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The Rosenzweig Letters: A Journey into the German-Jewish Tragedy

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Introduction

The centerpiece of this web-site is formed by translations of 21 letters of which 18 were written to or by the Rosenzweigs during the brief time-span between February 26, 1942 and June 30, 1943 in the midst of World War II. To give a little background for the war time letters, we have included three others from Eric Yondorf's family files.

Sophie Guckenheimer's letter to her children of January 1898 sets the tone of family solidarity which was so typical for Jewish as well as other close-knit families of the period. Mathilde Rosenzweig was one of Sophie's daughters. Stephan Jondorf, oldest son of Pauline Jondorf, was a businessman keenly aware of the post-World War I political conditions in Germany in 1923 which he describes in his letter to a relative in Chicago. Finally Pauline Jondorf on a short vacation trip to Czechoslovakia in 1933 writes her uncensored views on Nazi Germany to her brother in Chicago.

Ludwig and Mathilde had lived in Glarus, Switzerland, since June 19, 1940. Postal service, albeit at very irregular intervals, was available to most parts of the war-torn world. Many people are mentioned in these letters, friends and relatives for the most part. Their names will not have much meaning to the reader of today. But their final fates, which we have indicated in square brackets wherever verifiable, speak louder than words about the dreadful uncertainties and horrors of the Holocaust era. The letters also bear witness to the brave efforts of those who had been able to leave Germany at establishing a new existence in another country.

A poignant final note: Fritz Guckenheimer died on April 20, 1943 in La Paz at the age of 68 of natural causes, probably aggravated by hard work at a very high altitude. The Rosenzweigs's last letter to him was sent on June 30, 1943! We do not know when they finally learned of Fritz's passing. Ludwig Rosenzweig died in Glarus on October 29, 1943 at the age of 83.

Mr. Eric G. Yondorf & rijo

Sophie Guckenheimer



Sophie Guckenheimer-Aal (approx. 1900) (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

Biography

Sophie Aal Guckenheimer, beloved family matriarch, was born on February 8, 1842 in Diespeck, a small town in Franconia where her father Salomon was a merchant. On July 24, 1866, she married Isak Guckenheimer (1835 Burghaslach - 1897 Nuremberg) who at that time was already living in Nuremberg working in the hop trade. Sophie and Isak had four daughters and four sons who survived to adulthood. As both family and the hop business grew, the Isak Guckenheimers changed residences at least twice. By 1875 they had settled into a large building at Karolinenstraße, an important downtown business thoroughfare. The house, which remained in the family until Word War II, accommodated the Guckenheimers' dwelling needs on the upper floors, the hop business in the courtyard and rear wing, and several retail stores facing the street. Sophie presided apparently with aplomb over this extensive establishment which must have included a number of servants for the household and helpers for Isak's hop trading. When three of her daughters married out of town (Mannheim and Munich) she would occasionally travel to visit them, especially after Isak had died. But mostly she was a loving mother and counselor to her resident children, well known for her kind personality and her skills in the kitchen. She died peacefully on May 4, 1911, remembered fondly by all who knew her.

Eric G. Yondorf October 2002

Sophie Guckenheimer to her children (1.26.1898)

Nuremberg, January 26th, 1898

My dearly loved Children!

The much too early death of our so caring and beloved Papa causes me today, as I am all alone, to direct these lines to you. When you read this, I too, will no longer be present among you and that is why I wish to share with you my heartfelt wishes to guide you on life's path.

Perhaps I shall be given the chance to live on among you for a long time to come because I love to live and I would like to continue standing by your side with help and good counsel. If this should not be my fate, I shall submit to God's will and say that I have done my duty just like our dear, late Papa.

Above all, honor the memory of your parents, keep them in high esteem until your last breath, because you were to them everything - their whole existence - and all their endeavors were devoted to the children. Be and remain united, care for one another, don't be selfish, and let the older ones look after the younger ones. In particular, I charge you with the wellbeing of your youngest brother Alfred [not yet 18 at the time of this writing], care for him as if he were your own child.

The parental house should not become a strange place to the siblings living out of town, and you, dear Stephan with your good disposition, as the oldest brother must always act in father's stead with respect to the others. You, dear Mathilde, will seek to replace the mother for your siblings, and you, dear Ludwig, will assist them with good advice. I, too, always maintained motherly concern toward my younger siblings; the reward for having done good is carried deep inside oneself. Stick together, be good to each other, don't bicker, and always maintain warm contact with the out-of-town sisters.

Treat the things I leave behind with respect and always remember your parents with love. My prayer, that all of you should find happiness, will ease my parting.

[Sophie Aal Guckenheimer]

Stephan Jondorf

Biography

Stephan Jondorf, the oldest son of Gustav Jondorf (1852 Dietenhofen - 1912 Nuremberg) and Pauline Lehmann Jondorf (1860 Markt Erlbach - 1944 New York), was born in Nuremberg on December 30, 1881, during a period of relative prosperity and economic expansion in Germany known as *Gründerzeit* (Founders' Era). His father was to become one of the founders by switching from hop trading to the manufacture of acetylene gas burners for miners' and bicycle lamps. Stephan was probably sent to commercial high school and an internship in a suitable business prior to joining the firm of G. Jondorf. There, he concentrated on outside sales and customer relations, an activity that entailed quite a bit of traveling. In 1911, he married Helene Adler (1887 Stuttgart - 1967 New York). They found an apartment on Fürther Straße, only a five minute walk away from the new reinforced concrete factory building which was to be finished in 1913.



Stephan Jondorf in his office (approx. 1928) (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

The couple had two daughters, Lisbeth (1912 Nuremberg - 1984 New York) and Hildegard (1915 Nuremberg - 1991 Johnson City, TN). Stephan was an intelligent man with affable business manners who excelled at what he was doing. Quite unexpectedly, he died of congestive heart disease on February 26, 1930. His daughter Lisbeth entered the family firm shortly thereafter and worked in the accounting section until the Jondorfs were banished from their factory by the Nazis on November 10, 1938, the day after the *Kristallnacht* (Night of the Broken Glass).

Eric G. Yondorf October 2002

Stephan Jondorf to Ralph (12.11.1923)

G. Jondorf Nuremberg Nuremberg, December 11th, 1923 Fürther Straße

Dear Ralph [a relative of Stephan's uncle Louis Lehman in Chicago],

Your letter of November 13th gave me much pleasure. I was glad to hear that all of you returned home in good health and contentment, and found the Lehmans in good shape.

First of all, I can assure you that my whole family is in good health despite these bad and difficult times. All of Germany is suffering very much - as you know from your own experience - since the beginning of the year. Since the French invasion and occupation of the Ruhr, prices have constantly risen, and inflation has taken on precipitous dimensions during the past three months. There are innumerable people all over the country who can no longer support themselves and are totally dependent on the charity of their fellow men. Unemployment is gigantic, since factories either have laid off people entirely or shortened the work week to 24 hours which is the case in our firm. Foreign countries have been sending generous contributions of food and money, but

the need is limitless. In Nuremberg and Fürth, roughly 60 percent of the population is dependent on public aid.

On top of all these sorrows came a period of particularly nasty insinuations and attacks against Bavarian Jews, especially in October, so that one hardly knew anymore who governed, the State or the anti-Semitic party. Unfortunately, the State of Bavaria tolerated for too long the extravaganzas of this party so that the government was almost overthrown [by the attempted November 9th putsch by the Nazis in Munich]. Now, since a few weeks ago, things are better, as the government and the National-Socialists are no longer friends but opponents. Only, for how long? As usual, I hope for the best!

Please give Uncle Louis and Aunt Della my best regards and translate this letter for them, if you wish. I prefer writing to you quickly and well in German rather than slowly and badly in English, especially since you have become half German. I haven't been in Saxony since 1922; when I get to Dresden again, I shall, of course, visit your relatives there.

Now something business related!

My firm, Elektronoris, does not sell pencil sharpener knives anymore, since it is now manufacturing patented electrotechnical novelties. We have, however, issued a manufacturing license to a knife factory in Solingen, and asked them last week to let you know their prices, delivery times and conditions of sale. Hopefully, you will hear from them shortly; if not, contact them directly. The name: Firma Carl Schmidt, Steel Parts Manufacturing, Solingen.

To end, I send you and your dear parents heartiest greetings and the assurance of my continuing affection and friendship.

Your Stephan.

Pauline Jondorf

Biography

Pauline Lehmann was born on June 16,1860 in Markt Erlbach, a small town not far from Nuremberg, where her father spent at least part of his time teaching Cheder - Jewish religious school. Her parents, Bernhard and Salie (nee Zeiller) had moved to Nuremberg probably in the late 1870s where Pauline married Gustav Jondorf (1852 Dietenhofen - 1912 Nuremberg) who started his professional life as a hop merchant. During the 1880s he bought a partnership in an acetylene gas burner factory (as used in bicycle and miners' lamps). Before long, he started and built his own acetylene burner factory and succeeded very well as a result of introducing new, patented designs. Pauline and Gustav had three sons: Stephan (1881 Nuremberg - 1930 Nuremberg), Emil (1884 Nuremberg - 1955 Chicago) and Fritz (1896 Nuremberg - 1984 New York). There seemed no doubt in the family but that the three sons would enter G. Jondorf, the growing family enterprise. Stephan was destined to take over sales and customer relations, Emil was sent to engineering school to take over the technical aspects of production, and Fritz would concentrate on bookkeeping and office management. Unfortunately, Gustav died from a lung ailment in 1912, when Fritz was only 15 years old. The two older brothers were able to run the firm quite successfully, but Fritz joined the team as soon as practicable.



Five Jondorfs in their English refuge, 1940; from left to right: Fanny, Fritz, Pauline, Emil, Paula (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

Pauline's small-town upbringing had taught her the value of thrift, and the virtue of running her household like a tight ship. She was certainly a loving mother, but she had her way of doing things and was usually able to prevail. Although not a tall woman her slender figure and straight bearing made her a rather commanding figure in her younger years. She grew into the role of manufacturer's wife and widow rather graciously and continued to live modestly but well. As she grew older, she gave the impression of being a bit old-fashioned, strait-laced and reserved. Pauline was aware of the importance of wise investments, and perhaps on the advice of her brother Louis, who had emigrated to the USA in 1869, some of these were going in the growing American economy, and some into Swiss stocks or bonds. With the advent of the Hitler regime, the family was able to shield a few of these holdings from Nazi confiscation.

World War I interrupted the business plan temporarily. After high school, Fritz had finished a two year commercial apprenticeship and then volunteered for army duty. In the course of strenuous field training, he contracted meningitis. As the disease took its course, Fritz lost his hearing, and was left with various other debilities. He was dismissed from the army with a 50% disability award and Pauline had to cope with a totally deaf, once spirited 19 year old who had only just finished his dancing lessons before joining up. With his mother's and his brothers' support and encouragement, Fritz spent two years in rehabilitation and special training for lip reading. In 1918, he was finally able to enter the family business. For Pauline, this was a difficult period, complicated even further by her decision to take her ailing, unmarried brother-in-law, Otto, into her household.

As Otto's disease progressed, a trained nurse, Paula Sommer from Obbach (near Würzburg), was procured through the Jewish Nurses Association. Otto died in March of 1924. Later that year, Fritz, by now a charming, humorous and handsome man, married Paula, a competent, patient, no-nonsense partner for life. From that time on, Fritz, Paula and Pauline shared the same

household for twenty years through parent/grandparenthood, emigration, an eight-month stopover in Wales and resettlement in New York.

At the height of his career, in February 1930, the oldest son, Stephan, unexpectedly died of congestive heart disease. A terrible shock for the family, and especially for Pauline. The fact that she lived with Fritz and Paula who at that time had a six year old son, Rudi and were to add a daughter, Gertrude in 1931, may have softened the impact in the long run. Moreover, Emil and Fritz continued to run G. Yondorf and its more Hi-Tech offshoot *Elektronoris* with increasingly good results.

Pauline's routine in Germany included regular card games with lady friends, and socializing with relatives. The high point of each day was a cup of very hot freshly ground and brewed strong coffee in the afternoon or after dinner. The highlight of each year was a rest cure of two to three weeks at a favorite spa such as Marienbad (Czechoslovakia) or Meran (Italy). Pauline bestowed the role of being travel companion on each of her three daughters-in-law in turn like a royal favor - a favor that was not always appreciated. Pauline and her companion would stay and eat at a simple 'pension' and watch the cosmopolitan scene from afar. The typical day included a morning promenade, perhaps including drinking the healthful waters, an afternoon walk to a favorite coffee house or patisserie, and then early to bed after dinner - not very bracing for the younger generation.



Four generations in Elizabethton, TN (summer 1940): Marion and Hilde Roesel-Yondorf, Pauline Yondorf-Lehmann, Helen Yondorf-Adler

(Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

Pauline was a rather private person, but she fitted herself into life's necessities. She may have been thrifty, but she would give generously when she thought the occasion called for it. All her grand-children were given fine watches on their confirmation or Bar Mitzvah. According to her grandson Rudi, the family's escape to Britain and America was financed at least in part by Pauline's Swiss deposits. She lived through the brutal ransacking of their apartment during *Kristallnacht* in November of 1938, the last-minute departure from Nuremberg in late August of 1939, and a wartime Atlantic crossing in May of 1940 with a stiff upper lip. And she finished her days without complaining in what could only be described as Fritz and Paula's very modest flat on New York's upper Westside in November of 1944. A word of appreciation must be added for Paula Sommer

Jondorf who was not only an excellent wife to Fritz, but an understanding yet firm daughter-in-law to Pauline. Fritz (now Fred) died in New York in 1984, while Paula lived until 1993.



Pauline Yondorf at age 80 in New York City
(Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

Eric G. Yondorf October 2002

Pauline Jondorf to her brother in Chicago (6.9.1933)

Marienbad (Czechoslovakia), June 9th, 1933

Dear Brother [Louis Lehman], dear Della,

After a quick decision, I traveled here with a good friend just after Whitsuntide for a bit of rest. Moreover, I am very happy to be able to write you from abroad since we Germans aren't even allowed to write the truth. Most letters are opened (by the censor), even those which come to us (from abroad); therefore, don't repeat anything I tell you here. Our whole family would gladly move abroad, as many are doing; but of what use would a few hundred marks a person be? Money and real estate they [the Nazis] would keep. You will possibly receive a letter with the same mail from Cousin Lucie [Berlin] which fortunately was not discovered when I took it here secretly, although they told me at home I should immediately burn it. From it you will see how we Jews, especially university graduates and those who want to go to university, are being disadvantaged.

In any case, your newspapers will report many bad things; but it is true, for example, that in Dachau near Munich there is a camp with more than 2,000 political prisoners of which many have been shot already. They [the Nazis] say the prisoners were trying to escape! Five of them were young Jewish singles from Nuremberg. They were picked up from home during house searches which allegedly yielded communist letters or old newspapers of similar bent. It is said that conditions in penitentiaries are better than in camps of this sort.

Now I do want to calm you. Do not get excited. All of us are all right so far. One does get provoked when other innocent acquaintances have to suffer unduly. Martin Erlanger [a lawyer cousin] also is no longer permitted to go to court, only his father and his Christian partner.

I would like for you to destroy this letter, and respond to none of these difficult things when writing to Nuremberg. I should be home again by the eighth of July. Would it were God's will that we should become respected people once again. Us oldsters won't have to worry anymore; but what are children and grandchildren to do?

Hopefully, you and your children are doing well? Please do not worry yourselves about us.

It is possible that I will travel home on June 26th already. On June 15th, Lisbeth is to accompany Hilde to Geneva where she is to learn French since she will not be permitted academic studies in Germany for the time being. So that Helen [Hilde's mother] can also get a bit of rest, I've invited her to join me here for twelve days.

With sincere love,

yours Pauline

Fritz Guckenheimer



Fritz Guckenheimer as German soldier in Belgium (1915) (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf



Fritz Guckenheimer in the mid-1930s (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

Biography

Fritz Guckenheimer was born in Nuremberg on February 2, 1875, the sixth of Sophie and Isak's children. He probably went through a mercantile apprenticeship prior to becoming a partner in Pflueger & Co. Like his older brother, Fritz married a Leopold sister, Else (1880 Nuremberg - 1925 Nuremberg); they had a daughter, Lotte (1903 Nuremberg - 1941 deported to Riga where she is assumed to have perished). Fritz saw service in Belgium with a Bavarian army unit during World War I. His wife divorced him in 1919 and soon remarried - perhaps a consequence of the long wartime separation. Fritz and his also divorced brother Stephan formed a joined household for many years. This was not without frictions since Fritz was a very jovial person with an excellent sense of humor while Stephan was a bit dour. Possibly as a result of the Great Depression, the Guckenheimer brothers withdrew from the Pflueger firm around 1930. Stephan retired, and Fritz became a successful sales representative until political conditions forced him to seek a refuge outside of Germany. He finally was able to emigrate to Bolivia in April, 1940. His letters from La Paz interestingly describe his search for a livelihood there, and allow some insight into the lives of his fellow expatriates. Fritz died unexpectedly in La Paz on April 20, 1943.

Eric G. Yondorf October 2002

Fritz Guckenheimer to the Rosenzweigs (2.26.1942)

La Paz, February 26th, 1942 Fernando S. Guachalla 356/II

My dear Zweigs,

Three months have passed since I received your letter of October 20th of last year, and I would have written you long ago if the first part of December had not scrambled all my plans. At first, it was possible to correspond with Portugal, Spain, Sweden and England; now there is a possibility that this letter might reach you, and I hope that this will be the case. Since December 8th [1941], I am totally without news from Stephan [Fritz's and Mathilde's brother in Nuremberg], and I have no way of knowing whether my letters have reached him. Since I may assume that you are in uninterrupted touch with him, I ask you to tell him and Mrs. Wertheimer that I am continuing to be well, and that the rest of my colony here are doing fine. On this occasion I want to tell you that our friends S. Friedländer in Vienna have moved and that their address now is Blumauergasse 23/24, Vienna II. I frequently see the Fessels here; when you write again [to Friedländers?], tell them that their children F. are doing very well here. Yesterday, the Grübels [Max Grübel was Ludwig's nephew] sent a letter to you via maritime mail to which I added my greetings; let's hope it will arrive in good shape. My best wishes for your birthday [Ludwig's birthday on March 25th] I would rather entrust to the air than to water. I hope that these airborne wishes for a long, healthy and enjoyable retirement will come true. In the meantime, I marked my 67th very quietly, and since, of course, there was no mail of any sort, the quiet was complete, except for a noonday meal of asparagus and pork chops to which I was invited after I had donated the asparagus.

For your efforts on my behalf I want to thank you very much; unfortunately they have not come to fruition till now. The *Joint* [Joint Distribution Committee] placed an inquiry with the local auxiliary organization concerning my well-being, as a result of which its chairman, a certain Mr.

Ley [...] called me in for an interview. I told him everything: that I have tried, so far without success, to get a foothold in the import trade, and that my personal means were nearly exhausted. To this he replied that I should do my darnedest so as to avoid the necessity of coming back to him officially, because that would be terrible. He sent a reply to the *Joint*. I did not get to see Director Blum of Hochschild in spite of repeated attempts; I then let him know through an acquaintance that he should receive me because I had greetings to transmit. His answer: I should bother him no more [free translation of ich soll Schabbes damit machen]. Blum is one of the important directors of the Hochschild Company with a very large dollar income. Business-wise, I still cannot report any firm success. Through Kurt Neuburger, son of the widow N. and an acquaintance of the Tunte [nickname of Liesel Guckenheimer, their mutual sister-in-law], I was able to establish a connection with his firm, Arnhold & Co in London, and we were able to book orders here for them in the value of \$150,000, observing all local regulations, certified by the ministry and embassy, etc. Then came a new price-regulation from the USA, according to which costs for war-important materials must be kept at the 1940 level. The consequence was an urgent offer from the USA at a price-reduction of circa 40%. As a result all my orders are in limbo, and only the numerous formalities with the USA, and the difficult conditions for deliveries to this country leave me with a weak spark of hope. The next two weeks should bring a resolution.

In the meantime I have established contact with a New York export firm whose co-owner is Rudi Kaufmann, the son of my late acquaintance Max Kaufmann (Rosenthal), agricultural machinery. In addition, there is a possibility of becoming sales representative for the largest hardware and tool distributor in Chicago whose catalog I had seen at Hochschild's; the manager of their export division is a certain Holland with whom Emil [Yondorf in Chicago] has talked about me. The matter has an impediment in the fact that Mr. Holland would like a sales representative here, but without handing over an existing sales connection to Bolivian mines. The correspondence about this is continuing. Hopefully, one or the other of these propositions can be realized, since the current situation is becoming untenable.

With Chicago I am in regular contact; from the Tunte [Liesel G.] I have had no news in 8 months; about my Lotte [his daughter in Germany] I know nothing at all; from Munich, too, I have heard nothing. In contrast, I had a relatively good report from Ernst L. [Levi, mutual nephew formerly Munich, now in British internment camp possibly in Australia in his camp which I cannot answer since there appears to be no mail connection over that ocean at this time. I am in regular touch with Otto T. [Tuchmann?]. He has become a grandfather again through his son Fritz; as a result, the Richard Jungs [formerly prominent lawyer in Nuremberg living in New York] have reached the dignified state of grandparenthood for the first time. I have had several letters from Dr. Carl Guldmann [son of Marie Guldmann]; he is doing well, and wishes for Mrs. Wertheimer to transmit the best regards to his mother. I would have enclosed the original of these greetings, but the postage would have become too high. Max Grübel and his friend Hermann became Bolivian citizens on February 2nd. After they lost their [German] citizenship, they now have papers that will permit them to travel to wherever a visa can be obtained. The next trip will take Max to Chile this coming month, probably to Antofagasta; on March 26th he will turn 60. Hopefully, these lines will reach you safely and find you in the best of health; with heartiest greetings and kisses, I am

Your loving Wisch [Fritz's family nickname]

Ludwig and Mathilde Rosenzweig to Fritz Guckenheimer (4.20.1942)

[Draft Letter by Rosenzweigs] Glarus, 4.20.42

Dear Fritz!

Although we did not receive your dear letter of 2.26. until a few days ago (4.16.) - the previous one of 9.11. [1941] had arrived on 10.6. - so that we were without news for a long time, we were not worried about your state of health because such pauses are not unusual in view of the current irregularity of [postal] connections. Your letter essentially contained only one pleasant bit of news, and that was that you are feeling well. Heartiest thanks for your jolly wishes on my birthday; while they haven't come true so far, I am sure they were sincere, but could not cancel out the powerful weight of my years. It is most regrettable that your efforts to create a new livelihood for yourself have failed so far, but not surprising, especially with respect to Switzerland. Its shortage of raw materials gave me little hope from the start. The case of Arnhold was understandably a deep disappointment for you; but in these unstable times, a sales representative can rejoice over an order only after he has the money in his pocket. Something can always come up to interfere even after negotiations have been concluded. Hopefully the unexpected will finally turn into reality, and something will succeed for which you had held little hope. And now a somewhat nebulous proposition. A certain Felsenstein, orthodox, formerly in Fürth, in very favorable financial circumstances, was at one time one of the many friends - I had totally lost sight of him - who would melt into obsequiousness and deference vis-a-vis anyone they perceived to have great influence. This as a general preamble, in order not to raise perhaps totally unjustifiable hopes. But in any case, Felsenstein is a decent man, who would surely be well disposed toward me. However, this matter does not concern him, but his equally orthodox son of whom I only know that for years he has worked in Bolivia in a metal business located at an elevation of over 12,000 feet; I don't know the name of the town, nor the name of the firm. But I think it probable that you can find his address there possibly through the Joint [Joint Distribution Committee] or through an orthodox organization or in some other way. Should you be able to get in touch with F. Jr., refer to me and mention that I have often admired his father for his indefatigable efforts on behalf of the Jewish elementary school in Fürth and have supported these efforts in the Council of Jewish Congregations.

[Mathilde suggests an insert here:]

Isn't it possible to get involved in an occasional business opportunity? I imagine that the establishment of business relations would be extraordinarily difficult in a country whose people are so very different from those we are accustomed to deal with.

Since our last letter, the situation of the Jews in Germany, especially in Nuremberg, has become much worse; presumably in general, but even within Germany, correspondence is carried on so fearfully and over-cautiously that we are very meagerly informed. First the family. Dear Stephan, from whom we had news a few days ago, has not been doing well for quite some time. In addition to all his usual complaints he has had bronchitis and an attack of sciatica. He had several visits from Nurse Eva [probably Eva Heymann, Freudenburg 1883, deported to Riga in 1941, missing] who, however, had to leave with many others. His faithful auxiliary nurse, Mrs. [Hedwig] Wertheimer [née Gutmann, Roth 1893, deported to Riga in 1941, declared dead], and her sister [Berta Wolfrom, née Gutmann, Roth 1887, deported to Izbica in 1942, missing] shared the same fate, Before leaving, Mrs. W. sent us a report about Stephan's illness and amended it after a few days with sad farewell greetings to us, to you and to her daughter. Out of her few short lines

screams the tragedy of a broken woman! A short time earlier she had sent us a charming birthday letter for you which we are forwarding by surface mail. The lack of news from your Lotte [Fritz's only child, deported in 1941 from Berlin to Riga where she perished] need not upset you; we don't know of any case which is different: there appears to be an absolute prohibition on writing.

From Munich, Stephan received the news that Gockel [their mutual niece], her boss and wife and the staff also had to commence the sad journey [I believe that Gockel worked as a legal secretary in a lawyer's office in earlier years]. Hans [Gockel's brother], who in the meantime has married his love who is said to have a rather grown-up daughter in the USA, has not been moved yet. Of 140 employees in the [Munich Jewish] congregation, 95 have been sent away. In the Nuremberg congregation, too, there seem to have been many deportations of employees as I must conclude from the rather long silence of the main persons. I have certain knowledge only about Else Bl. [Else Blumenthal, born 1894 in Nuremberg, 1942 deported to Izbica and perished] whom you know, and assume the same with great probability concerning Humm. [Hummel] and family [probably Rosa H., née Merzbacher, Nuremberg 1883, deported to Izbica 1942, missing, and her children Walter and Elsbeth who shared her fate]. From among the number of Nuremberg deportees a few: [Ludwig] Gerngroß with wife [Grete], nee Marschütz [both deported 1941 to Riga and perished], Landger. [Landgerichtsrat (County Court Councellor) Dr. Hugo] Ehrenberger [1941 deported to Riga and perished], Rest. [Restaurantbesitzer (restaurant owners)] Plaut, Benno and sisters [Lina and Louise Plaut, all three 1942 deported to Izbica and perished]. The particular case of Dr. [Gustav] Wolf and wife [Bella, both deported to Izbica in 1942] is especially noteworthy. The couple was included in the deportation list, was then struck from the list, and in the end sent away nevertheless. The reason: Engineer [Dr. Martin] Offenbacher and wife [Renée] had also been on the list, but had escaped their sad fate by poisoning themselves, which created a gap in the list which the German bureaucracy could not permit. [In actual fact, this case was even more tragic: Dr. Offenbacher committed suicide on 3.23.1942. His wife seems to have survived the attempted suicide but was unfit for the transport to Izbica on 3.24.1942. She was deported to Krasniczyn in eastern Poland on 4.23.1942, one month after the death of her husband] A few months ago, Dr. Lessing's widow [Emmy Lessing, née Löwensohn, Fürth 1887, Nuremberg 1941] also committed suicide to escape the march to the east. The fate of the old age home has now also been decided, although I have not been informed officially of this for reasons that are easy to guess. Its inhabitants will likely find their eternal rest in eastern soil; don't mention this to Holzmanns [family of Ludwig's grandniece Ida, then residing in La Paz] for the time being. The mood in Nuremberg is naturally desperate since nobody knows what the next day may bring; one can almost assume that not every last one can be shipped away; but also for those remaining behind there is the pressing fear of an immediate change of dwelling accommodation which always signifies a worsening. Thus Marie Guldmann already has had to change apartments again onto a floor where she ... [Mathilde probably meant to insert number of co-dwellers]; everyone has only one room, and all must share the one kitchen! From the USA only one item: Dr. Levi has died in humble circumstances. I must omit mention of many other interesting items in order not to exceed the weight limit of this letter. [....] Unbelievable is the nasty crudeness and lack of the most primitive manners expressed in Mr. Blum's message to you [...] We will send on the letters from Ida Holzmann which you enclosed as soon as we can ascertain that her father [Isaak Iwan Weinstock, born 1859 in Rödelmaier (Lower Franconia), 9.10.1942 deported from Nuremberg to Theresienstadt where he perished on 12.13.1942] is in Nuremberg still. We shall answer her letter to us shortly; but tell her in the meantime that news from her father received a few weeks ago seemed to indicate that he was in very good shape.

And now heartiest greetings ... [Zweigs]

Fritz Guckenheimer to the Rosenzweigs (5.26.1942)

La Paz, May 26, 1942 Fernando E. Guachalla 396/II

My Dear Ones,

Your letter of April 20th reached me on May 24th already and I was very happy with it although it contained so little that was pleasant. The same mail brought Reizenstein the news that his three sisters [Nelly, Klara and Rosa, 1942 deported to Izbica and perished] had to migrate as well. Even though this dreadful news hit us not unexpectedly, and after we ourselves have done everything to escape this sad fate, the impact on reading these horrible reports in black and white is totally depressing. It is such good fortune that Stephan [mutual brother] has so far been spared this fate; whether this situation can last will totally depend on how long this swine [Hitler] will remain the head of state.

Will he reach his tenth anniversary [as Chancellor]? According to the news from our newspapers, which are as good as those anywhere, our former homeland appears to be tuckered out already, and the fighting on the eastern front seems to cause heavy losses on both sides, while the two great democracies have been able to keep their armies almost unaffected. One speaks very much about the war here, naturally, but it hardly touches us, at least where our bodily well-being is concerned. My noon-day meal costs, converted, only 50 Pfennig, and is more than enough. Some import businesses naturally suffer very much as a result of a lack of space on ships and the various [restrictive] regulations; there is no shortage of goods that might be imported. --- The word is out here that through the Red Cross in Geneva one might obtain information concerning people that have been deported to Poland, especially that one could learn their exact address. Should such a possibility exist, please inquire about Lotte [Fritz's daughter] when you get this; her last address was Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Landhausstraße 38, born 9.20.03. I particularly regret the fate of Gockel, as well as that of my 'little doctor' Wertheimer [widow of Dr. W.] who in wise foresight gave me the address of her daughter in England to take with me; I shall write to her in the next few days. --- Since March 12th I have a firm position as sales representative for the Argentinean butter brand La Vaquilla [Little Cow] with a salary of 1000 Bol. [Bolivianos, Bolivian currency] a month, plus sales provisions. My boss is a Spaniard from Bilbao by name of Jose Orejas Campo, very decent and correct so far. Three types of butter are available here: a domestic brand which because of unreliable deliveries and a high price is rather out of question; also two brands imported from Argentina, mine and the leading brand which used to rule the local market singlehandedly. I, an immigrant, was hired to create some competition for this brand by selling to German food stores and restaurants. The deal was brokered by Max Grübel [Ludwig's nephew in La Paz] who had been a business friend of Campo's for some time.

The beginning was difficult since I was only able to run up sales of 100 Bol. per day. But now I am able to achieve a turnover of circa 2,000 Bol. a month, so that I can manage to get along rather well. These sales do not consist just of butter, but other food items as well such as pickles, spaghetti, canned goods, hot dogs etc. The work is not easy since I also have to deliver the goods. But in return I receive payment in cash. If I were to hire an Indio [native person] as a carrier I would have to do all deliveries on foot, since I am not allowed to take the Indio on the streetcar; but walking all the errands over the local hilly terrain would tire me out too much. Mostly I carry 25 to 30 pounds [of goods], use every public transport opportunity for delivery, return to the warehouse to re-supply, and start all over again. In spite of this sometimes very strenuous activity, I have not lost any weight so far and feel very well. My boss is very satisfied with me so far, and hopefully I can keep the job. My knowledge of Spanish has rather improved through this

activity and I commence by and by to understand the language. I still have much trouble speaking it, but can read the newspaper rather fluently. Most of the immigrants here manage to subsist, a small part of them even make good money, especially those working in the mines who are paid in dollars. So far, I have heard nothing from the Fürth Felsenstein, I assume that he works in Oruro or one of the other mining cities. People like that rarely come here, since they tend to go to lower lying resorts such as Cochabamba for relaxation.

The Rosenthals [Mrs. Rosenthal was a niece of Ludwig] have been very fortunate, and I think they've never been so well off; there are said to be months when they make more than 6,000 Bol., according to Max [Grübel, brother of Gisella R.], and I assume that Max is telling the truth in such matters. Gisella is dreadfully thrifty, even today, and they have paid up all their debts to Max. Holzmanns [Mrs. Ida Holzmann is Ludwig's grandniece] also are managing very well. He [Erich Holzmann] has now established himself as a wallpaper hanger, and runs ads on the radio for his *Woodman* mattresses. He is said to be quite busy already, but his two sons with their regular incomes constitute the firm pillars of the household finances.

Hardly anything worth mentioning happens here; only the departure of the members of the fifth column [Nazi supporters] brings a bit of variety to the humdrum of daily life; moreover, a second group is to be expedited shortly. I continue to feel quite well. Winter has arrived with glorious magnificence. Every day, a cloudless sky turns blue as the sun rises after seven to send its warming rays over the Andes, a vital necessity as one must label the nightly temperatures of 42 to 50 degrees F. as noticeably cold. In the warm sun, the well-tended gardens remain green and the flowers continue to bloom.

The Fessels here are good immigrant acquaintances of mine. Mrs. Fessel is a née Friedländer from Vienna and has been without any news from her parents for a long time. That's why I asked you, too indirectly perhaps, to write to Vienna that the Fessels are doing very well, and that the Friedländers should write how things are with them. Sturm [?] here is asking you, if it were possible, to find out whether his old mother is still in Nuremberg. - The latest *Aufbau* (New York) [newspaper] writes that people from Nuremberg have been brought to the Riga Ghetto [actually to Riga-Jungfernhof concentration camp on 11.29.1941].

Now I wish you well; hearty hugs and kisses from your ever-loving Wisch.

For 9 months now, I have been without news from the Tunte [sister-in-law Liesel Guckenheimer, London].

Ludwig and Mathilde Rosenzweig to Fritz Guckenheimer (8.26.1942)

[Draft Letter by Rosenzweigs] Glarus, August 26th [1942]

Dear Fritz!

Your dear letter from May 26th, received here August 4th, made us very happy, especially that you have finally found a job after such a long period of searching. If you should have butter sales problems there, you could get rid of any quantity of butter here where the weekly ration amounts to only 100 grams. An address for people deported to Poland is absolutely unobtainable, least of all from the Red Cross which tends to fail almost totally even in the most simple matters; we

have experience with this. With respect to the Friedländers, I have written to Vienna; whether or when I might get information is anybody's guess. From the food costs over there you can form some idea what our customary Friday evening meals used to cost; is the quantity and quality of preparation there equally as satisfactory?

Now to the homeland chronicle: the conditions become constantly more untenable. Flora [their Munich sister] was sent to Theresienstadt in the middle of July. We have no address yet, and according to the latest information we received, Stephan, who can only move painfully on two canes, is faced with the same fate which would amount to plain murder. All people over 65 years of age are supposed to be moved away, those under that age limit will presumably be put to work by the labor service. Old Mrs. Dessauer, 81, with her sisters has already been deported. Some are lucky enough to die in transit already, as for instance the mother of Hummel. Others remove themselves from these miseries by way of suicide, as for example Ernst Reizenstein - Behringersdorf [formerly director of the brewery there, committed suicide on 7.6.1942], Judicial Counselor Lust and wife [Hermann and Emma Lust, committed suicide in Munich 6.8.1942], and the former clothing manufacturer [Isidor] Abraham [of Nuremberg, suicide on 8.11.1942]. From hints I received I cannot be sure whether [Leo] Katzenberger, who was condemned to death for having committed Rassenschande [being sexually involved with an Aryan woman], was able to escape his execution by committing suicide [This information had been wrong: Leo Katzenberger was executed in Munich on 6.3.1942]. Albert Fechheimer, his presumptive successor [as President of the Congregation] did not succeed him. On the orders of higher powers [probably the Gestapo], [Bernhard] Kolb is now in the post of president. In this sphere, there would be much more to report, but it would go too far. In personal matters, too, I can only report excerpts: Walter B. Berlin?] writes that he feels lucky although he and his family [could save] their lives only. Ernst Levi [mutual nephew from Munich, now London] writes that most emigrants are pursuing some occupation. Liesel [mutual sister-in-law] seems to be doing quite well as a maid [Actually Liesel had learned to be a milliner in England, and worked at it quite successfully.] and Gogo [Liesel's daughter] continues to be very satisfied in her profession [X-ray technician]. Mrs. H. [?] manages to subsist as a saleslady in ... while he is a buyer not of hops, but of potatoes, carrots and similar items. Paul Strauss who presumably is still in Belgium [Nuremberg 1879, deported on 4.19.1943 from Malines / Belgium to Auschwitz and perished], has not since the occupation sent any sign of life to his wife and daughter who are working for a clothing factory in London. Roth and Friedlein are said to be doing very well. We had very happy letters from Dr. Gessner and his wife Selma, née Stein, former head [of the Old Age Home?] in which they inform us of their marriage; as you might recall, I had foreseen this for a long time. A further wedding will interest you: Lutz Frank has married the widow of Walter Tuchmann who had recently died in Mexico. Otto Aschaffenburg, son-in-law of Louis Dormitzer [close friend of Ludwig], has died after a successful operation that was supposed to correct a serious paralysis. The father-in-law, L.D. [Louis Dormitzer, Nuremberg 1863 - Theresienstadt 1943] could not get permission to travel to Berlin for the funeral.

Hopefully you will continue to be well in every respect; With sincerest greetings yours [Zweigs]

Fritz Guckenheimer to the Rosenzweigs (1.17.1943)

La Paz, January 17, 1943 Fernando E. Guachalla 396/II

My dear ones,

After a very long pause, I finally have a chance to write you again. Essentially, I have only Sundays and holidays free for my correspondence, and these often are totally taken up with sewing and darning work. The laundry here ruins a lot of things, and since one would like to maintain as much as possible what little one still possesses, this means that, as long ago in the military service, one must be prepared to do duty with needle and thread. On work days I am so tired that I can't possibly write in the evenings; I might be up for a game of cards, but mostly I hear an hour of good radio music at the house of good friends. Most of the stations here have very good records; 95% of programming is European music. - I was able to expand my sales activities to the point where I achieve a monthly turnover of 30,000 Bol. [Bolivianos, Bolivian currency] minimally. Six weeks ago, my boss offered me a helper of my choice at his expense to lighten my load and to be able to further increase my turnover which I was actually able to do. I have taken the 14 year old son of immigrants as my helper, a very willing youngster who gets a salary of 80 Bol. a week. My knowledge of the Spanish language has made some progress so that I can at least communicate with my boss to some extent. In the month of October I had a string of bad luck: first I was relieved of my pocket watch on the streetcar - its replacement, a wrist watch, cost me 400 Bol. -, then my wallet with 1,000 Bol. was stolen in a bus. I had with me almost 4,000 Bol. on that day as a result of my cash collections; the money was distributed over various pockets, so that I got off rather lightly. Then I managed to burn out the hot water heater for our bathtub, a 150 Bol. repair job. To top it all off; I received via Chicago the sad news of Stephan's passing away which, of course, I regretted very much. Even though I did not always see eye to eye with Stephan, this news awakened reminiscences of happy times long past and I sadly recalled the carefree hours in our parental house. Now we are only three of formerly eight living siblings, and thrust into all corners of the earth on account of that swine [Hitler]. Because of the frequent dreadfully sad news which we hear almost daily one becomes more or less inured; but this report [about Stephan's death], even though utterly unsurprising, has touched me to the core. Do accept my heartfelt condolences at the death of our eldest brother!

On the whole we are doing well here. In the general [Jewish] community we lack a man such as you, dear Ludwig, because the lack of unity is great in the presence of many interest groups and multiple countries of origin. The largest and strongest group is Polish (Circulo Polaco), while the liberal community encompasses perhaps only one fifth of the [Jewish] people living here. I am not a member, since I totally disagree with the present leadership. - Grübels [Ludwig's nephew Max & wife] are traveling on the 26th to Antofagasta by the sea in Chile for a bit of relaxation ... Rosenthals [Mrs. R. is Ludwig's niece] are also doing well, and it is said that he has never earned as much as he does here. Holzmanns [Mrs. Holzmann is Ludwig's grandniece] continue to live very frugally, all four in one room, which they really would not have to do, judging by their income. Under the name *Woodman* he has a successful wallpaper shop and he fabricates all types of pillows and bolsters, especially the three-part *Woodman* mattresses, an article practically unknown here.

Here, too, everything has become considerably more expensive; I now pay 12 Bol. for my noon-day meal, when I arrived only 7 Bol. Sugar is now 2.50 Bol., formerly 80 centavos. But everything is available, and if one calculates on the basis of one Dollar = 50 Bolivianos, the prices are very reasonable for a visitor who owns some foreign [hard] currency. One notices little of the

war here, but one does see occasional strange uniforms wandering about town. Local strategizing [among refugees, presumably] advances with giant steps regardless of the actual war situation, and one sometimes hears of people developing plans for a trip to Europe. But until the giant enterprise [the war] devolves this time, many months will likely have to pass.

We have, at this time, the most beautiful summer weather; very hot in the bright sun during the day, but pleasantly cool in the evenings. The frequent, very heavy showers (rainy season) serve to cleanse the air, but these intense rains never last long, so that one can usually go out without an umbrella. The fruit harvest is in full swing; aside from the local crop such as cherries, plums, pears and apples there is the whole range of tropical fruits, so that in that respect, too, we are well and affordably supplied.

I finished this second page on January 24th; I have no idea how long such a letter might be on its way nowadays; but I shall cautiously send along my congratulations for your birthday, dear Ludwig, even on the chance that my wishes might arrive much too early. I wish you all the very best, and hope that you can spend many more years in good health together with your beloved Gewibschden [Mathilde].

Let me hear from you soon; with hugs and kisses

from your loving Wisch.

March 8th. Finally a sign of a mailing opportunity via Argentina; whether this letter will reach its destination is uncertain, nevertheless. From Chicago [Yondorfs], I have had very good news in the meantime. They only regret very much that they have no letters from you. Should these lines reach you, please use the Buenos Aires address of Fritz Ullmann's brother at the end of this letter to send your reply. The Grübels are doing very well; did you receive Max's letter from October? They are sending you their regards in any case. In the meantime, I had good news from the Tunte [mutual sister-in-law in London] again; aside from that, everything [postal connections] seems to be shut down.

The airplane which is to carry this letter to you has my blessing. Hopefully it will carry back a good answer from you.

Once more, greetings and kisses yours Wisch

Ludwig and Mathilde Rosenzweig to Fritz Guckenheimer (6.29./30.1943)

Via Mr. Ullmann

Glarus, June 29./30., 1943

My dear Fritz!

We received your letter of Jan. 17th / March 8th on June 18th; however, we did not get the letter by Max [Grübel] from October which you mentioned. Similarly, our letters to you and to Max from August 26th [1942] do not seem to have reached you. I come to that conclusion since you do not mention a word about Aunt Flora [their sister] whose deportation to Theresienstadt I reported to you in that letter among many other things. Some time ago, we received a letter from her in which she describes accommodations and food availability with enthusiasm; whether all

is as beautiful as she writes is impossible to verify from here. That she is called the gold ribbon on the black patch in view of her golden sense of humor, I gladly believe at least with respect to the black patch. Meanwhile, Hans Levi [their younger Munich nephew; see also below] and wife and 7 fellow workers have also departed for Th. [Theresienstadt] because their whole operation was dissolved [Munich Jewish Congregation]; the same goes for Nbg. [Nuremberg] which [Bernhard] Kolb and his family have now had to leave to resettle in Th. [Theresienstadt]. Corresponding with the inmates of Th. [Theresienstadt] appears practically impossible; it is said that they are allowed to write once a month, and similarly that they may receive three letters or postcards. In actual fact, we haven't received a single line from the many acquaintances who now reside there, and who certainly would write us if it were possible.

You devote some regretful lines to the passing of dear Stephan [their oldest brother] - a sign of our hard times. We must see in it the best, almost redeeming conclusion to a pitiable existence and what's more, his death spared him the difficult voyage [deportation] and many other things. That must be our comfort and yours as well. In Th. [Theresienstadt] Sophie Dormitzer, the wife of my friend Louis [Nuremberg 1863 - Theresienstadt 1943], died of heart disease a few days after their arrival [9.23.1942]; also there, Mrs. Otto Fechheimer, née Eierman succumbed to pneumonia. The mourning widower is reunited with his two sisters there; but that will hardly make up for the fact that he can no longer cultivate his accustomed upper class life style. Mundl Dormitzer [Dr. Sigmund Johannes D., Nuremberg 1869 - Theresienstadt 1943], who had to undergo a successful prostate operation a few month ago, and his wife [author Else D., born 1877 in Nuremberg, 1943 deported to Theresienstadt with her husband, after liberation emigrated to London where she died in 1958] have exchanged Amsterdam for Th. [Theresienstadt]; she wrote us this on the day of their departure without further explanation, whereas we heard from another source that they did not absolutely have to go this way. They made this choice semi-voluntarily in order to avoid being sent on a journey into the unknown. The [German Jewish] colony in Amsterdam has shrunk considerably; your friend Bimbus, who is said to be quite ailing, and his wife have for some time been in the same camp as his son.

In London, Pauli Erlanger died in a hospital of heart disease, a huge loss for Frieda Held with whom she had lived. Willy Hahn had an operation because of a blocked intestine; since he is also a diabetic his case appears rather hopeless according to our source. His financial condition is said to be less radiant than it once was. Ernst Rosenfelder is doing quite well as a sales representative in his old field. Walter Berlin has been employed in an accounting firm for some time now; he is quite satisfied with his situation although his wife and children must also earn money. Fritz Josephthal is doing quite well economically but he must work very hard. Ernst Levi [older of the Munich nephews] is working for the same firm. In the beginning he found his work difficult, but he is now doing less stressful work.

The disunity of our fellow religionists in Bolivia is nothing extraordinary. Dr. [Isaak] Bamberger [former religious teacher of the Nuremberg Congregation] writes - the letter was underway for 7 months - that in Palestine, too, all are against all. Paul Josephthal [1869 Nuremberg - 1943 Tel Aviv] has died in Palestine, but not from grief over these dissonances, but from the disease which according to the prognoses of his doctors should have ended his life twenty years ago.

Your various losses would have been very regrettable in other times as well, and your enrichment in the Spanish language does not fully compensate for them, unless you, a modern Cervantes, could quadruple your turnover with your exemplary Spanish. As for that, you likely have a predominately German speaking clientele? How are your various friends from our homeland doing, are they sufficiently capable of making a living? Max Grübel [Ludwig's nephew] is likely doing pretty well. Have you managed to contact Mr. Felsenstein [a possible source of business contacts suggested in the past by Ludwig Rosenzweig]? If I were you, I would keep on trying; perhaps he

could yet be useful to you. Since you are not writing anything to the contrary, I hope I correctly assume that you are feeling quite well in the Bolivian climate, and my wish that this may remain so is a part of my birthday wishes for you which will arrive too late for the 68th. But since they are conservable, they will have validity for the 69th and also for the 70th in time for which, I most certainly hope, they will arrive. For your congratulations on my birthday, which also arrived *post festum* I send you my heartfelt thanks. With best regards, yours

Ludwig.

[Addendum by Mathilde:]

My dear Wisch [Fritz' family nickname]!

We were extraordinarily glad to get a letter from you after such a long time and to learn that you are doing well health- and business-wise or you could not have worked so intensively. You have been able to increase your turnover, and hopefully it will further increase so that you will have satisfactory earnings after all your efforts.

We are doing rather well; unfortunately, Ludwig is not fully recovered from a bout with flu and high fever which confined him to bed and house for several weeks. He does go out again now but can't overtax himself with long walks. We very much miss news from the children [the Yondorfs in Chicago]. They telegraphed a few times - but at least they seem to have received our letters; yet, such a one-sided exchange is not very satisfying. A great comfort was and is for us the fact that Stephan could come to the end of his life in his homeland because he would not likely have survived the resettlement. And now fare well, greet all relatives from us, and accept a hug and kiss from the

Gewibschten [Mathilde's nickname]

Gerty Spies, a survivor of Theresienstadt concentration camp, wrote in her book *My Years in Theresienstadt* about the fate of Hans and Hertha Levi:

Hertha Levi was from Munich. Her husband, Hans, had worked for the Munich Jewish Community Service until it was disbanded during summer of 1943. They had come to Theresienstadt with the last transport from there. This transport had not been assembled in Camp Milbertshofen like the other transports from Munich and then continued on. Rather, the few people left had been thrown into the prison at the police headquarters until departure [6.24.1943], men separated from women.

Hertha had not wanted to go. She had wanted to end her life, as many others had done before her. But Hans was a life-affirming optimist - nonsense, they would both survive and return. At last they came to an agreement: they would pulverize the pills which Hertha knew how to obtain and smuggle them in her purse, declaring them as saccharine, if necessary.

The smuggling succeeded. But when they were pulverizing them, the small glass tube broke; Hans hurt himself. It was an insignificant cut to his little finger, and he did not pay attention to it. During the days and nights of their imprisonment in the police station, neither sheets nor medicine were permitted, and the little wound became inflamed. His companions demanded a doctor, the supervisor tried, but to no avail - no medical help was allowed.

When Hertha - on the way to Theresienstadt - saw her husband, she did not recognize him. And the same happened to me. In the courtyard of the Hohenelber barracks - we called them

Hohenelbe for short - under beautiful, old chestnut trees, there was a military hospital barrack. When I entered the room in which Hans was supposed to be, I looked from one bed to the other, but I did not see him until an ancient man - Hans was not forty-four yet - waved at me from one of the corners. It was Hans.

He fought death for three weeks. Blood transfusions - the fever went down. The next day it was up again. The infection went on, kept spreading - it was too late. In his delirium he saw an airplane on his last day, which was to take him to freedom. *Hurry*, *Hurry*, he called to Hertha. *They are leaving any minute! Oh my God, we can't get on*, he lamented.

We were allowed to accompany the funeral procession only to the barricade. From there the vehicle, loaded down with coffins, swayed unescorted toward Bauschowitz - to the crematorium. Hertha collapsed onto one of the cut-down trees lying on the road: *My husband, who wanted to fetch the stars from the sky for me - how can he leave me - so alone!*

[Hans Levi died on 7.17.1943 in Theresienstadt. His wife Hertha was deported from there to Auschwitz on 10.12.1944 where she perished.]

Marie Tuchmann Guldmann



Marie Guldmann (Photo: Nuremberg City Archives)

Biography

Marie Guldmann, nee Tuchmann was born in Nuremberg on March 4, 1871 into a closely knit family of hop merchants. In 1891, she married Arthur Guldmann (1866 - 1929) who was a partner in an iron business (Sueddeutsche Eisen Gesellschaft). The couple had three sons: Karl (1892 - 1980) was a physician who was able to emigrate to the USA. Oskar (1896 - 1988) became a chemist who lived most of his life in Switzerland. Edwin (1901 - 1941?) was born seriously epileptic, a lifelong invalid who was cared for at home.

Around the turn of the century, Marie's father Fritz Tuchmann had established a tradition of having a big family get-together at his house every Sunday evening. After her father's death in 1916, Marie carried on this tradition in her comfortable apartment until emigration gradually dispersed the family.

Marie did not want to leave Germany without Edwin. She found no country that would take in a person with such a disability. In June 1939, Edwin was forcibly institutionalized by the Nazi regime, and eventually euthanized. After several imposed moves to tighter quarters (*Jew Houses*) within Nuremberg, Marie Guldmann was deported to Theresienstadt on September 10, 1942 where she died on October 1, 1942. Marie had been a lifelong friend of Mathilde Rosenzweig.

Nuremberg, July 8th, 1942

Eric G. Yondorf October 2002

Marie Guldmann to Mathilde Rosenzweig (7.8.1942) and reply

Sender: Marie Guldmann

Nuremberg

To Mrs. Mathilde Rosenzweig Glarus/Switzerland

Dear Mathilde,

Even though I seem never in the mood to write, I do want to answer your letter promptly, as well as your questions which I welcome because they tell me what you are interested in. Mrs. Alb. Levi is still the cook in the [old age?] home; she is very stressed, since just the shopping for so many people is very difficult, and since Mrs. Reis is bed-ridden because of a sprained knee. Mrs. Stark, the one from the textile shop, is [responsible] for housekeeping and people related services, but there is hardly any help available anymore; my sister-in-law laments more every day. The fees have been much increased, and it is not permitted to play or to eat in the garden. Mr. [Josef] Moßbacher [Kronach 1875 - Theresienstadt 1943] is feeling quite well now; he is going shopping again, but she [his wife Sofie Moßbacher, Bamberg 1875 - Theresienstadt 1943] is always worried until he's back home. Paul Iglauer died in Amsterdam, and Walter I. in Mexico. The News about Willy B. [?] has not been confirmed yet ...

A few days ago, Max Lang came to visit me again after a long time. We all were glad to see him; at his request I also invited Jenny Meyer [née Fechheimer, Nuremberg 1863 - Theresienstadt 1943], her brother [Albert Fechheimer] and Jenny Gunzh. [Gunzenhäuser, Stuttgart 1870 - Theresienstadt 1943]. When one sits around the table, no other conversation comes up [I think one must infer talk about the impending deportations]. Albert [Fechheimer] looks better now and keeps busy all day long. The old age home will move shortly.

Our fellow renters have moved in [reference to the forced consolidations of Jewish households in so-called *Jews' houses*, in this particular case at Dennerstraße 6]; it happened quickly and peacefully. The most disturbing thing is that the mother constantly feels her way along the corridor which is very narrow because of wardrobes, so that one's movements are impeded because she walks very slowly.

Alice Krakenberger [Nuremberg 1893; wife of Dr. Walter K. who perished 1944 in Bergen-Belsen; Alice seems to have survived the Shoah] now lives in Amsterdam, as well as Dorm. [Dr. Sigmund Dormitzer, Nuremberg 1869, Theresienstadt 1943]. Alice broke her ankle, but she can manage to move about in the apartment with her cast. Emmy Büchenbacher [?] had a stroke which robbed her of the ability to speak. [Do you know] that Alice's son has married the grand-daughter of Galla Berolzheimer?

I manage quite well with my cooking; I use your pot every day, don't know how I could get along without it. I have transmitted your greetings to Paula Levi [Bamberg 1875, Treblinka 1942], but they gave her little comfort: she instantly started to cry terribly since she is at the end of her rope.

With many sincere regards, also for your husband, I am

Yours

Marie

Enclosed International Response Coupon

[On the above letter, Mathilde has outlined a postcard reply as follows:]

7.31.

Thanked for the response coupon. Not much to report. Glad that [Marie] is doing reasonably well, hopes that this will continue. Reizenstein's death regrettable, what now [with daughter] Lucie? [My] sister from Munich unfortunately also gone [to Theresienstadt]. No news from USA for seven weeks, but [mail] from Bolivia and Palestine, 5 and 4 months underway, respectively. Weather good after much rain. Fare well -

Marie Guldmann to Mathilde Rosenzweig (8.28.1942) and reply

Sender: Marie Guldmann Nbg., Aug. 28th, 1942

Nuremberg

For Mrs. Mathilde Rosenzweig

Glarus/Switzerland

Dear Mathilde!

This is my farewell letter, since I am moving to Theresienstadt. It will not be news to you. I have made my peace with the idea, but the preparations are terrible; I wished they were behind me already. Mrs. Moßbacher [Sofie Moßbacher, Bamberg 1875 - Theresienstadt 1943], who was very strong until now, had a breakdown. Because of Berti [?] I had some troubles, but I got away with a fright. [Josef] Aufseeßer [Haßfurt 1864 - Theresienstadt 1943], too, is very broken; his wife chatters incessantly [Wilhelmine Aufseeßer, née Bacharach, Munich 1877 - Theresienstadt 1942], has a very disagreeable voice. Her old, messy mother [Ernestine Bacharach, Vienna 1854 - Theresienstadt 1942] is a disaster. I'll be glad to get away from them, since he is getting ever more senile.

Our landlord will have the greatest joy, as surely will many others. For your brother [Stephan] the journey will certainly be strenuous, but maybe he'll be better off there. I am really not capable

to write much. Therefore I close with the heartiest greetings for you, your husband, and Gustl [Auguste Josephthal, life-long mutual friend, widow of Emil, living in England].

Yours Marie

Enclosed a response coupon

[Reply draft by Mathilde]

Sept. 3, 1942

Dear Marie! We just received your note of 8.28. whose content did not surprise us, but made us very sad. Taking leave is never easy, but when one doesn't know whether and where one might ever meet again, it's so much more difficult. I can imagine how much work and upset the last days at home must cause, but your rational nature and your steadfastness will help you to overcome this period better than many others could. How our poor, fragile Stephan is to get through the strenuous trip and the changed conditions of life I cannot imagine. It is a comfort to us at least that his good friends will assist him as much as possible. For you we wish with all our hearts that you will stay healthy, and that your life in Theresienstadt will be tolerable. Hopefully you can give us a sign of life before too long. We have received many farewell letters; all show a good attitude and resigned acceptance which, naturally, tend to lessen our worries. Fare well, many regards to all acquaintances and heartfelt greetings to you -

[Marie Guldmann was deported to Theresienstadt on September 10, 1942; she died there on October 1, 1942 after only 20 days!]

Stephan Guckenheimer

Biography

Stefan (his preferred spelling was *Stephan*), born in Nuremberg on January 1, 1867, was the oldest child of Sophie and Isak Guckenheimer. He was a rather serious person who loved to read and listen to classical music. One of his youthful dreams was to become an accomplished trumpeter. In the real world, he eventually became a partner with his three younger brothers in the Pflueger paper making business. He married Lilli Leopold (1878 Nuremberg - 1918 Nuremberg) with whom he had one daughter, Gertie (1901 Nuremberg - 1974 Geneva).

The couple was divorced in 1912. Stephan established bachelor quarters where he was joined eventually by his likewise divorced



Stephan Guckenheimer in 1938 (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

younger brother Fritz from 1918 to 1934 at Rennweg 62. They were served by a faithful house-keeper until the tightening restrictions of the Nazi regime caused Fritz to emigrate in 1940. After that, Stephan was twice forced to move to dwellings reserved for Jews. He had been in increasingly ill health for a number of years. In the midst of hectic preparations for a mass deportation of senior citizens from Nuremberg to Theresienstadt on September 10, Stephan died on September 5, 1942. He was buried in the New Jewish Cemetery in Nuremberg, and by the kind intervention of a non-Jewish friend a small stone was set to mark his grave.

Eric G. Yondorf, October 2002

Stephan Guckenheimer to the Rosenzweigs (7.13.1942)

Stephan Israel Guckenheimer [letter] No. 36

Nuremberg, 7.13.42 Sandstr. 25/I

My Dear Ones!

Yesterday I received your [picture post]card of July 7th. I find that your hotel next to its park makes a better impression than Sandstr. 25. I would think that one could stand living there. I don't suppose that I will ever get to see anything like that again.

I have not yet reported to you that I had thoroughly upset my stomach two weeks ago. For my supper, I had 4 pieces of the dark bread which I can't digest very well to begin with. The catastrophes began during the night already and lasted into the following evening. The worst thing was that I got into difficulties with my underwear - I had used up all my clean things. My big wash was returned to me [unwashed] since my laundry was closed because the owner was drafted. Fortunately, Mr. K. [Stephan was a subtenant in the Kahns' apartment] managed to place my wash with his laundry, and Mrs. K. helped me out in the meantime (the K.s have done great things again). After that I took no nourishment and stayed in bed for two days. My ability to walk was adversely affected by all this. For the last week, I have been feeling somewhat better. With the help of two canes I can take some firm steps, but I tire quickly. Even sitting for long periods is bothersome.

My doctor was here last week, for the 15th time already, a great waste; but I can't do anything against it since he is the last Jewish physician left in town. He sits here for 5 minutes at the most and says next to nothing. The last time he checked my pulse, asked if I had sufficient medications and advised me to take *Strophalen* for three days, which I naturally did not do, as he had assured me again that my heart was in good order. Since he has three other patients in the house, it is very convenient and profitable for him.

Our sister Flora [residing in Munich for many years] sends you her regards; she reports that she is in good health, and keeps very busy. She has many orders for hairnets, which is very profitable, and pullovers; she really is very industrious and capable. From Mrs. Wertheimer [Rosa, née Ullmann, recently deported to Izbica] I had a postcard without a signature: We are healthy. We are doing well. Many thanks for the mailing. Irma Ullmann [also deported from Nuremberg to Izbica on 3.24.1942] sent an identical note to her cousin, Dr. U. [Dr. Ludwig Ullmann, Nuremberg 1892- Theresienstadt 1942], and a number of children sent cards to friends and relatives here, all with the same message. As a result, I sent a small parcel with Zwieback and war-time soap to Gockel [Sophie Levi, Stephan's and Mathilde's niece from Munich, deported on 4.4.1942 to Piaski; unfortunately I had nothing else to give. - The shaving soap which you left here has lasted till now. I used it only on Sundays and holidays; the same goes for the shaving brush. A few days ago at most, I heard that the widow of Oskar Reis lives in our house on the second floor (with Nordheimers). A Mr. Reizenstein [Ernst Reizenstein], 76 years old, who used to live in a villa in Behringersdorf, has committed suicide [on 7.6.1942]. - Last week we had a heavy thunderstorm at night; since then it has become much cooler, only 15 degrees C [59 F] this afternoon. Last Monday, Nurse Augusta came for the great wash [probably a sponge bath is meant] which was no luxury; she wanted to come back today, but has not shown up so far - it is already 5 p.m.

Reading: I read a novel by a German-American, Walter D. Edmonds, *Pfauenfeder und Kokarde* [*Peacock Feather and Cockade*]. It's about German settlers from the Palatinate in 18th century America; quite interesting, but many Indian details [if I can make the original out correctly].

Since I know so little about England, I have recently acquired the *History of England* by Maurois, very detailed, but I am not always in agreement with his views.

My friends continue to care for me. H. and L. [?] have not come for some time. Now I have written to you again in some detail, perhaps too much so; not everything will be of interest to you, but if you have as much time as I, you should be able to read through the whole thing.

Best regards to the Jondorfs, Gertie and Liesel [Stephan's daughter, and a sister-in-law, both living in England].

Stay well etc., yours Stephan.

Stephan Guckenheimer to the Rosenzweigs (7.15.1942)

Stephan Guckenheimer [Letter] No. 37

Nuremberg W. 7.15.42 Sandstr. 25/I

Dear Zweigs!

I'm writing you again today, but for no agreeable reason. At about 9 o'clock tonight, Mr. K. [Kahn] brought me a letter from Flora [Flora Tag, their Munich sister] dated 7.12. which had been mailed in Munich only yesterday. According to the letter, she was notified on Saturday that she had to be ready on Monday to travel to Milbertshofen near Munich; from there she was to join a transport, probably on Friday, to Theresienstadt in Czechia. Of late many people from Munich have arrived there. Judging from her letter, Flora seems steadfast and courageous. She described everything: 28,000 Jews are said to be there; she believes that we shall see each other again. They are under the care of the Prague [Jewish] community and Flora thinks that you, dear Ludwig, could exert some favorable influence on her behalf. You would need to mention her birthday: 10.16.71 and mention Munich Transport. She sent me the enclosed letter for you; I fear that my [return] letter will not reach her anymore in Milbertshofen, since it will leave here only tomorrow, Thursday. They are permitted to take 60 lb. of luggage and 50 Marks; they are not allowed to write for now. And when will it be our turn? I am all alone now, and can correspond only with you. On Tuesday Marie Guldmann came to see me again; today, there was a heavy rain. I have not yet digested this news, of course.

Heartiest greetings,

Yours Stephan

[Stephan's and Mathilde' sister Flora Tag survived the war in Theresienstadt; she lived in Munich for a few years after the war. She died August 1951.

Ludwig Rosenzweig to Stephan Guckenheimer (7.24.1942)

[Letter Draft dictated by Ludwig Rosenzweig to his wife Mathilde] Glarus, 7.24.42

Dear Stephan,

We received both your letters, of 7.13 and 7.15, on ...; I want to say that we are always glad to have your news as a sign of life, but not necessarily their contents. I imagine you have always informed [sister] Flora of all the symptoms of your various ills in detail; I do want to emphasize that you can write us all these things that you would otherwise have shared with Flora. Nevertheless, I hope that your reports of sickness will become fewer, not because we find them bothersome, but because the number of your complaints will become less. Judging by the results, the frequent visits of your doctor have not been very successful, and I believe your state of health would not suffer if they were to become fewer. It should not be too difficult for you to tell him that your financial situation used to be rather comfortable, but is now much weaker; as a result, you should ask him to limit his visits somewhat.

Five years ago, I was able to place a Mrs. Nordheimer into the Old Age Home; she probably has no connection with the Nordheimers whom you have mentioned? I knew the recently deceased Reizenstein well; his daughter Lucie, was a friend of our Fanny, whose husband left her after a brief marriage. Flora's fate is sad; that she has to share it with so many others is no comfort for her or for us.

I shall write to Prague to ask if they can possibly supply an address for Flora, and also if they can do anything to ease Flora's living conditions. I am doubtful of any success, since I have absolutely no connections to Jewish circles in Prague. I wish you well, and remain with best regards

Ludwig

Stephan Guckenheimer to the Rosenzweigs (7.31.1942)

Stephan Guckenheimer [Letter] No. 38

Nuremberg W. 7/31/42 Sandstr. 25/I

My Dear Ones!

I was very happy to get your letter from the 24th this morning; I'm glad you're doing well. I give you such detailed descriptions of my state of health because I know that you, dear Ludwig, are rather interested in such matters, and I did not want to hide anything from you. A touch of cold which I've had for several days I'll only mention in passing, without going into details. Other than that, my state of health is rather unchanged. I have not managed to walk around my room more than 25 times at a stretch, and do find that somewhat strenuous. On the 21st, I had the last (16th) visit from my doctor. He has not sent me a bill yet; as it turns out, he thought I was a charity case. Should he charge me too much - he is said to have charged 7 Marks per visit - I will speak up. - I had a rather long letter from Hans Levi [their Munich nephew, brother of Gockel]; he and his wife (in the former law office of Dr. Beer) are tremendously busy; Gockel was very happy to get your parcel, and Aunt Flora proved to be very brave. I feel certain that I, too, will yet share

their fate. Mrs. Dessauer (mother-in-law of Otto Tuchmann) aged 81, who lived in Augsburg, and her old sisters have also departed, as well as Mr. K.'s [Kahn's] 73 year old brother who has serious heart trouble. Therefore, if you don't hear from me for a long time you don't need to get excited. Gockel is well provisioned; she did not acknowledge my two parcels. I can't send her anything more since I have nothing to spare. Miss [Elise] Nordheimer [Worms 1872 - Theresienstadt 1942], whom you managed to get into the Old Age Home, dear Ludwig, appears to be a sister of our Nordheimer [Leo Nordheimer, Worms 1870 - Theresienstadt 1942, a house neighbor]. Mr. [Jakob] Mann [Dottenheim 1870 - Theresienstadt 1942] from the ground floor comes to visit me every week. He sends you best regards. Jup came to see me twice recently; he happily read to me your last letter because it once again revealed you as a master of the art of linguistic style. Today he asked me to mention to you that he has sent you a four-page letter on the 28th to make up for the letter that got lost. Friend Jup appears very old and worn.

We've had very cool weather in recent days. From H [?] I hear that his state of health is very unstable and that he hasn't been out in days. I've had no news in ages from Le. [?] Reading: I have read Galsworthy's *Forsythe Saga*. I had to get accustomed to the style, but found the book very interesting. Yesterday I started on *Swan Song* which is a continuation of the Saga. For tonight, I'm looking forward to the Friday Evening soup at the K.s [Kahns].

Best regards for the Jondorfs, also Gertie and Liesel, should you be writing to them. Stay well, hugs and kisses from

your Stephan.

Ludwig and Mathilde Rosenzweig to Stephan Guckenheimer (8.13.1942)

[Letter Draft] Glarus, 8.13.42

My Dear Stephan!

From your letter No. 38 of 7.31., received 8.6., I see with regret that you are not feeling quite as well as I would wish, but I do hope that you will feel better soon. According to the strict Berlin regulations, you do not qualify for monthly public aid payments since you still have some private means; but it might be possible that as an act of courtesy toward me you might be granted the lowest health insurance rate to pay the doctor. Your reference to Hans Levi [mutual Munich nephew] and wife and their being kept very busy in Munich is inconceivable to me. I have received Jup's four page letter from 7.29, as well as his previous missive which was especially florid, and which inspired me as a result to a somewhat contrived response. Galsworthy is known to have been a very good writer; but from a stricter point of view, he is a somewhat diluted version of Shaw. We had lots of mail recently including letters from the USA and England. From Liesel [mutual sister-in-law] who sends you best regards, we had a mile-long letter from which we learn that she and Gogo [Liesel's daughter Sophie] are doing very well. She accidentally met Betty Roth on the street who reported that they are fine and that her husband is [some kind of occupation left blank in the letter draft] while she passes her time with sewing. I have no way of verifying how objective this report is. Mrs. Ernst Hesselberger is a saleslady in a small grocery shop; he does the necessary household shopping. Liesel's love for Paul Strauss has cooled by several degrees since he hasn't written a line to his wife in several years. From Fritz [Mathilde's and Stephan's younger brother in Bolivia] we had a detailed letter which informed us that he is

now a butter sales representative, a position which is a lot of work but provides a modest living. He is in good health but very sad about the fate of his [daughter] Lotte [deported from Berlin to Riga on 11.27.1941] and Mrs. W. [probably Wertheimer]. There would be other interesting things to report from the many other recently received letters but that would let this message get too long.

With the very best regards your Ludwig.

And now a few lines from me [Mathilde]

Lore Kahn lives with Sichel [?]; she is doing well and is satisfied in her place of employment. She was happy to hear good things about her parents and would like to know if you are still living with them. Ernstle Mayer [a mutual great-nephew in the western U.S.] is said to be rather inconsiderate toward his parents; hasn't written a line to Mariannche [his sister, at that time in Britain]. Naturally I am very happy that Fritz finally has found a position (with the help of Max Grübel [Ludwig's nephew in Bolivia]). Hopefully he can keep it and make a go of it.

Now farewell, hugs and kisses your Mathilde.

Stephan Guckenheimer to the Rosenzweigs (8.18.1942)

Stephan Guckenheimer [Letter] No. 39

Nuremberg W 8.18.42 Sandstr. 25/I

Dear Zweigs!

I was glad to receive your dear lines from 8.13. You've had a lot of agreeable mail which should make you very happy. Unfortunately, I can't write you anything agreeable. Dr. B. came early in the morning on Thursday with the news that everybody over the age of 65 would have to leave. The move was said to be delayed for another 3-4 weeks; there will be no exceptions made. Mrs. K. [Kahn] who especially went to the Congregation office got identical information from Wormser. The congregational newsletter reported the same. The departure is expected for the beginning of September - Theresienstadt; one is allowed to take along very little - as much as one can carry. For me all this is terrible. I've been lying in bed again for a couple of weeks and can scarcely take a step by myself. I had a big ache: I wanted to go from the living room into the bedroom and suddenly could move neither forward nor backward; my canes started to slip and I fell flat on my face. The K.s [Kahns] came immediately and brought me to bed; the doctor came only a few days later. At first he only admitted that there was a lameness, and after a while he declared that there was a weakness. Now I sit up daily for breakfast next to my bed, otherwise I lie down. I don't have much pain, and sleep moderately well. As far as charity is concerned, you must have misunderstood me. Dr. B. thought that I wanted to be on public aid. His statement turned out to be quite reasonable.

I am really glad that Fritz [their brother in Bogota] has finally found some gainful occupation; hopefully he'll do well at it. Best regards for Jondorfs, Liesel, Fritz and Gertie [Stephan's daughter in England]. Why do I never hear from her [Gertie worked for the League of Nations in Geneva before the war; early in the war, she got a job with the BBC in Britain and was pretty much incommunicado with relatives abroad]. Jup was here to see me again; he wanted to know whether

you received his letter. Marie Guldmann even brought me something to eat and was otherwise very charming. Too late. [Isidor] Abraham, the clothing manufacturer, has also done away with himself [on 8.11.1942]. Mrs. [Helene] Schwarz from the ground floor has died as well, 2 days after her golden wedding anniversary. Our apartment is about to be rented out; within one week, there were 5 possible takers here to see it; the last one was going to take it, but wanted many things fixed to which the landlord would not agree.

I could urgently use your comforting presence. Hugs and Kisses

Your

Stephan.

Ludwig and Mathilde Rosenzweig to Stephan Guckenheimer (8.27.1942)

[Letter Draft] Glarus, 8.27.42

My Dear Stephan!

We received your letter from 8.18. on the 25th; we weren't just sending soothing words when we wrote you that you should have no fear about being sent away; it was our firm conviction that you couldn't possibly be considered for deportation in view of your age and your very fragile state of health, and we maintain this opinion to this day. Should we be mistaken in this, we do wish you from the bottom of our hearts that you will get over the journey well, that you will be able to adjust to the changed circumstances, and that your helplessness will be respected as much as possible. Hopefully, you will succeed in making your new life and that of the many acquaintances who will make the voyage with you as tolerable as possible. Be assured that our thoughts and our warmest wishes will be with you always, wherever you are.

Hopefully, we will be able to continue to correspond with one another.

We have not had news from Gertie [Stephan's daughter in England] for a long time; according to a note from Liesel [mutual sister-in-law in London] a letter from her seems to have been lost.

Ludwig is still of the opinion that an exception will be made in your case since you are so totally unfit for transport; should you not be sent away, while your recent caretakers must go, his advice would be for you to seek to be admitted to the Jewish Hospital in Fürth [neighboring city]. We hope confidently to have satisfactory news from you soon and remain with best wishes, sincere regards and kisses

Best regards to the Kahns

Your

Mathilde and Ludwig

Stephan Guckenheimer to the Rosenzweigs (9.2.1942)

Stephan Guckenheimer 9.2.42 [Letter] No. 40

Nuremberg W. Knauerstr. 27

My Dear Ones!

I've had to overcome difficult things during the last few days. Monday afternoon [August 31] we had to suddenly vacate the apartment, I had 2 hours. Fortunately, Mrs. K. [Kahn] had packed the most essential things for Theresienstadt in the morning. I was called for by the nurse and a man; the move was dreadful. In part, I slid down the stair. I was transported in a handcart to this address where I was carried by two women to a room on the second floor. In it there was only one man in a bed on the floor. I spent the night lying on the bare floor; there was no nightlight. Yesterday, my rheumatism acted up accordingly; but I did get a bed in a single room again. It was said to have been [Bernhard] Kolb's doing that with a total house population of 106 people I have a single room; but I am thinking it might have been Albert Fechheimer [deported to Theresienstadt in September 1942, survived the Holocaust] who also lives here. Food is good and sufficient.

Mr. K. [Kahn, his ex-landlord] came by yesterday already, his wife wanted also to drop by. They now live in the Old Age Home, 9 to one room. In addition I had visits from Mrs. Friedmann, Mrs. Jonas Bamberger, née Zeiller [Ida Bamberger, Forchheim 1858 - Theresienstadt 1942], and Albert Fechheimer. I was supposed to leave here on Wednesday, but as a special favor on Tuesday already. That is not likely to happen now.

Best regards to all, hugs and kisses your Stephan

[Stephan Guckenheimer died in Nuremberg on September 5, 1942, five days before the massive deportation of September 10, 1942. He was 75 years old. The couple who took care of him as long as they lived together at Sandstraße 25, Klara (Liedolsheim 1886) and Jakob Kahn (Liedolsheim 1872), was deported on the aforementioned date to Theresienstadt. Jakob Kahn died there in 1943, his wife was further deported and killed in Auschwitz in 1944.]

Partial Guckenheimer Family Tree

The data are not entirely complete.

Samuel Guckenheimer (1796 - 1858) oo Meila Moßmann (1800 - 1878)

Isak G (1835 - 1897) oo Sophie Aal (1842 - 1911)

Stephan G (Nbg 1867 - Nbg 1942) oo Lilli Leo- pold	Gutta G (1868 - 1936) oo Heinrich Op- penheimer (1858 - 1915),	Rudolphine G (1869 - ??)	(Nbg 1870 - Chgo 1951) oo Ludwig Rosenzweig (Nbg 1861 - Glarus	1934) oo Theodor Levi (1863 - 1901),	Flora G (1873 - 1951) oo Ludwig Tag (1869 - 1906), Mch []	Paz, Bolivia 1943) oo Else Leo-	Max G (1876 - 1935) oo Else- Liesel Seligmann (1891 -	Alfred G (1880 - 1931) oo Elly Büber (1897 - 1943) []
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Stephan G (Nbg 1867 - Nbg 1942) oo Lilli Leopold (1878 - 1918)

Gertie G (1901 - 1974) oo Hans Deneke

Mathilde G (Nbg 1870 - Chgo 1951) oo Ludwig Rosenzweig (Nbg 1861 - Glarus 1943)

Fritz Rosenzweig (1894 - 1918)

Fanny Rosenzweig (1897 - 1975) oo Emil Yondorf (1885 - 1953)

Walter F. J (Nbg Eric G. J (Nbg 04/22) 10/20 - DC 12/80) oo Lisa S. Blair Anneliese Loewald (Chgo 03/45) (Brln 04/23)

Emma G (1871 - 1934) oo Theodor Levi (1863 - 1901), Munich

Ernst Levi (Mch 1895 - London 1963) oo Ailsa Doris Burnaby Sophie Levi (Mch 1898 - Poland? 1942)

Hans Levi (Mch 1899 - Theresienstadt 1943) od

Hans Levi (Mch 1899 -Theresienstadt 1943) oo Hertha Loeb Rosenthal (?? -Auschwitz? 1944)

Fritz G (Nbg 1875 - La Paz, Bolivia 1943) oo Else Leopold (1880 - 1925) Lotte G (Nbg 1903 - Riga 1941)

Max G (1876 - 1935) oo Else-Liesel Seligmann (1891 - 1981), Nbg

Sophie *Gogo* G (Nbg 1913) 1) oo 1) Otto Hilde G (Nbg 1917) oo Gustav Heinsfurter Schueler (1889 - 1967) 2) Kurt Sulan (1912) Hines (1912)

Abbreviations:

Brln = Berlin, Prussia (Germany)

Chgo = Chicago, IL (USA)

cntd = continued

G = Guckenheimer

Mch = Munich, Upper Bavaria (Germany)

Nbg = Nuremberg, Central Franconia (Germany)

Nyc = New York City, NY (USA)

oo = married to

Guckenheimer Photos



Nuremberg, approx. 1902: In the carriage Gertie Guckenheimer, first from the left sitting Mathilde Rosenzweig, to her right her daughter Fanny, in the center Lilly Guckenheimer-Leopold (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)



Stephan's daughter Gertie Deneke-Guckenheimer in Switzerland, approx. 1961 (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf

Levi Photos



Munich, approx. 1918, from left to right: Emma Levi, née Guckenheimer, her son Hans and her daughter Sophie (Gockel) (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)



Emma (second from the right) and her children Hans, Sophie and Ernst in the Allgäu, 1922 (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

Partial Yondorf Family Tree

The data are not entirely complete. Bottom line is the last German born generation.

Rolf Jontoph (Dtnhfn 1769 - ?) oo Babette ? (17?? - ??)

Wolfgang J (Gellheim 1805 - Dtnhfn 187?) oo Fanny Zucker (Aub 18?? - ??)

Oskar J (Dtnhfn Otto J (Dtnhfn 02/54 - Nbg 10/55 - Nbg 07/09) oo Lina 03/24) Pflaunlacher (Hürben 10/69 -Nbg 11/33)

Gustav J (Dtnhfn 02/1852 - Nbg 07/1912) oo Pauline Lehmann (Markt Erlbach 06/1860 -Nyc 11/1944)

oo Helene Adler (Stgrt 01/87 - Nyc 11/87)

Stephan J (Nbg 12/81 - Nbg 02/30) Emil J (Nbg 12/84 - Chgo 06/55) oo Fanny Rosenzweig (Nbg 02/97 -Chgo 01/75)

Fritz J (Nbg 10/96 - Nyc 05/84) oo Paula Sommer (Obbach 01/99 -Nyc 06/92)

Lisbeth J (Nbg 04/12 - Nyc 10/84 oo Kurt Eyermann (Nbg 03/09 - Nyc 11/99)

Hilde J (Nbg 04/15 - TN 07/91) oo Arno Roesel (Brln 06/00 - TN 10/73)

Walter F. J (Nbg Eric G. J (Nbg 10/20 - DC12/80) oo Anneliese Loewald (Brln 04/23)

04/22) oo Lisa S. 11/25) oo Lilo Blair (Chgo 03/45)

Rudy O. J (Nbg Gertrude J (Nbg 04/31) oo Seidenberger Alex Gurevitch (Nbg 09/24 - Syr (Nyc 06/30 -12/72) oo Margot Nyc 10/97) Israel (Lux 07/25)

Abbreviations:

Brln = Berlin, Prussia (Germany)

Chgo = Chicago, IL (USA)

DC = Washington DC (USA)

Dtnhfn = Dietenhofen, Central Franconia (Germany)

J = Jondorf

Lux = Luxembourg (Luxembourg)

Nbg = Nuremberg, Central Franconia (Germany)

Nyc = New York City, NY (USA)

Stgrt = Stuttgart, Wuerttemberg (Germany)

Syr = Syracuse, NY (USA)

TN = Tennessee (USA)

oo = married to

Yondorf Photos



Walter Yondorf as GI at St. Die, France (1944) (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)



Walter Yondorf in 1945 (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf

Resume by Fred Yondorf (1955)

My Resume

by

Fred Yondorf [formerly Fritz Jondorf], 621 West 136th Street, New York 31, NY

[This resume was written in connection with Fred Yondorf's application for restitution payments from Germany.]

- I was born on October 17, 1896, in Nuremberg as the youngest of the three sons of Gustav and Pauline Jondorf. My father had founded the Acetylene Burner Factory G. Jondorf around 1890 of which he remained the sole owner for some 15 years; at that time he took in his oldest son [Stephan] as a partner, followed by the second son [Emil] somewhat later.
- From 1902 until 1906, I attended the preparatory school of *Institut Gombrich* [a well reputed private school] in Nuremberg.
- In the fall of 1906, I entered the *Neue Humanistische Gymnasium* [a classical high school) in Nuremberg. In 1910, I changed over to the *Realgymnasium* [a high school

with a more modern orientation] which I left in 1912, having attained the *Middle Maturity* certificate. The reason for the change of schools was my intention to pursue a career in business.

- In July of 1912, I began a two year business apprenticeship at the firm of G. Hirsch & Sohn in Nuremberg, a weaver of gold and silver textiles. During this period I became acquainted with all phases of office management. In the third year of my association with this firm I worked in the bookkeeping department. At the same time, I enlarged and improved my school-based knowledge of French by taking private lessons, a move that proved very useful later on.
- In the spring of 1915 I volunteered for service in the armed forces; in June / July I was inducted for basic training into the 32nd Field Artillery Regiment at Amberg, Upper Palatine [Bavaria]. In the fall of that year, in the course of training, I contracted a severe case of meningitis which after one or two days led to the total loss of my hearing and left me in a rather debilitated state. After a stay of several months in a military hospital, I was dismissed from the army as unfit for service with the right to claim disability pay. My ability to earn a living was officially declared to be diminished by 50%.
- In the fall of 1916, the spring and fall of 1917 I made three trips to Wiesbaden [an important spa and curative center in Hesse] where I participated in lip reading classes, each of several months duration. In the end I was able to communicate with relatives and close acquaintances, and to improve my communication skills with further practice.
- 1918 My two older brothers took me into the business which had become theirs after my father's death [in 1912]. I was able to work my way up to increasingly important positions in an enterprise which in its best years employed 150 200 persons. I shared the business administration with my oldest brother [Stephan] who, however, had to be absent on sales travels for months at a time. My second brother [Emil], an engineer by training, supervised the technical aspects of the enterprise. After the death of my oldest brother in 1930, my second brother had to take on travel and promotion as well, as a result of which my work and responsibility in the business increased enormously.
- In April I married Paula Sommer from Obbach [near Würzburg]. Our son Rudolf was born in November 1925 and our daughter Gertrude in April 1931.
- In 1920 my two brothers had founded a new firm, *Electronoris*, which was devoted to the manufacture and distribution of net-voltage fuses, plugs, receptacles and such; this business had become dormant after a few years. After the death of my brother Stephan Jondorf, my brother Emil Jondorf and I reactivated this firm, and started to produce and distribute low-voltage miniature light bulbs [as in flashlights and bicycle lamps]. Starting in November of 1931, the two of us were equal partners in this business.



Letterhead of the company *Elektronoris* advertising its specialty, light bulbs by the brand name *Dosi* (Photo: Mr. Eric G. Yondorf)

- After 1933 doing business became more and more difficult for us as German Jews. The racial hate propaganda in 1938 increased so drastically that our German clientele lost the courage to buy and promote our products. We saw ourselves obliged to enter into negotiations for the sale of our two firms, G. Jondorf as well as Electronoris. Before these talks accomplished their goal, the violent events of November 1938 occurred. Practically overnight the two concerns were taken from us, and we were prohibited from entering our factory henceforth (measures enforced by a functionary Taubert, a local official of the National-Socialist Party). In the ill-famed November night [November 9, 1938], a group of SA storm troopers broke into my apartment, heavily damaging sofas and other furnishings, robbing a security box, and wounding me with a bayonet without any prior provocation.
- During my enforced period of unemployment prior to our emigration to England in early September 1939, I studied the making of fine candy, a precautionary move toward having at least a possibility for doing independent work. During our nine months stay in England, where we had to wait for our American immigration permits, we were not allowed to seek or accept employment. The means for our sustenance were advanced by relatives abroad. I used my time to enlarge and improve my knowledge of English which up to that time was minimal.
- At the end of May, we immigrated into the USA. I produced candy on a small scale, and in 1941 I joined with another gentleman to make marzipan candy. We did not succeed in making our production profitable; after the American entry into the war, sugar rationing impaired our activity to the extent that we had to terminate it with considerable losses early in 1942.
- Late in the summer, I was offered a job in a mail order warehouse for ladies' clothing. After a period of time I was transferred from the mail order section to one of the offices; but my impairment and the insurmountable difficulty of lip reading in English did not permit me to advance with respect to type of assignment or salary level. Nonetheless, I have been employed in this business for 13 years now.

New York, NY 1 June 1955

[A bit of background information: There were seven persons in the Jondorf group which made a last-minute escape to Britain in 1939: Helen who was Stephan's widow, Emil and his wife Fanny, their mother Pauline, Fred and Paula and their two children who had arrived a short time previously on *Kindertransports*. Their temporary refuge was the Cardiff area of Wales.]

Obituary for Dr. Walter F. Yondorf (12.16.1980)

[from: The Washington Post, Tuesday, Dec. 16, 1980]

Dr. Walter F. Yondorf, Mitre Executive, 60, Dies

Dr. Walter F. Yondorf, a vice president of the Mitre Corporation, a defense contractor that specializes in communications, died of cancer Friday [12.12.1980] at Sibley Memorial Hospital.

Dr. Yondorf joined Mitre in 1962 as a member of the technical staff at the company's headquarters in Bedford, Mass. He transferred to its Northern Virginia office a year later.

He was promoted through a series of technical management posts and played a major role in developing support programs for the Army and the defense communications industry. He had been vice president for command, control and communications since September 1979. He lived in Sumner, Md.

Dr. Yondorf was a native of Nuremberg, Germany, and came to this country in 1937. He lived in the Chicago area and attended Northwestern University before entering the Army in World War II.

During the war, he served with the Army's Signal Corps intelligence and participated in the invasions of North Africa, Italy and Southern France.

After the war, he returned to Chicago and earned a doctorate in political science at the University of Chicago. He stayed on at Chicago and was a political science instructor, research director and fellow of the university's Social Science Research Council before joining Mitre.

Dr. Yondorf was a member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Political Science Association.

Survivors include his wife, Anne L. of Sumner; two daughters, Barbara A. Mitchell of Denver, Colo., and Wendy A. Yondorf of Montreal, Canada; a son, Thomas G., of Chicago, and one brother, Eric, also of Chicago.

The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the University of Chicago, 6733 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637.

Biography of Luzie (Lucy) Reizenstein

Luzie (Lucie, later in English Lucy) Reizenstein was born on July 1, 1897, the only child of Ernst Reizenstein and his wife Grete, née Hesselberger; Ernst was the managing director of the Behringersdorf Brewery near Nuremberg for many years. The Reizensteins lived in a comfortable Victorian house with a small turret surrounded by a large garden in Behringersdorf. Luzie and my mother, Fanny Rosenzweig Jondorf, were born only a few months apart and became best friends during their school years. Both married within a year of each other, but Luzie was divorced after only a few months. She returned to live with her parents where she enjoyed tending the large garden and being an attentive hostess to invited friends and relatives. The younger generation knew her as *Tante Luzie* (Aunt Luzie).

Although far from beautiful, Luzie was a very warm person. She had a ready twinkle in her eyes, and was easily accessible to youngsters. Being very skillful at arts and crafts, she could readily turn out perfect free-hand cut-outs of horses with tiny scissors, to the delight of her young admirers. At least once each summer, Luzie invited us children to her house for hot chocolate and cake and for a hunt to find the chocolate tree in the garden. Sure enough, somewhere in the extensive greenery there would be a small tree or a bush festooned with chocolates and candies for the youngsters to pick. On rare occasions, Luzie sent her father's chauffeur driven car to pick up her guests at home. Nirvana!

As her parents were aging and ailing, Luzie had really become chief housekeeper and caretaker. Luzie's mother died in 1938 (?). Little seemed to have changed in Luzie's and Ernst's lives with the onset of World War II until the Nazi regime began to enforce its *Final Solution to the Jewish Question*. Ernst and Luzie were ordered to report to Nuremberg by July 7, 1942, where Luzie was to work as a caretaker in one of the Jewish old age homes, and Ernest to be quartered in

another. Presumably to forestall this, Ernst took poison, and died on July 6, 1942 at the Jewish Hospital in Fürth. Luzie was deported to Theresienstadt with the remaining tenants of her old age home on September 10, 1942. Miraculously, she survived in Theresienstadt until a small number of inmates, including Luzie, were released to Switzerland on February 5, 1945, probably under pressure from the International Red Cross.

Eventually, Luzie was admitted to the United States as a displaced person. She decided to settle in Chicago, where my mother Fanny, and her mother Mathilde Rosenzweig formed a friendly welcoming committee. Luzie - now Lucy - was able to find work as a practical nurse at Michael Reese Hospital. After a few years, she switched to the staff of the Drexel Home for Aged Jews where she also resided. Lucy never complained about the terrible years in Theresienstadt and was as enjoyable to be with as ever. Unfortunately she was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1953, which led to her death at 59 on July 9, 1956.

Eric G. Yondorf December 2002

Liesel and Sophie (Gogo) Guckenheimer's Emigration to Australia

by Hilde Hines, revised by Eric G. Yondorf

My mother Liesel and my husband Gus' mother came to Holland in April 1939. [Hilde and Gus Heinsfurther (later Hines) emigrated from Germany before the *Kristallnacht* and temporarily settled in Roosendaal, Holland, while waiting for their Australian permits.] She left a short while after for England and stayed with my sister Sophie (Gogo). Both of them were intending to leave for Australia approximately 15th September 1939 on a German ship. Tickets were bought from Germany.

On September 3rd England declared war on Germany and the tickets went back - never to be seen again. Also the permit became invalid and we had to start from the beginning again. Fortunately through our guarantor we got our permits reinstated a couple of months later. When we picked them up from the British Consulate in Holland they gave us (Gus, myself, and my mother-in-law) our three, but refused to send the two for Gogo and Liesel to England saying they must come personally to pick them up. This was impossible, of course, for it was already war time. We thought we could fix it from Australia but by the time we got there it was too late. We left on a Dutch ship on 13th November 1939 and arrived in Adelaide on the 18th January 1940. Therefore Liesel and Gogo stayed in England throughout the war and were bombed out several times.

Liesel learned and became a milliner in England. She was working successfully there until she finally came to Australia in 1949. She started here as a milliner but after a short while she was offered an agency for sunglasses so she took my bike and sold sunglasses to chemist shops all over Adelaide. Once she earned enough from that Gus got her a car and she became a manufacturer's agent, working in that field until she was 86 years old.

Gogo had married in England, was widowed there and moved to Australia sometime in the 1960s.

As far as I can remember cousin Gertie was working for the Oldenbourg-Verlag in Munich before she went to Geneva and the League of Nations.

October 2003

The Concentration Camps mentioned in the letters

Although the British first used concentration camps in modern times during the Boer War (Encyclopedia Britannica), it was Nazi Germany which turned an institution, originally intended for the segregation and reeducation of *politically unreliable* members of society, into deadly detention, forced labor and extermination camps. To make Germany *judenrein* (free of Jews), all Jews were to be resettled in the East (essentially occupied Poland and neighboring lands). Initially, Jews were deported to already overcrowded ghettos in cities such as Lublin, Riga or Warsaw where deprivation of food and lack of hygiene led to incredibly high death rates. Later, the ghettos were emptied into labor and extermination camps such as Auschwitz or Majdanek. The following is a list of ghettos or camps mentioned in the Rosenzweig Letters.

Auschwitz

Auschwitz, located circa 30 miles west of Krakow, was established in May 1940 as a forced labor camp to benefit German war industry. In January 1942 mass exterminations in gas chambers were initiated. As deportees arrived in the camp by train, SS officers would select those who seemed fit for slave labor or medical experiments, while directing the rest to the gas chambers.

Bergen-Belsen

Bergen-Belsen was founded in May 1943 near Hanover, Germany, as an internment camp for Jews from western occupied countries whose connections in foreign countries might make them valuable as *exchange objects* in the eyes of the Nazis. Beginning in early 1945, Bergen-Belsen became a collection point for inmates evacuated, often by deadly forced marches, from concentration camps in the path of the Russian advance from the east. Between the beginning of January and the end of April 1945, 44,000 persons died in Bergen-Belsen largely of hunger and disease! The camp was liberated by the British on April 15, 1945.

Dachau

The oldest concentration camp in Germany was established in March of 1933 a few miles north-west of Munich outside the town of Dachau. At least 20 detainees from Nuremberg were killed in Dachau over the years. Nearest of kin were usually informed that the death occurred as the result of an attempted breakout.

Izbica

Izbica was a small town with ghetto in eastern Poland near Lublin. The ghetto was liquidated in June of 1942 with most residents being shipped to the extermination camp in nearby Sobibor (see below). Of 449 Nurembergers sent to Izbica or Krasniczyn, both in Krasnystaw County, none survived.

Piaski

Piaski, in the Lublin District of Poland, was both ghetto and transit point for deported Jews from Germany and Czechoslovakia on their way to nearby extermination facilities in Sobibor (see below).

Riga-Jungfernhof

Riga, the capital of occupied Latvia had a ghetto in the process of liquidation, and some surrounding concentration camps, one of which was Jungfernhof. Liquidation in Riga consisted largely of mass shootings in the surrounding forests perpetrated by local security forces. Of 512 deportees sent from Nuremberg to Riga, 17 survived.

Sobibor

Sobibor in eastern Poland was opened in 1942 as an extermination camp with 6 gas chambers. It was primarily the last destination for deportees from Holland. A prisoner riot in October 1943 led to its liquidation one month later.

Theresienstadt

Theresienstadt, founded by the Austrians in the 1780s as a small garrison town in Bohemia, was turned into a supposedly model Ghetto for chosen Jews from Central Europe by the Nazis in late 1941. Before long, Theresienstadt was totally overcrowded. As new deportees arrived, earlier arrivals were shipped on to labor and extermination camps further east. Of 557 Jews sent from Nuremberg to Theresienstadt, only 35 survived.

Treblinka

Treblinka in the Warsaw District was established as a forced labor camp in 1941. In early 1942, extermination facilities with ten gas chambers were activated. The camp was liquidated in August 1943 after an uprising by inmates.

Eric G. Yondorf October 2002

Source

Gerhard Jochem, Ulrike Kettner: Gedenkbuch für die Nürnberger Opfer der Schoa [Memorial Book for Nuremberg's Victims of the Shoah], 2 vol., Nuremberg 1998 & 2002.

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