for 120 horses) in around 1753.

Laukhard depicted the two Jews as arch-villains who, negotiating in the Graf's name, cheated him and became very wealthy. They indulged in high living and wasted their most shamefully acquired money in the most irresponsible way. At the time, even though most courts had Jews who procured for them and lent money, to be seen to be behaving as if they too were aristocracy was totally unacceptable. However, we have no idea what antisemitic sentiments were driving Laukard's description or its accuracy. At one point the Graf is described as being very rich but extremely miserly, 'a true Jew' who lent his money at six per cent, and who could bargain for half an hour about buying one rabbit.

The main anecdote concerned Nathan, who one day told the Graf's riding trainer to train his new horse. The trainer refused saying: 'Seitdem aus dem Juden ein Herr, und aus der Hure eine Mamsel geworden ist, ist es keine gute Zeit mehr.' (Since the Jew became a lord/gentleman, and the whore became a mademoiselle, times are no longer any good). Nathan became angry and denounced the man. The Graf, to be solicitous to his circumcised favourite, fired the trainer and hired another one.

Salomon and Nathan, together with others, were imprisoned (no date given) by the archbishop of Mainz. They were held as hostages in *the most abominable prison* in Mainz against repayment of a debt. They were initially allowed nothing more than water and bread though by *special grace* their relatives were able to provide food for them. After some months they were offered their freedom if they converted to Catholicism which evidently, certainly Nathan, refused to do, as after four or five years, Nathan died in prison. Michaelis suggested that Salomon and Nathan might have been imprisoned in 1773/4/5. Nathan died therefore sometime between 1773 and 1780.

Kukatzki proposed that the *Jude Nathan von Grehwiler* born 1748, was the father of Nathan Abraham (1775-1821) who took the name Gallinger in 1808. His fellow *Schutzjude*, Nathan Salmon (prior to 1808), also in service to the Graf, was the ancestor of either the Rodenberg/Rothenbergs or the Schwarzenbergs.

Michaelis on further consideration suggested that, as was conventional at the time, Laukard would have referred to people by their surnames. In this case Nathan and Salomon. Indeed, in 1801, Salomon Schwarzenberg, (1733-1820) signed the marriage record above in 1801 as Nathan Salmon (before the requirement to change names in 1808). His brother became, after 1808, Seligman Rodenberg. When he died, his father was recorded as Salomon Nathan and his mother as Sara.

Salomon Nathan, is therefore one of the Court Jews referred to above and the one who died in the archbishop's prison.

Possibly the second Court Jew was named Abraham Salomon. However, Michaelis could not find any records referring to Abraham Salomon, or any of the ancestors of Nathan Abraham proposed by Mautner. He believes that Kukatzki wouldn't have found any mention of the two Court Jews in the archives, as the records commence with the French occupation. Despite gaps in the story, Kukatzki ensured the facts at his disposal fitted his theory.

If the second Jew in the account was called Abraham Salomon, was he the father of Nathan Abraham? This would fit Jewish traditional naming conventions. And Nathan Abraham would have married around the time of his father's imprisonment that would explain why he was a 'mere' notion-shop owner (Mautner). Additionally, embarrassment over his father's career and demise might have obliterated his father's name from family records.

However, the names in Mautner's genealogy do not quite fit. And Mautner's date of death for Schlomo Salomon ben Abraham of 1755 would be too early for him to be part of the Court Jew story. However, importantly, Nathan's ancestors do include the name Salomon/Schlomo etc.

Overall, I am not convinced that the three generations before Nathan Abraham are correct and they could have become muddled in family records. Nathan Abraham's ancestors do not follow the normal Jewish naming conventions. He should not have been called Nathan ben Abraham, but Abraham ben Schlomo [this is the Hebrew name for Salomo ie Salomon] or even Nathan ben Schlomo.

The dilemma remains, but as the conjecture has been made, it is important to include it as future research/records may offer more clues.

•	-		
Possible ancestors	Born	Died	Name before 1808
Nathan ("Hofjude", gest. ca. 1775 in Mainz)	(Presumed	by Bernhard K	(ukatzki p. 11, footnote 26)
& ?			
Salomon Abraham (gest. 1755)	(Herb Mautner)		
& ?			
	1748 o. 46		Nathan Abraham
		ca. 1774/75	&
	1758		Gütel

Summary by Christian Michaelis of the dilemma regarding the father of Nathan Abraham

Nathan/Jonas/Jonathan Kahn and Sara Gallinger (26.9.1784, Gaugrehweiler - 4.9.1873, Wiesbaden)

Jonathan Kahn is described as a *Handlesmann*.²⁴⁰ Nothing more is known about him except that he was most likely born in Partenheim.

Jonathan and Sara had one daughter:

 Regine (8 May 1833, Partenheim in Rheinhessen - 7 Apr 1908, Wiesbaden). She married Maier/later Mayer Löwenthal, (10 Feb 1832, Schierstein - 5 Mar 1898, Wiesbaden)

Regine's Hebrew name was Rivka, also Trautel, Träudchen

Kahn, Sara, nee Gallinger (26.9.1784, - 4.9.1873), mother of Regine. Grave number 348, Alter Jüdischer Friedhof, Wiesbaden²⁴¹



Hier ruhet in Gott
Sara Kahn, geb. Gallinger
[Gattin] des Herrn Jonas Kahn
aus Partenheim
geb. den 26. September 1784
gest. den 24. September 1873.
Friede ihrer Asche.

The Hebrew text is unreadable

APPENDIX: Material from the archives supplied by Wolfgang Fritzche

In the Wiesbaden city archives:

10718: Application of the wine-trader Mayer Löwenthal from Schierstein who lived in Wiesbaden temporarily and who asked for citizenship 18 June 1866. In this application he stated that his wine was stored in cellars in Rüdesheim on the Rhine and Schierstein.

10719: Application of the widow of Isaak Löwenthal, Sara, nee Mayer from Schierstein for temporary settlement in Wiesbaden in order to be with her son Mayer 13 May 1868.

In the *Bürgerliste von Schierstein* (Best. SST Nr. 149): Acceptance as *Bürger*, citizen of Schierstein

LÖWENTHAL Isaac, Bürgerannahme 1848 [entry 256]
LÖWENTHAL Maier, * 10.2.1832 in Schierstein, Bürgerannahme 15.12.1859 [entry 327]
LÖWENTHAL Samuel, * 10.7.1834 in Schierstein, Bürgerannahme 1861, 1864 went to
Frankfurt; added in pencil "Siegfried" [entry 342]

In the Wiesbadener Bürgerbuch:

LÖWENTHAL Meier, Weinhändler, (wine merchant) * 10.2.1832 in Schierstein Bürgeraufnahme 18.6.1866; added in pencil: Friedrichstr. 33 [residence] Married to Regine KAHN, * 8.5.1833 in Partenheim

Excerpts from the Schierstein registers in the central archives of the Lutheran church, Darmstadt

Marriages Löwenthal:

36.12 Tag der Tr.: 10.12.1828

ISAAK LÖB (später LÖWENTHAL(starb 1867, den 7.5. an einem Hirnschlag zu Schi), geb. 28.1. 1798 in Schi. Isr. C., Hm, led. wohnh. in Schi

E: Samuel Löb, h. in Schi, und dessen Ehefr. Lina Isaak daselbst

SARA MAIER, geb. in Schi 5.2.1806, Isr. C., led., wohnh Schi

E: Maier Abraham, Hm und Metzger in Schi, und dessen Ehefr. Meta Herz daselbst abbreviations: E: parents, Schi: Schierstein, geb: born, lsr.: Jewish, HM: merchant, wohnh.: living in, led: not married)

.....

8.2 Tag der Tr.: 25.1.1860

LÖWENTHAL. MAIER, geb. 10.2.1832 zu Schi, Jude, led., Handelsmann und Bürger Sch E: Isaak Löwenthal und Sara geb. Maier, Ehe- und Handelsleute, j.R-, zu Schi. KAHN, REGINE, geb. 8.5.1833 zu Partenheim, Großherztum Hessen, Jüdin, led., o.b.G. wohnh. zu Partenheim

E: Jonathan Kahn und Sara geb. Dahlinger,[misspelling of Gallinger] Ehe- und Handelsleute zu Partenheim

Cop.: Suesskind, Bzrabb. zu WI

.....

48.1 Tag der Tr.: 17.1.1866

MEYER EMIL, geb. 10.4.1836 zu Münster in Westfalen, JR, Kaufmann und Bürger zu Neuwied

E.: Isaak Meyer und Luba (Suba? Ruka, Luka?) Mayer, geborene ..., Ehe- bürgers- und

Kaufleute zu Münster in Westphalen

LÖWENTHAL, JOHANNA, geb. 22.5.1839. zu Schi, JR, led., wohnh zu Schi

E: Isaak Löwenthal und Sara geb. Meyer, Ehe-Bürgers- und Handelsleute Zu Schi

Cop.: Herr Rabb. Dr. Süskind, Kreisrabb. zu WI

Births Löwenthal:

Bd. 5. S. 131 Nr 39: 30.10.1829 Löwenthal Babet Schi Mädchen

V: Isaak Löb ("korr in:) Löwenthal, gebuw zu Schi. Isr.Rel.

M: Sara Meier, guw Schi, To des Meier Abraham

.....

V: Isaak Löwenthai, g+w zu Sch, Hm, Jüdischer Confession

M: Sara Maier, g+w zu Sch, To des Maier Abraham daselbst, des Ngenannten Efr jüdischer Religion

.....

185 35 70.7.7834 Löwenthal Siegfried Sch So

E: wie oben 155 6

.....

215.9 19.2.1837

Löwenthal, S ara Schi T

V: Isaak (Levi) Löwenthal, verh., Hm. JC, w+g Schi

M: Sara Meier, T des Abraham Meier, weiland Hm. zu Schi, JC.

.....

243.17 22.5.1839

(Lob) Löwenthal, (Hannchen) Johanna Schi T

V: Isaak Lob, verh. Hm. JC g+w Schi

M: Sara Meier, T des Abraham Meier, weiland Hm. zu Schi w+g Schi Bem: In Folge der

Namensänderung der Israeliten im Jahr 1840 statt Löb nunLöwenthal

.....

280.7 17.2.1842

Löwenthal, Abraham Schi Sohn

V: Isaak Löwenthal, verh. Hm. JC w+g Schi

M: Sara Meier, T des Abraham meier, weiland Hm. Schi

.....

38.32 26.7.1844 Löwenthal Amalie Schi T

V: Isaak Löwenthal, verh, Hm. w+g Schi

M: Sara, T des Abraham Maier, weiland Hm. zu Schi, w+g Schi

.....

508.28 19.6.1862 Löwenthal, Eduard, geboren in Wiesbaden Sohn

V: Mayer Löwenthal, verh., Weinhändler zu Wiesbaden, g und Bürger zu Schierstein

M: Regine, geborene Kahn, zu Wiesbaden, g zu Partenheim

.....

560,12 27.3.1864 Löwenthal, Siegfried, Wiesbaden Sohn

V: Mayer Löwenthal, verh., Weinhändler zu WI, Bürger und g zu Schierstein

M: Regine geb. Kahn, von Wiesbaden, geb. Partenheim, JR (nachgetragen)

Deaths Löb/Löwenthal

16.3.1850 begr. 19.3 in Schi

ISAAK (jetzt Löwenthal), BINE

Geb. 7.11.1754 Schlangenbad, w Schierstein, Witwe, Isr.

(Alter 95 Jahre 4 Monate 9 Tage. Weitere Nachrichten konnten nicht aufgebracht werden.)

Entry cards held in the Aktives Museum, Wiesbaden

		,				
Name	Isaac Löb > Löwe	enthal [1]				
Geboren	28 Jan 1798 Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P [2]					
Geschlecht	männlich					
Beruf	Handelsmann [1]					
Adresse	Wiesbaden/Hessen P [1]					
Bemerkungen	Sohn Mayer Löwenthal +1898 in Wbn; [<u>1</u>]					
Bemerkungen	vor 1876 verstorben; Tochter Babette Oppenheimer +1876 in Wbn. [1]					
Stadtachiv ldNr	8931 [1]					
Stadtachiv ldNr	9295 [1]					
Gestorben	7 Mai 1867	Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen 🤊 [2]				
Begraben	Schöne Aussicht	/Wiesbaden P				
	o 266 Isak Löwenthal, gest. 7.5.1867					
Personen-Kennung	The Control of the Co					
Zuletzt bearbeitet am	15 Jan 2018					
000000000000000000000000000000000000000						
Vater	<u>Löb Samuel</u>					
Mutter	Lina Isaak , geb. 7 Nov 1754, Schlangenbad P, gest. 16 Mrz 1850, Schierstein P (Alter 95 Jahre)					
Familien-Kennung	F1213	Familienblatt				
000000000000000000000000000000000000000						
Familie		m, geb. 5 Feb 1806, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 27 Apr 1870, Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 64 Jahre)				
Verheiratet	10 Dez 1828	Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P [2]				
	o 36.12 Tag der Tr.: 10.12.1828 ISAAK LÖB (später LÖWENTHAL(starb 1867, den 7.5. an einem Hirnschlag zu Schi), geb. 28.1. 1798 in Schi. Isr. C., Hm, led. wohnh. in Schi					
	E: Samuel Löb, h. in Schi, und dessen Ehefr. Lina Isaak daselbst SARA MAIER, geb. in Schi 5.2.1806, Isr. C., led., wohnh Schi					
	E: Maier Sobernham, Hm und Metzger in Schi, und dessen Ehefr. Meta Herz daselbst					
Kinder	1. Babette Löwenthal, geb. 30 Okt 1829, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 07 Jul 1876, Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 46 Jahre)					
	+ 2. Mayer Meir Löwenthal, geb. 10 Feb 1832, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 04 Mrz 1898, Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 66 Jahre)					
	3. Siegfried Löwenthal, geb. 10 Jul 1834, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P + 4. Sara Löwenthal, geb. 19 Feb 1837, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 1882, Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 44 Jahre)					
	5. Johanna Löwenthal, geb. 22 Mai 1839, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, begr. Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P					
	6. <u>Abraham Löwenthal</u> , geb. 17 Feb 1842, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P					
	7. <u>Amalie Löwenthal</u> , geb. 26 Jul 1844, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P					
Zuletzt bearbeitet am	28 Nov 2011					
Familien-Kennung	F1189	<u>Familienblatt</u>				
Quellen	1. <u>[S14]</u> Jüdis	che Bürger Wiesbaden, Stadtarchiv Wiesbaden.				
	2. [\$23] Zivilstandsregister Schierstein, Dr. Fritzsche , 2000.					

Familie	Pagina Kahar and 9 Mai 1977 Datashaim C. nort 7 Apr 1909 Washadan / Harran C. (Mar 74 Jahra)
Verheiratet	Regine Kahn, geb. 8 Mai 1833, Partenheim P, gest. 7 Apr 1908, Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 74 Jahre) 25 Jan 1860 Wiesbaden / Hessen P
remenater	o 8.2/1860. Rabbiner Dr. Sußkind
Ginder	
anuel	* 1. <u>Bertha Löwenthal</u> , geb. 17 Dez 1860, Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 26 Dez 1926, Frankfurt a. Main / Hessen P (Alter 66 Jahre) 2. <u>Eduard Löwenthal</u> , geb. 19 Jun 1862, Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 30 Aug 1925, Cannes / Frankreich P (Alter 63 Jahre)
	3. <u>Siegfried Löwenthal</u> . geb. 27 Mrz 1864, Wiesbaden / Hessen P
	* 4. <u>Lina Löwenthal</u> . geb. 30 Sep 1869, Wiesbaden / Hessen P., gest. ? P
	* 5. <u>Selma Löwenthal</u> . geb. 09 Jul 1871, Wiesbaden / Hessen P
Zuletzt bearbeitet am	9 Dez 2012
amilien-Kennung	F1020 Familienblatt
Fotos	Mayer Loewenthal b. 10.2.1832 Schierstein
	Quelle:
	Marion Davies
	Photographer 0044 795 175 4591
	www.mariondavies.co.uk
Quellen	4 FEATURE - DO NO LEGIS - DO N
<u>Zuetten</u>	1. [<u>S14</u>] Jüdische Bürger Wiesbaden, Stadtarchiv Wiesbaden.
	2. [S75] Hellkundweg Bestattungsliste.
	3. [523] Zivilstandsregister Schierstein, Dr. Fritzsche , 2000.
	4. [<u>S54]</u> Sterberegister, Standesamt Wiesbaden, (Stadtarchiv Wiesbaden).
	5. [<u>554]</u> Sterberegister, Standesamt Wiesbaden, (Stadtarchiv Wiesbaden), 222/1898.
/ater	Maier Abraham, geb. um 1772, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 6 Jun 1831, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter ~ 59 Jahre)
Mutter	Mala Meta Amalie Herz, geb. 1769, Bockenheim P, gest. 11 Jan 1851, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 82 Jahre)
Familien-Kennung	F525 <u>Familienblatt</u>
amilie	Isaac Löb > Löwenthal. geb. 28 Jan 1798, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 7 Mai 1867, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 69 Jahre)
'erheiratet	10 Dez 1828 Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P [3]
	o 36.12 Tag der Tr.: 10.12.1828
	ISAAK LÖB (später LÖWENTHAL(starb 1867, den 7.5. an einem Hirnschlag zu Schi), geb. 28.1. 1798 in Schi. Isr. C., Hm, led. wohnh. in Schi E: Samuel Löb, h. in Schi, und dessen Ehefr. Lina Isaak daselbst
	SARA MAIER, geb. in Schi 5.2.1806, Isr. C., led., wohnh Schi
	E: Maier Sobernham, Hm und Metzger in Schi, und dessen Ehefr. Meta Herz daselbst
Cinder	1. Babette Löwenthal, geb. 30 Okt 1829, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 07 Jul 1876, Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 46 Jahre)
	+ 2. Mayer Meir Löwenthal, geb. 10 Feb 1832, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 04 Mrz 1898, Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 66 Jahre)
	3. Siegfried Löwenthal, geb. 10 Jul 1834, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P
	* 4. Sara Löwenthal, geb. 19 Feb 1837, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, gest. 1882, Wiesbaden / Hessen P (Alter 44 Jahre)
	5. Johanna Löwenthal, geb. 22 Mai 1839, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P, begr. Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P
	6. Abraham Löwenthal, geb. 17 Feb 1842, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen A
	7. Amalie Löwenthal, geb. 26 Jul 1844, Schierstein / Wiesbaden / Hessen P
Zuletzt bearbeitet ar	n 28 Nov 2011
- Familien-Kennung	F1189 Familienblatt
Quellen	1. [S14] Jüdische Bürger Wiesbaden, Stadtarchiv Wiesbaden.
	2. [<u>S28]</u> Sterberegister Wiesbaden 1818-1874, Germaine H. Shafran, Frau Dehnhardt, AMS Wiesbaden.
	3. [S.73] Zivilstandergoister Schierstein Dr. Fritzsche. 2000
	3. [<u>\$23</u>] Zivilstandsregister Schierstein, Dr. Fritzsche , 2000.

Giessen and Lich Cemeteries

Giessen Cemetery

Several Bocks are buried in the cemetery in Giessen to which we were kindly taken by Hanno Müller:

Löb [21] 1794-1863, brother of Samuel Löw [19] and his son Siegmund and wife Ottoline. (See below).

Therese, 1847-1864, daughter of Meyer Bock I [24]. She was not married but it was noted that she must have been well respected- *angessehen beliebt* - as, unusually, the Church bells rang a bell at her funeral.



Grave of Therese Bock, Old Jewish Giessen Cemetery

Libetta 1823-1892, daughter of Simon Bock [23]

Lich cemetery

The only identifiable Bock graves in the cemetery in Lich are:



Nathan Bock [27] (1817-1875), son of Simon Bock [23] and his wife Zippora.



Abraham [26] (1810-1884) son of Simon Bock [23]



Jessel/Joseph Bock [28] (1820 – 1869) son of Löb Bock [19]

The houses in Lich owned by the Bock family

Inge Steul, a Lich resident, has done a major study into the historic ownership of the houses of Lich. The information about the houses once owned by members of the Bock family is based on her research.

The documents used in her research are included in *Juden in Lich, Birklar, Langsdorf, Muschenheim und Ettingshausen*. Hanno Müller, Friedrich Damrath, Monica Kingreen, Klaus Konrad-Leder, 2010.

Nine houses in Lich have been found by Inge Steul to have been owned by various members of the Bock family. Most were handed down from generation to generation.

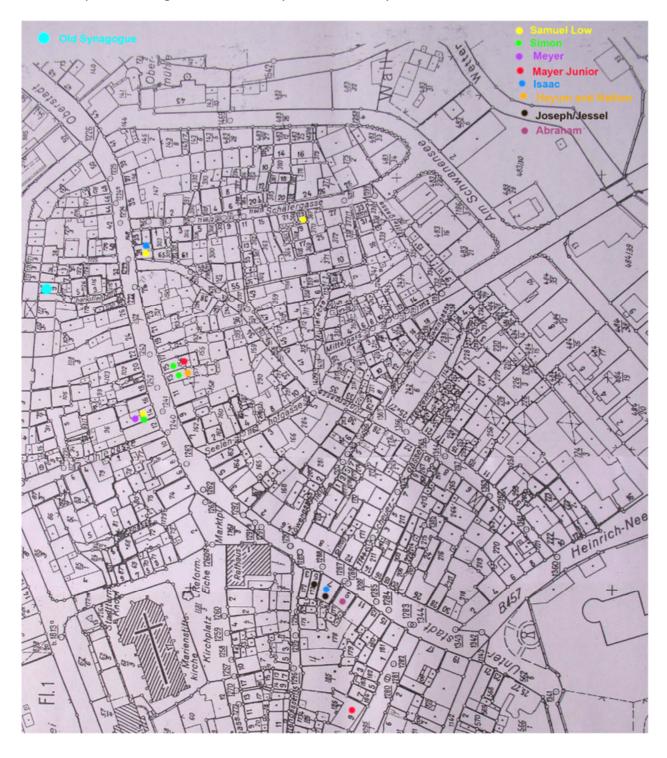
The occupation of the early generations, like for most Jews who were prevented from other occupations, was mainly the *Ellenwaren* trade which was carried out from house to house. Meyer (3 August 1796 – 31 Jul 1865) seems to have been the first to have a 'shop'. In 1830, he took over house number 206, now Oberstadt 14, from his mother Händle (1753 – 30 March 1838) after his father Samuel Löw (Bock) (1749 -13 January 1823) had died.

Oberstadt 14 is therefore most probably where Meyer's 'shop' was, as it is known from the protocol of 1838 that Meyer had a 'shop' (address not specified) in his house. The 'shop' would have been a small front room facing the street.

Meyer's brother Simon lived in Oberstadt 15 at the time, and the 1838 protocol states that Simon, unlike his brother, did not have a shop. Simon did however also own Oberstadt 13, which was taken over by his son Nathan. Business receipts and bills, dated 1850, were found in Oberstadt 13 in 2007 by Gerhard Dörmer during renovations. These were still headed *Simon Bock* despite Simon having died in 1848. (See above).

It seems clear that the businesses were very much a family enterprise. For example, Simon's sons Mayer, Abraham and Nathan are variously mentioned as running an *Ellenwaren* trade as well as a trade in flour, wool, spices, leather and supplying seed. They also owned a hardware/chandler shop and across the street a *Branntweinzäpfer*, a barrel with a tap for selling distilled alcohol. Later, they also traded in plaster and butter, clothes, and leather.

Lich Stadtplan showing houses owned by the Bock family



Schäfergasse 23 – House number 165 Samuel Löw [19]. The house was located opposite the tannery. Simon [23] took it over, date unknown.



Oberstadt 14 - House number 206 Samuel Löw [19], died in this house in 1823. Meyer Bock 1 [24] from 1830 to 1858.

Samuel Löw's widow, Händle / Hennel lived here, though she did not own it, until she died in 1838.









View from 14 Oberstadt over to 13 and 15 Oberstadt

Oberstadt 31 - House number 153. Built in 1609. Samuel Löw [19]





Historic photo

The house has an inscription on one of the beams dated 10 May 1609. It has never been fundamentally converted. After Isaac, it belonged to Georg Klaus, and from about 1887 to Johann Walz.

Oberstadt 15 (first house on left) - House number 144

Simon Bock [23] bought the house in 1829. He died there in 1848, and his wife Hanna died also died there in 1856.

Mayer Bock Junior [29] took it over from his parents in 1855 or 1857.

Oberstadt 13 (plain white house) - House number 143

Heyem Bock (together with Heinrich Weishaupt)

Simon Bock [23]

Nathan Bock [27] took it over from Simon, his father, and owned it till 1877.



Brandkataster (civil record of values of houses for insurance against fire) Oberstadt 15



Mains But II.	144	236	W. Spefant 3 North	1600	1855	2370
1865	5.83			3200	11.93	 100
Johney fourth Jung			-	-		 476
If farmand Upier	1	a	Outrem Gino	270		2 4 2
02				460		

Braugasse 9 - House number 248

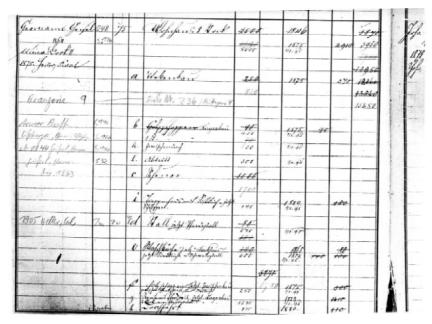
Mayer Bock II Junior [29], from 1864 to 1875.







The photos show how the ground floor might have similarly included a shop in Mayer's time.



Brandkataster (civil record of values of houses for insurance against fire) Braugasse 9

Unterstadt 5 - House number 238 Joseph Hirsch Joseph Bock 1869 to 1874 (Joseph Hirsch's son-in-law)



Unterstadt 7 - House number 239

Isaac Bock from 1849 to 1869. Isaac bought the older building in 1849 from Jakob Reuss and tore it down and built a new one on the site in 1851.

Jessel/Joseph Bock from 1869 until sold to Karl Chambré in 1874

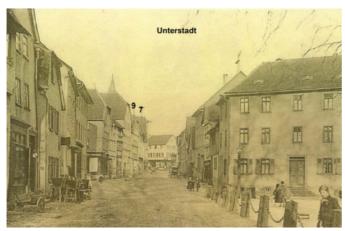


Document held in the Marienstiftsarchiv, Lich, found by Inge Steul in 2019

Unterstadt 9 - House number 240 Abraham Bock from 1838 to 1885









Memorial Plaque for the murdered members of the Chambré family on Unsterstadt 7

The Giessen branch, descended from Löw/Löb Bock [21]

Recently I learnt about the existence of the Giessen branch of the Bock family through a descendant, Matthais Bock who lives in Berlin. His ancestor was Löb Bock [21], a son of Samuel Löw, and a brother to 'our' ancestor, Simon [23].

1. Löw / Löb Bock. Born in 1794 in Lich, Hessen. Löw died in Giessen on 10 Oct 1863. Löw was very wealthy (probably from his father's inheritance), ran a money lending business, and was regarded as a *Particulier*, a person without gainful employment, who lives on his own fortune.



Löw Bock's grave in the Old Giessen Jewish Cemetery

Löw married Malchen Homberger. Born in 1802. Malchen died in Giessen in 1877. Buried in Old Jewish Cemetery Giessen. Gravestone most probably not still standing. Löw moved to the larger town of Giessen and by 1827 was a *Shutzjude* there, becoming a citizen on 13 August 1828.

Löw and Malchen had one child:

- a. Siegmund/Samuel (1827-1884)
- 2. Siegmund Bock. Siegmund married Ottilie Meyer.





Siegmund Bock and his grave in the Old Giessen Jewish Cemetery

Siegmund sold the bank/money lending business and founded a tobacco factory with the proceeds. Siegmund established a cigar manufacturing business in Giessen in 1857. He was very musical, composed music and ran the *Giessener Musikkranz Salon*.



Sigmund and Ottilie had the following children:

- a. Gustav (1857, Giessen-1938, Giessen)
- b. Alfred (1859 -1932)
- c. Adele (1866 1927)





Gustav Bock

3a. Gustav Bock.

Gustav married Helene Sternfeld (1864-1900). She died of diabetes aged 35.

Gustav was a generous philanthropist. He worked in the family cigar manufacturing business in Giessen until his move to Berlin in 1887. In Berlin he assembled an extensive art collection over a period of 30 years. Gustav was also very musical and composed Lieder. In 1915 and 1917 he donated 115 works of art to the city of Giessen. Matthais Bock, Gustav's great grandson believed that losing two sons in 1914 was the motivation for Gustav's charitable art foundations.

The collection was first on public display in the Neues Schloss until they were removed by the National Socialists occupied and cleared out the gallery in 1933. The surviving works of mainly paintings and drawings from the late 19th and early 20th centuries were collected together for the first time since the dissolution of the collection in a special exhibition in Giessen in 2018.²⁴⁴

Gustav and Helene had four sons:

- a. Hans (1889-1914), Dr. jur, patent attorney, died in the First World War.
- b. Helmuth Parzival (1892-1982), worked in the tobacco factory, was an officer in WW1. Later he lived on his family's fortune.
- c. Eitel Friedrich, called Fritz (1894-1957), had a doctorate in history, worked in the tobacco factory. As a 'victimised Jew', and therefore innocent of Nazi crimes, became an administrator in the Justice Department in Berlin in 1946.
- d. Theo (1898-1914) died of a botched appendectomy.

Eitel Friedrich/Fritz was the grandfather of Matthais Bock. Matthais' father Hans – Joachim (1921 - 2008) had been baptised and married a non-Jew. So in WW2, initially he was protected by his so called 'privileged marriage'. He was called up but refused to become an officer in the army as his father was being persecuted as a Jew. He was sent to a forced labour camp and when in 1943 there was a general roundup of 4700 Jewish men and women, who had been previously protected, he was arrested and held in Berlin. His wife, a non-political person, joined the protest of about 3000 women in Rosenstrasse. They were successful in demanding the men's release.²⁴⁵

3b. Alfred (1859 -1932)

Alfred married Julie Kehr. They had four children.

Alfred was a celebrated local author of novels and stories, mainly with a local Giessen or Hessian background and was the first winner of the Büchner Prize.²⁴⁶ He was nominally co-owner of the tobacco factory, but didn't work there,

Their son Werner Bock, who also became a writer. He emigrated to Argentina in 1939, where he later became professor of German literature.²⁴⁷

3c. Adele Bock

Adele married Emil Teppich.

Their son, Hans Siegmund, born 18.7.1890 in Königsberg was deported from Hamburg on 2.6.1943, first to Theresienstadt and then on 28.9.44, was taken to Auschwitz where he was murdered.

Marion and Jonathan Davies visit Lich, May 2015



Marion, Inge Steul and Jonathan,

Stadt Archiv



Hanno Müller, Inge Steul, Anja Stark

Examining the historic documents

Further information

Glossary

Einzugsgeld, entry fee

Ellenware, material merchandise of various types that was measured by the Elle

Handelsmann dealer or trader, merchant

Hausierend, peddled from home to home

Kaufmann, merchant, businessman

Israelitische Religions Gemeinde, IRG, orthodox Jewish community established around 1853 in Frankfurt

Landesproduktehändler, trader in agricultural products

Ortsbürger, local citizens

Ortsbürgerecht, local civil rights

Parnas, elected head of the Jewish community

Reichsprogramnacht, Kristallnacht, the Night of Broken Glass, 9/10 November 1938

Schacherhandel, haggling, peddling, cattle dealing

Schutz, protection

Schutzbrief, letter of protection

Schutzjude, protected Jew

Staatsbürgerrecht, citizenship

Steuer, council tax

Vorsteher, head of the Jewish community

Further Reading and Bibliography

Arnsberg, P., Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Hessen. Anfang. Untergang. Neubeginn, 2 Volumes Frankfurt am Main, 1971/1972

Demandt, Karl E.: Die hessische Judenstättigkeit von 1744. In: Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte 23, 1973

Eller, E., Es war ihre Heimat: jüdische Familiengeschichten aus Hungen, 2004

Elon, A., The Pity of it All: A Portrait of German Jews, 1743-1933, London, 2003

Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen

Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland, 1933-1945 (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 2006)

Greve, B., Ein Guter Ort – der jüdische Friedhof Oberaula. Forschungen zu einem Landfriedhof in Nordhessen. In: Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde 117/118, 2012/13

Greve, B., Eine kleine Stadt in Hessen. Neukirchen, die Juden und der Nationalsozialismus, in: "Schriften zur regionalen Zeitgeschichte", hrg. vom Fachbereich

Erziehungswissenschaft/Humanwissenschaften der Universität Kassel, Band 23, Kassel 2010 Greve, B. *Jeder Mensch hat einen Namen. Was man den Juden aus Neukirchen am Knüll angetan hat.* 1933 – 1945, in: Bernd Lindenthal (Hrg.), Heimatvertriebene Nachbarn, Band 3, Schwalmstadt-Treysa 2008, S. 307 – 446

Greve, B. Jüdisches Leben in den Dörfern Breitenbach, Hausen und Ottrau in landgräflicher und kurfürstlicher Zeit. In Hartwig Bambey, Adolf Biskamp, Bernd Lindenthal (Hrsg.): Heimatvertriebene Nachbarn 2, Schwalmstadt-Treysa 1992

Greve, B., Schluss mit "lustik". Die Tabellen der Israeliten aus dem Jahre 1816/17 - Basis kurfürstlicher Erziehungspolitik und sozialgeschichtliche Quelle. In: Schwälmer Jahrbuch 2009 Grulms, E., Kleibl, B.,: Jüdische Friedhöfe in Nordhessen. Bestand und Sicherung. Kassel 1984

Hess J., Our Family, A History of the Hess and Livingston Families, Private publication, 2001 Israel, J., European Jewry in the age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750, Oxford, 1985 Kaufman, M., The Daily Life of the Village and Country Jews in Hessen from Hitler's Ascent to Power to November 1938, Yad Vashem Studies XXII, (Jerusalem 1992), pp. 147-159 Konrad-Tromsdorf, K., Jewish Life in Upper Hessen. This was on the Goethe Institute website but has since disappeared. The article is mentioned in

https://www.holocaustliteratur.de/english/Chambre-Stiftung/.Müller, H., Damrath, F., Kingreen, M., und Konrad-Leder, K., *Juden in Lich, Birklar, Langsdorf, Muschenheim und Ettingshausen*, Ernst Ludwig Chambré Stiftung, Lich, 2010

Müller, H., Kingreen, M., und Eckhardt, Frank., *Juden in Schotten 1629-1945 und Einartshausen 1800-1942*, Ernst Ludwig Chambré Stiftung, Lich, 2016

Müller, H., Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen, Nachträge, Erweiterung Einartshausen, Ernst Ludwig Chambré Stiftung, Lich, 2022

Müller, H., Bertram D., und Damrath, F., *Judenfamilien in Hungen und in Inheiden, Utphe, Villingen, Obbornhofen, Bellersheim und Wohnbach*, Ernst Ludwig Chambré Stiftung, Lich, 2009

Müller, H., *Juden in Giessen 1788 – 1942*, Ernst Ludwig Chambré Stiftung, Lich, 2009 Rose, E., *Portraits of Our Past: Jews of the German Countryside*, Jewish Publication Society, 2001

Schneider, A., Die jüdischen Familien im ehemaligen Kreise Kirchhain: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Genealogie der jüdischen Familien, Amöneburg, 2006. Available at http://digital.cjh.org.

Sieburg D., *Die Synagogengemeinde von Neustadt-Momberg,* Neustadt: Gesamtschule Neustadt, 1990

Stein, M., The Way It Was: The Jewish World of Rural Hesse, Atlanta, 2000

Websites and Archives

- www.alemannia-judaica.de/
- www.lagis-hessen.de/en/ Cemeteries in Hessen
- www.jewishistory.org
- www.yadvashem.org/articles/academic/daily-life-hessen.html
- Gedenkbuch https://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/introduction/en
- Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities: Germany volume 3, Yad Vashem
- https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v3530959 1621-1636,1673
- Juden zu Ziegenhain und Obergrenzebach, Life span: 1677-1679
- https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v1328897
- Judensachen in Stadt und Amt Ziegenhain 1622-1695
- https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v5168552
- Staatsarchive, Hessen
- Stadtarchiv Lich
- Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt
- Bachrach/Wallach: Hesse State Archive Marburg from the stocks 330 Neukirchen, 40 a Rubr. 16, Kataster I Neukirchen,17/2, 49 d Neukirchen, Slg 1, Prot. II Neukirchen, 5, 180 Ziegenhain, 33 b and others.
- The Solms-Rödelheim archive has recently been given to the Staatsarchiv Darmstadt.
 Once digitalised the records should be accessible HStAD Fonds F 24 C No 137/5

Endnotes

 $^{\mathrm{1}}$ The only one listed was for Barbara the wife of Lazarus Gallinger, died 1875.

https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v2836075&selectId=44110033 https://familypedia.wikia.org/wiki/Reinhard_I._zu_Solms-Lich_(1491-1562) Notable ancestors include Henry II of England (1133-1189), William I of England (1027-1087), Charlemagne (747-814), Hugh Capet (c.940-996), Alfred the Great (849-899)

- ¹² The economic situation of the Jews of Lich is described in Müller, *Juden in Lich* (for example pages 44-46). Jews in the late 18th and the first half of the 19th century are almost exclusively described as living in great poverty. The authors were interested in a more detailed look at the individual economic situation of rural Jews and to compare the economic situation of Jews and Christians.

 ¹³ http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7651-hesse#anchor5 *'When Hesse was elevated to a*
- grand duchy after the wars of liberation, the constitution of Dec. 17, 1820, which placed all the divisions of Hesse on an equal basis, granted to the Jews civic liberty. A special edict of July 17, 1823 regulated Jewish education, and another edict of Nov. 19, 1830, organized the congregations. A more favourable edict was substituted Nov. 2, 1841, In 1847 the disgraceful "moral patent," dating from the time of Napoleon and intended for Rhein-Hessen, was repealed; and after this last restriction had been removed the law promulgated on Aug. 2, 1848, decreed that "a difference in religion entails no difference in political or civic rights." The friendliness which the Hessian grand dukes displayed toward the Jews deserves special mention. As Ludwig I. energetically checked the excesses at the time of the "Hep! Hep! storm" in 1819, so Ludwig IV. and Ernst Ludwig (1903), both in speeches and by special decrees, strongly condemned anti-Semitism.'

⁴ Printed in Görlich, P. *Licher Heimatbuch,* 1989. Original in *Topographia Hassiae* by engraver Matthäus Merian, 1655

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Landgraviate_of_Hesse-Kassel

⁶ https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fil:HK_1789.png

⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Upper_Hesse

⁸ In 1932, Hessen had 402 different Jewish congregations. Arnsberg, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Hessen*, 1971

⁹ Monica Kingreen, quoted in Konrad-Tromsdorf Jewish Life in Upper Hessen

¹⁰ Rüdiger Mack, quoted in Konrad-Tromsdorf Jewish Life in Upper Hessen

¹¹ Emily Rose *Portraits of our Past,* p.29, who gives an interesting description of the peddling trade.

¹⁴ Hanno Müller gives the example of Lich-Langsdorf and Fernwald-Steinbach.

¹⁵ http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7651-hesse

¹⁶ Klaus Konrad-Tromsdorf, *Jewish Life in Upper Hessen*, has provided some background to Hessen life in general.

¹⁷ Hanno Müller

¹⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South German gulden

¹⁹ https://www.alemannia-judaica.de/lich synagoge.htm

²⁰ The bond was found by Inge Steul in the Marienstiftskirche archives, Lich (Card 407)

²¹ Juden in Lich, page 23

²² Stadtarchiv, Lich, XIII/1/1

²³ The Musterliste is a form of census and dated from 1818, following Napoleon's defeat. The monasteries were given to secular owners and both the new and old landowners wanted to establish how many subjects they had, their ages, wealth and religion. [Hanno Müller]

²⁴ Conversation with Frau Dörmer, 2014, Lich

- ²⁵ Measuring by the ell [English] *Elle* [German] was used mainly for textiles. Commonly a stick made out of wood, approximately 0,6 m long, or the distance between 'el'bow and fingertip. Before the introduction of the metric system in Germany, almost every town had its own local definitions for units of measurement. These were often posted on a wall of the city hall.
- ²⁶ Stadtarchiv Lich, Abt. XI, Konvolut 1, Fasz. 1. Juden in Lich, p. 239
- ²⁷ http://www.alemannia-judaica.org/lich synagoge.htm
- ²⁸ Listed in *Juden in Lich*, pp. 30-36
- ²⁹ https://www.stolpersteine.eu/en/home/
- ³⁰ Arcinsys: Archives in Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Darmstadt
- G 23 E Oberappellationsgericht, Zivilprozesse der Provinz Oberhessen
- 31 https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v2405283&selectId=247561

https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/einfachsuchen.action?pageName=einfachesuche&methodName =einfach&rechercheBean.defaultfield=&rechercheBean.defaultfield_widget=mayer+bock+1865&rechercheBean.von=&rechercheBean.bis=&rechercheBean.einfacheSucheRadioName=alle&__checkbox rechercheBean.hasdigi=true

- ³³ Juden in Lich, working summary of text in the book.
- ³⁴ Juden in Lich, page 57, Ettingshäuser Protokollbuch (ABSCHRIFTEN Nr. 78).
- ³⁵ The surname Bock is an early and popular German surname.

https://www.surnamedb.com/Surname/Bock

In some cases, it is a nickname for a male person who behaved like a "Bock", otherwise a ram or billy goat! In the medieval period people were robust in their views, and they did not hesitate to supply, very offensive nomenclature to other people. What is even more surprising is that these stuck, and that the recipients do not seem to have objected. Ultimately these nicknames became surnames in their own right.

- ³⁶ Found by Inge Steul in the Marienstiftskirche Lich (Karton 407)
- ³⁷ All the known houses are listed and shown in a later chapter.
- 38 Stadtarchiv, Lich VIII/3/18
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Juden in Lich, p. 58
- ⁴¹ Juden in Lich, pp. 602-603
- ⁴² Hanno Müller's estimate.
- ⁴³ Stadtarchiv Lich, G 26 A 762/2
- ⁴⁴ A dead cow that couldn't be eaten would be sold to the knacker who took the skin and fat and buried the rest. This was a very unpopular job, and many knackers were shunned by the community.
- ⁴⁵ Stadtachiv Lich XIII/4/1
- 46 Stadtachiv Lich XIII/4/20
- ⁴⁷ Urk. 1833, Beleg 134 u. 135
- ⁴⁸ Rechnungen des Simon Bock [23], Ellenwarenhändler in Lich [Juden in Lich, pp. 606 +]
- ⁴⁹ Stadtachiv Lich XI//2/1
- ⁵⁰ Stadtachiv Lich /9/
- ⁵¹ Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen, Hanno Müller, 2016
- ⁵² Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt, Reference number. F 24 C No. 137/7, F 2653-2669Nr. 137/7 (16)
- ⁵³ Judenfamilien in Hungen Hanno Müller et. al., 2009, p. 75
- ⁵⁴ A *Morgen* is a measure of land. An area that one man and one ox could till in a morning: 2/3 acre or 2,500 square metres.
- ⁵⁵ An obsolete measure of land based on a $Fu\beta$, the number of which varied from area to area.
- ⁵⁶ Stadtachiv Lich XIII/4/2
- ⁵⁷ Spelling is the original, though it also varies in the records. I have referred to him as Meyer as in the Lich book and to distinguish him from the later Mayer II [29]
- ⁵⁸ The consultation protocol of the city council of the city of Lich in the district of Grünberg [page 574] *Berathungsprotokoll* (Logbook of the Lich Municipality, 1821-1839, Protocol of 10 August 1838)
- ⁵⁹ The above took place during a period of complex discussions and debate in the various German

States about the rights or not of local Jews to acquire citizenship. Alongside was the establishment of compulsory State education, which was regarded as a way not only to progress but also to assimilate. Many Jews therefore feared the opening up of society. *A Letter to Henry Warburton, Esq., M.P. Upon the Emancipation of the Jews*, By Basil Montagu, 1833, counters the 10 objections to the emancipation of the Jews in England.

- 60 Stadtachiv Lich XI/2/1
- 61 https://digitalisate-he.arcinsys.de/hhstaw/365/628/00005.jpg
- ⁶² Stadtachiv Lich XIII/3/2
- ⁶³ Brandkataster is a civil record of values of houses for insurance against fire. Hanno Müller explained that a nice, big house might be valued at 2.000 Gulden, a small hut 400 Gulden. From the sums told in the Brandkataster it is possible to tell if the owner was rich or poor.
- ⁶⁴ Until about 1863 his business was run from house number 144 and by about 1864 from house number 248/75. Source: Inge Stuel
- 65 Marienstiftsarchiv Lich 436
- ⁶⁶ Marienstiftsarchiv zur Privat-Schul-Gesellschaft 1865
- ⁶⁷ Information from the Hessische Hauptstaatsarchiv file no. hhstaw_518_9826_bd_01_016. Thanks to the research by the *Frankfurter Cäcilienchor*. Documents are part of the compensation application made by Hugo's daughter Erica Stern.
- ⁶⁸ Monica Kingreen in *The Memorial at the Frankfurt Grossmarkthalle*, chapter entitled *The Grossmarkthalle and the deportation of the Jewish population of Frankfurt and the Wiesbaden Administrative Region from 1941 to 1945*, p. 175
- ⁶⁹ https://www.juedische-pflegegeschichte.de/frankfurter-juedische-altenpflege-und-altenhilfe-ein-historischer-ueberblick/
- ⁷⁰ Research undertaken by Matthias Knoche
- ⁷¹ Monica Kingreen p. 173, 174 (endnote 62)
- ⁷² Information is based on a List of Theresienstadt camp inmates in *Terezinska Pametni Kniha/Theresienstaedter Gedenkbuch*, Terezinska Iniciativa, vol. I-II Melantrich, Praha 1995, vol. III Academia Verlag, Prag 2000.
- ⁷³ Lich Stadtarchiv XIII/1/4
- ⁷⁴ I have raised this with Anne Webber of Commission for Looted Art in Europe
- ⁷⁵ Yad Vashem Page of Testimony submitted by André Weisman who was born 1934 and was a cousin on the Braunthal side. His story of his survival in France, together with his two brothers, and the death of his mother can be accessed on https://lesdeportesdesarthe.wordpress.com/andre-weisman/
- ⁷⁶ https://www.stolpersteine.eu/en/home/

https://stolpersteine-frankfurt.de/enn

- ⁷⁷ Research undertaken by Petra Bonavita
- ⁷⁸ Obtained through the research of the Frankfurter Cäcilienchor
- ⁷⁹ Source: Alice Goldschmidt
- ⁸⁰ Republic of South Africa archives, sourced by Wilf Stein.

Document 28 of 78, DEPOT VAB, SOURCE MHG, SYSTEM 01, REFERENCE B729, PART 1, DESCRIPTION,

AMMERSCHLAG, HILDA. GEBORE BOCK. Surviving spouse Siegmund Hammerschlag, 1883

Document 30 of 78, DEPOT TAB, SOURCE ZTPD, VOLUME_NO 5/123, SYSTEM 01, REFERENCE 721/1887, PART 1, DESCRIPTION, ILLIQUID CASE. PAYMENT. L SCHULTIS, S HAMMERSCHLAG AND BOCK VERSUS THE PRETORIA GOLD MINING COMPANY. Surviving spouse Siegmund Hammerschlag, 1887

- 81 Lich Stadtarchiv XIII/2/4
- 82 Stadtarchiv, Lich, VIII/2/3
- 83 Stadtachiv Lich XI/4/11
- ⁸⁴ http://www.germansynagogues.com/index.php/synagogues-and-communities?pid=66&sid=403:einartshausen
- ⁸⁵ Dr Brumhard was a local Veterinary Surgeon and sadly died in 2021
- ⁸⁶ Dissertation by Faust, 1937, quoted in *Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen*, Müller, 2016, p. 128
- ⁸⁷ Thanks to Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen, 2022, Müller. Translation of pp 61-68, Section 138

```
88 HStAD F 24 C Nr. 137/4, F 1327-1326
```

⁸⁹ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/4, F 1449-1452

⁹⁰ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/8, F 2931-2944

⁹¹ HStAD F 24 C No. 138/8, F 2797

⁹² Müller, Juden in Schotten Einartshausen, 2022, p.104

⁹³ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/londorf synagoge.htm

⁹⁴ http://germansynagogues.com/index.php/synagogues-and-communities?pid=54&sid=845:londorf and http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/londorf friedhof.htm

⁹⁵ Mayer Abraham [Einartshausen 67a] is, based on Hanno Müllers research, definitely not his father.

⁹⁶ The Hess family name chosen in 1808 could have been associated with Nathan's father-in-law, Mayer Wolf who in 1775/76 was recorded as "*Hesse-Mayer Wolf*" after his origin in Merzhausen in Electoral Hesse. In all likelihood Nathan Affrom also came from Electoral Hesse.

⁹⁷ Müller, H., Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen, Lich, 2022, p. 189

⁹⁸ I would like to thank Georg Siebert, the archivist at the *Hessisches Staatsarchiv*, Darmstadt. Prior to the renewed research of Hanno Müller, he searched the *Amtsbücher der Grafschaft Solms-Rödelheim* on my behalf for the business books of Einartshausen for the years 1706-1820. No. 540 includes the lists of *Schutzgeld* payments made by the Jews from Einartshausen.

⁹⁹ Dissertation by Faust, 1937. Quote in *Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen*, Müller, 2016, p. 128 ¹⁰⁰ Dr Brumhard wrote that it was possible the house was still standing.

¹⁰¹ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/4, F 1339 and 1340

¹⁰² https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/start. Then: Staatsarchive, Suche - Einfache Suche, Nathan Abraham in Einartshausen

¹⁰³ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/7, F 2648

¹⁰⁴ HStAD F 24 C Nr. 137/4, F 1394-1398

the name given to a voucher issued by Jewish communities in Germany, Poland and neighbouring countries to provide for needy people passing through. The system was in use from the end of the 15th century until the 19th century. Before emancipation, the Jewish communities had to organise and finance the provision for the poor themselves, as they were excluded from the general provision for the poor; a responsibility of the Christian churches. Additionally, Jews were more often on the move than Christians. Müller, *Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen*, 2016, p. 85

¹⁰⁶ HStAD F 24 Nr. C Nr. 137/4, F 1440-1444

¹⁰⁷ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/7, F 2674, 2675

¹⁰⁸ HStAD F 24 C Nr. 137/4, F 1362, 1364

¹⁰⁹ See above

¹¹⁰ Our Family, A History of the Hess and Livingston Families, John Peter Hess, 2001 quoted in http://embed.europeana1914-1918.eu/en/contributions/5878#prettyPhoto See also, Es war ihre Heimat, Judische Familiengeschichten aus Hungen, 2004

¹¹¹ The main possible source for further information could come from the Solms-Rödelheim accounts, *Jahresrechnungen über Einnahme und Ausgabe*, in which the annual amount paid for *Schutz*, protection, by Jews would be entered.

¹¹² Stadtarchiv Schotten, Gemeindearchiv Einartshausen XIII - *Trauungs, Geburts und Sterb-Matrikel der jüdischen Einwohner zu <u>Einartshausen</u> - Angefangen im Jahr 1809, S. 129*

¹¹³ HStAD, R 21 J, 3556 1802

¹¹⁴ HStAD F 24 C No. 139/9 Stock R 21 J No. 3216

¹¹⁵ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/4, F 1368

¹¹⁶ http://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9682 and further information at http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/einartshausen_synagoge.htm

¹¹⁷ Müller, Juden in Schotten, Einartshausen, 2016, p. 129

¹¹⁸ HStAD F 24 C Nr. 137/4, F 1435-1437

¹¹⁹ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9578

¹²⁰ Müller, *Judenfamilien in Hungen*, p.10. See section 2.3 on Ellenwarenhandel

```
121 https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/18447
```

- ¹²² HStAD F 24 C No. 137/4, F 1504-1521
- 123 http://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9690
- ¹²⁴ HStAD F 24 C Nr. 137/4, F 1445-1448
- 125 https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9691
- ¹²⁶ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/18516
- ¹²⁷ Müller, Juden in Schotten, Einartshausen, 2022, p.108
- ¹²⁸ HStAD F 24 C Nr. 137/8, F 3092-3095. See Appendix 14, Müller, *Juden in Schotten, Einartshausen*, 2022, p.118
- ¹²⁹ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/8, F 2979-3130
- 130 Ibid.
- ¹³¹ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/4, F 1325 and 1326
- 132 https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/
- ¹³³ HStAM Best. 49 d Ziegenhain No. 158
- ¹³⁴ HStAM Best. 5 No. 2347
- ¹³⁵ Ruetz, 1979, p. 113
- ¹³⁶ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/8, F 2946
- ¹³⁷ HStAD F 24 C No. 137/8, F 2824-2825
- ¹³⁸ HStAD F 24 C No. 1774-75-B-24
- ¹³⁹ HStAD F 24 C No. 793-94-B-14
- ¹⁴⁰ Müller, Juden in Schotten, Einartshausen, 2022, p.79
- ¹⁴¹ Müller, Juden in Schotten, Einartshausen, 2016 and 2022
- ¹⁴² Müller, Juden in Schotten, Einartshausen, 2022, p.42. HStAD F 24 C No. 137/2, F 1731-1738
- ¹⁴³ Alfred Schneider's extensive family tree of the Bachrach family [page 124 -125] starts with Aaron and Esther. Note that his dates do not always accord with those of the more recent Hessen cemetery project; so, I have used the latter. Strangely, he had no record of Ranchen, though he does enter a daughter born in 1830 named Sarchen (Ranchen's dates are accurate as they are on her tombstone).
- https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/gsrec/current/1/sn/syn?q=neukirchen
- ¹⁴⁵ Demandt, Karl E.: *Die hessische Judenstättigkeit von 1744.*, p.300
- ¹⁴⁶ Arnsberg, P., Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Hessen Band 2, p.123 and HStAM, H 3 Neukirchen
- ¹⁴⁷ Greve, B.,: Schluss mit "lustik", p. 131-147
- ¹⁴⁸ Interview with Frau C. W., born 1925, on 11.1.2007 in Neukirchen
- ¹⁴⁹ Greve, B., Ein Guter Ort der Jüdische Friedhof Oberaula. p. 163
- ¹⁵⁰ Grulms, Eva; Kleibl, Bernd: Jüdische Friedhöfe in Nordhessen. p.142 f.
- ¹⁵¹ HStAM, Protokolle II Neukirchen, 83
- ¹⁵² Primarily with excerpts from https://www.lagis-

hessen.de/de/subjects/gsrec/current/1/sn/syn?q=neustadt.

- 153 https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/gsrec/current/1/sn/syn?q=neustadt
- ¹⁵⁴ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/neustadt_hessen_synagoge.htm#Neustadt
- ¹⁵⁵ HStAM 105 c, 1995; Also Schneider , A., *Die jüdischen Familien im ehemaligen Kreise Kirchhain*, p. 119
- ¹⁵⁶Schneider, A., Die jüdischen Familien im ehemaligen Kreise Kirchhain, p.118
- http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/neustadt_hessen_friedhof.htm and http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/marburg_lahn-dill-kreis_friedhoefe.htm#Stadtallendorf%20-%20Hatzbach
- ¹⁵⁸ Schneider A. *Die jüdischen Familien im ehemaligen Kreise Kirchhain*.
- ¹⁵⁹ An official record of the owners of land, and of the amount and value of the land they own, used for calculating the amount of tax owed
- ¹⁶⁰ Ed Schechter sent me a family tree in 2005 that gave Aron's date of death as 29 Apr 1813. He wrote he was related to Salomon Bachrach who married Berta Bachrach. Sadly, he is no longer responding to emails. Greve has suggested that Aron may have been the Aaron, son of Samson Sg''l, who died on April 11, 1812, and was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Oberaula. She agrees that the Hebrew name Samson, does not, however, fit with the likely Hebrew name of Aron's father.

- ¹⁶¹ Müller, Juden in Schotten und Einartshausen, 2016. Daughter of Kauffmann Schmuel [104] p. 52
 ¹⁶² Bildarchiv Foto Marburg: B 2034/7. https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/10587
- ¹⁶³ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/10587 Research by Barbara Greve, 2013 See HStAM Item Bet 33b, No. 191 and HStAM, Item 180, Ziegenhain, No. 2301
- German original of Greve's text: Fradchen Samuel wurde 1782 in Schotten geboren. Sie heiratete im Jahre 1801 den Krämer Süsmann Bachrach aus Neukirchen, der 1776 geboren wurde. Er könnte ein Sohn des Haune Bachrach und der Esther Unna gewesen sein, denn er nennt seinen erstgeborenen Sohn Haune. Der Schutzbrief Süsmann Bachrachs datiert auf den 1. Januar 1816; es heißt dort aber auch, dass er sich bereits in der westphälischen Zeit in Neukirchen niedergelassen [settled down] habe. (HStAM Bet. 33b Nr. 191) Das Ehepaar hatte fünf Kinder. (HStAM Best. 180 Ziegenhain Nr. 2301). (Barbara Greve, 2013)
- ¹⁶⁴ Neukirchen lies in the mountain range of the Knüllgebirge. Kassel, the nearest city is 60km north. ¹⁶⁵ http://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/5330%3E%20(Stand:%201.4.2009 *Nach einem wohl Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts angelegten und etliche Jahre fortgeführten Verzeichnis der männlichen Juden in Neustadt und Momberg wurde Marcus Bachrach, wohnhaft in Neustadt, von Beruf Kaufmann, im Dezember 1782 in Neukirchen geboren (HHStAW, Abt. 365, Nr. 631). According to a list of the male Jews in Neustadt and Momberg, which was probably begun at the beginning of the nineteenth century and continued for several years, Marcus Bachrach, a resident of Neustadt, was born in Neukirchen in December 1782. Also see Schneider, A., <i>Die jüdischen Familien im ehemaligen Kreise Kirchhain*, 2006, p. 124 plus. According to this, Marcus Bachrach's mother Esther was née Unna. Schneider's date of death 01.06.1875 must be a mistake.
- ¹⁶⁶ Some researchers give the date of death for Sara as 1875. This cannot be correct. Her youngest daughter was given her name, implying the mother had died.
- ¹⁶⁷ Marcus Bachrach war in erster Ehe mit Sara geb. Katz verheiratet. Aus dieser Ehe lassen sich die Kinder Samuel Bachrach [Grabnummer 27], geb. 1812, und Sarchen Stern geb. Bachrach [Friedhof Binsförth, Grabnummer 232], geb. um 1816/18, verheiratet in Spangenberg, feststellen.
- ¹⁶⁸ Dankward Sieburg: *Die Synagogengemeinde zu Neustadt*, p 372. And LAGIS , Rotenburg cemetery entry for Esther Nussbaum née Bachrach.
- ¹⁶⁹ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/5320
- ¹⁷⁰ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/405
- ¹⁷¹ Source: Realschullehrer, Dankward Sieburg
- ¹⁷² https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/5337, Text Barbara Greve 2013
- ¹⁷³ This marriage is taken from Schneider. Greve enters her as married to Isaak Hirsch Goldschmidt in 1861 and born on 2.5.1835 in Neukirchen. This could have been a second marriage. https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/10778
- ¹⁷⁴ Walter Birnbaum, 1936
- ¹⁷⁵ Schneider includes a child called Sarchen born on 9.9.1830
- ¹⁷⁶ Schneider, pp. 124,125
- ¹⁷⁷ https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=v1900007
- ¹⁷⁸ HStAM Best. 915 Nr. 6541 p 3
- 179 http://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/5330%3E%20(Stand:%201.4.2009
- http://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/5321

Laut Sterberegister: Beschen Bachrach geb. Wallach, gestorben am 01.04.1870 im Alter von 68 Jahren, Tochter des Handelsmannes Wolf Wallach und der Ranchen, der Wohnort der Eltern wird nicht angegeben (HHStAW, Abt. 365, Nr. 630). Die Verstorbene heiratete vor 1820 - Geburtsjahr des Sohnes Elias Bachrach [Grabnummer 63] - Marcus Bachrach [Grabnummer 37] und lebte mit ihm in Neustadt. Zur Familie vgl. auch Schneider, Alfred: Die jüdischen Familien im ehemaligen Kreise Kirchhain, Amöneburg 2006, S. 124 mit weiteren Angaben. Das von Schneider mitgeteilte Sterbedatum 01.08.1870 muss ein Irrtum sein.

Die Verstorbene ist sicherlich identisch mit der in einer Liste der Juden in Neukirchen am Knüll von 1816/17 genannten Besgen, der damals 14 Jahre alten Tochter des Wolf Wallach zu Neukirchen und seiner Frau Reinwe [= Reinche ?] (vgl. Barbara Greve: Schluss mit "lustik". Die "Tabellen der Israeliten"

aus dem Jahre 1816/17 - Basis kurfürstlicher Erziehungspolitik und sozialgeschichtliche Quelle. In: Schwälmer Jahrbuch 2009, S. 131-147, hier S. 140).

- 181 http://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/gsrec/current/17/sn/juf?q=haune
- ¹⁸² HHStAW, 365, no. 631
- ¹⁸³ Source: Reuven Mohr, (Jewish Gen researcher code 189705)
- Naumburg, geb. 1778, war die Ehefrau des Wolf Wallach, welcher 1768 geboren wurde. Die Familie ist zu dieser Zeit noch nicht in Neukirchen ansässig [resident]. Wolf Wallach könnte vielleicht ein nachgeborener Sohn des erstmals 1762 für Ottrau genannten Salomon Wallach sein, denn er nennt seinen erstgeborenen Sohn Salomon. (HStAM Best. 40a Rubr. 2 Nr. 2253) Wolf Wallach, welcher Viehund Detailhandel betrieb und Besitzer einer Hofreite war, erhielt am 1. Januar 1792 den Schutz nach Neukirchen. Die Eheschließung mit Ranche erfolgte im Jahre 1794. Im Jahre 1816 wird Ranche als Mutter von Salomon, 21, Itzig, 19, Juda, 12, Selig, 10 und Besge, 14, genannt. Source: HStAM Best. 33b Nr. 191, (Barbara Greve, 2013). NB Greve has pointed out that Feist Wallach, the father of Salomon in Ziegenhain, has no connection other than the name, with the Neukirchen Wallach family.
- 185 Excerpts taken from https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/purl/resolve/subject/syn/id/396
- 186 http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/ottrau_synagoge.htm
- ¹⁸⁷ Greve, B., Jüdisches Leben in den Dörfern Breitenbach, Hausen und Ottrau, Friedhof Oberaula, p. 164 ff.
- ¹⁸⁸ HStAM, 40 a Rubr. 02, 2253
- ¹⁸⁹ HStAM, 180 Ziegenhain, 2873
- ¹⁹⁰ Greve, Barbara: *Jüdisches Leben*, p. 166 ff
- ¹⁹¹ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/gsrec/current/1/sn/syn?q=naumburg
- ¹⁹² http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/naumburg_synagoge.htm
- the help offered by Barbara Greve and her invaluable genealogical research. She is also a contributor to the Hessian Regional History Information System (LAGIS) project and website, https://www.lagishessen.de/en/index/about. Further civic records can be found on the https://arcinsys.hessen.de website. It should also be noted that Greve has written two volumes about the victims of the National Socialists; Greve, B., *Jeder Mensch hat einen Namen*. Greve, B., Eine *kleine Stadt in Hessen*. *Neukirchen, die Juden und der Nationalsozialismus*.
- ¹⁹⁴ https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction?detailid=r5777678
- ¹⁹⁵ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/10586.

Oberaula has 311 standing gravestones and was used from 1698-1937. The Jews of Neukirchen used the cemetery at Oberaula between 1811 and 1842. Source: Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden in Hessen

- ¹⁹⁶ Schneider, Alfred, Die jüdischen Familien im ehemaligen Kreise Kirchhain, pp. 124,125
- ¹⁹⁷ I have a note that in the crusades Jews from Mainz may have crossed the Rhine and come to Schierstein. I no longer know where this comes from.
- ¹⁹⁸ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/schierstein_synagoge.htm#Schierstein
- ¹⁹⁹ Paul Arnsberg: *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Hessen*, 1971. Bd. II pp. 270-272.
- ²⁰⁰ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/schierstein_synagoge.htm#Schierstein
- ²⁰¹ Information taken from http://www.germansynagogues.com/index.php/synagogues-and-communities?pid=66&sid=1155:schierstein and http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/schierstein synagoge.htm#Schierstein
- ²⁰² Der jüdische Friedhof in Wehen (Stadt Taunusstein, Rheingau-Taunus-Kreis) (alemannia-judaica.de)
- ²⁰³ Kommission für die Geschichte der Juden in Hessen, list of graves in the Jewish cemetery in Wiesbaden (Schöne Aussicht) 2018. Provided by Dr Hartmut Heinemann.
- ²⁰⁴ See the Appendix for a summary of Abraham's descendants.
- ²⁰⁵ Daniel Kester who undertook some early research found different names on different records.
- ²⁰⁶ LAGIS: See below and http://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9011
- ²⁰⁷ Schierstein Bürgerliste in Wiesbaden archives, entry 256

- ²⁰⁸ His descendants can be found on www.jewishgen.org/
- ²⁰⁹ They had the following children: Julius (1874, Wiesbaden 1964, New York), Selma Sara (1873, Frankfurt- 1937, Berlin), Helene, Siegfried, Martha. Suggestion of Wolfgang Fritsche: Abraham was probably married a second time to Johanna Marx, born January 13, 1868, died November 11, 1939. Their known children: Bertha, born October 20, 1900, Nathan Sally, born November 18, 1891 (later living Kurfuerstenstraße 40, Mainz), died in Switzerland, Julius, born January 6, 1895, died 1.2.1963 in Wiesbaden, he was deported to Theresienstadt, married to Luise née Gerich (Christian). Grave found in the Schierstein cemetery by Daniel Kester.
- ²¹⁰ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9280 Picture Credits: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg B 7352/2; 05/17-23 + 05/17-24
- ²¹¹ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9249
- ²¹² http://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9249
- ²¹³ This was not legal until a decree of King Wilhelm I, in 1879, allowed for separate religious communities.
- ²¹⁴ https://www.alemannia-judaica.de/wiesbaden_altisraelitische_kultusgemeinde.htm And

https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/valley/wiesbaden/before20century.asp

²¹⁵ HHStAW fonds 3008, 1, no. 13800 and HHStAW, fonds 3008, 1, no. 13802

https://juedisches-wiesbaden.de/en/wiedergruendung-1946/

- ²¹⁶ Either Siegfried or Eduard died in Cannes on 30 August 1925
- ²¹⁷ Handwritten record with thanks to the Aktives Museum, Wiesbaden
- ²¹⁸ Handwritten record with thanks to the Aktives Museum, Wiesbaden
- ²¹⁹ Information in the database of the Aktives Museum Wiesbaden
- ²²⁰ LAGIS: See below and http://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9011
- ²²¹ Information from Wolfgang Fritzsche who confirmed there were 2 Saras in the records
- ²²² https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9312
- ²²³ http://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9011

Photo credit: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg B 7378/6

²²⁴ https://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9246

Photo has currently been withdrawn, credit: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg B 7366/2

- ²²⁵ HHStAW 365/915
- ²²⁶ Article from The Encyclopedia of Jewish life Before and During the Holocaust,

http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/gailingen synagoge.htm#Gailingen

- ²²⁷ http://www.jm-gailingen.de/?page_id=1481. Jewish Museum, Gailingen, entry on the Jewish cemetery.
- ²²⁸ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/gaugrehweiler_synagoge.htm#Zur Geschichte der j%C3%BCdischen Gemeinde
- ²²⁹https://www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/rheinland-pfalz-rhineland-palatinate/gaugrehweiler.html
- ²³⁰ (Skizze von Jakob Schworm, Foto: Archiv Fücks, veröffentlicht in Weber s. Lit. S. 78 und Synagogenbuch Rheinland-Pfalz S. 162)

http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/images/Images%2062/Gauersheim_Synagoge_001_small.jpg
²³¹ http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/partenheim synagoge.htm#Partenheim

²³² Genealogical survey of the Gallinger / Galinger family of Germany, originally from Gailingen, Wittelshofen, Gaugrehweiler and Nuremberg. 1721 – 1985. Herb Mautner

http://digital.cjh.org/view/action/singleViewer.do?dvs=1519724718689~687&locale=en_US&VIEWE R_URL=/view/action/singleViewer.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=6&frameId=1&usePid1=true&usePid2=t

²³³ Information about Josef Jonas with grateful thanks to Rolf Hofmann and the Harburg Project

²³⁴ Email from Sam Shulman: Schele and Marc had one son, Isak - Schele may have died in childbirth or from puerperal fever -- and then Marc married another Gaugrehweiler woman, Gütel (Johanna/Henrietta Wolf, with whom he had 3 other sons, among them my great-great-grandfather Abraham, and then 2 more daughters with a third wife. Isak Lebensberger remained in

Gaugrehweiler, while all five of his half-siblings emigrated to various towns in northern and central Ohio in the 1840s. Isak Lebensberger managed family estates in and around Gaugrehweiler, one of which was owned jointly by the families of Marc's first and second wives before his second marriage. This, as you can imagine, led to trouble. Schele's brother David Gallinger and Johanna's brother Isak Wolf were partners in an estate, and Isak died, leaving his interest to his sister -- so it was owned by the uncle of the eldest Lebensberger brother Isak, and the mother of his three younger half-brothers. When Johanna died, it was left jointly to the sole Lebensberger-Gallinger son Isak and the eldest Lebensberger-Wolf son Joseph. After Joseph and his siblings emigrated, the estate was managed entirely by Isak. Something about this arrangement caused bad blood between the Lebensberger-Gallinger and the Lebensberger-Wolf siblings, which carried over permanently into all future generations of Lebensbergers in America in the later 19th and 20th centuries. When Isak's widow and children arrived in Ohio after his death in 1869, they were ignored by the Lebensberger-Wolfs, changed their name to Lebensburger, and the two branches of the family have had no contact ever since, even when they have lived in the same towns and cities for generations.

"David's grandson, Moritz, who turns up in Chicago in 1877, having emigrated just 3 years before. He marries but has no children. What is amusing to see in the newspapers is that he becomes a well-known caterer, restaurateur, and club manager, and among his patrons are the descendants of other Gaugrehweiler families living in Chicago. So, in May, 1886, an in-law of the Lebensbergers, Joseph Lebolt, is MC at a wedding dinner "served by the elegant caterer, Gallinger." The son of the couple, married before the dinner, married my mother's aunt in 1925. I have other press clippings describing dinners "so magnificent only Gallinger could have catered it," and a sadder one from 1891, when a couple to whom he sold a restaurant has him arrested for false representation.

235 Kukatzki B. *Aus dem Juden ein Herr, und aus der Hure eine Mamsell. Zur Geschichte der* Juden *im ehemaligen rheingräflichen Residenzstädtchen Gaugrehweiler 1670 – 1940*, Landau/Pfalz, 1999 236 Laukhard, F.C. (1757–1822) Leben und Thaten des Rheingrafen Carl Magnus, den Joseph II auf zehn Jahre ins Gefängniß nach Königstein schickte, um da die Rechte der Unterthanen und anderer Menschen respectiren zu lernen. Zur Warnung für alle winzige Despoten, Leichtgläubige und Geschäftsmänner, Fleischer, 1798

 $https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5Fc6AAAAcAAJ\&printsec=frontcover\&source=gbs_ge_summary_r\&cad=0\#v=onepage\&q\&f=false$

- ²³⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich Christian Laukhard
- ²³⁸ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl Magnus von Rheingrafenstein
- ²³⁹ It is generally accepted that Grehweiler is the same place as Gaugrehweiler
- ²⁴⁰ HHStAW 365/915: geb. zu Gauwersweiler [a misspelling of Gaugrehweiler] in der bayerischen Pfalz, Tochter des Nathan und Gütel Gallinger, Wwe. des Jonathan Kahn zu Partenheim in Rheinhessen, wohnhaft in Wiesbaden.
- ²⁴¹ http://www.lagis-hessen.de/en/subjects/idrec/sn/juf/id/9331 The correct name of her birthplace is Gaugrehweiler in the Donnersbergkreis district, in Rhineland-Palatinate.
- ²⁴² Photo with grateful thanks to Dagmar Klein, Giessen
- ²⁴³ Hessischen Landesmuseum, Hessische Chronik 2/1913, Repro, Stadtarchiv Gießen
- ²⁴⁴ https://www.giessen.de/Erleben/Kultur/Museen-Ausstellungen/Oberhessisches-Museum/Sonderausstellungen/R%C3%BCckblick-Sonderausstellungen/Kunst-und-Leben.php?object=tx,2874.15926&ModID=11&FID=684.41766.1&NavID=2874.436&La=1
- ²⁴⁵ Information from Matthais Bock
- ²⁴⁶ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred Bock (Schriftsteller)
- ²⁴⁷ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Werner_Bock