

## Chapter 2: Last Gathering in Haigerloch

“The little Inge A. is the only child from Württemberg that lives.”

Resi Weglein, September 10, 1945.

“There is no return, because the re-entrance to a place is never also a recovery of the lost time.”

Jean Améry, “Wieviel Heimat braucht der Mensch” (1966)

A small town some twenty miles southwest of Tübingen, Haigerloch sits upon interlocking limestone bluffs formed by the winding path of the Eyach River. In the mid nineteenth century, its nearly 400 Jews made up a third of the town’s residents, with most Jewish families living by trading cattle. The men took off on Monday, their cows often in tow, and returned on Friday in time for Shabbat. A modern map shows the outer points of the weekly travels of one such trader, Isak Hilb, as he ranges from the city of Stuttgart in the north to the town of Ravensburg near Lake Constance in the south.<sup>1</sup> Other traders went farther—to the countryside of Bohemia, for example.<sup>2</sup> But wherever they went, the cadences of their local dialect went with them. They spoke “*Viehändlerdeutsch*,” cattle-trader-German, in their case a variant of Swabian peppered with words from *Lashon Hakodesh*, the sacred language.<sup>3</sup>

In Haigerloch, the Jews lived mostly in a “voluntary ghetto” known as the Haag. Situated in the lower part of town, the *Haag* contained a synagogue, a marketplace, and a Jewish inn

called “The Rose.” On special holidays, such as Purim or Hanukah, the Rose drew Jews to Haigerloch from the nearby towns of Hechingen and Horb, and from the surrounding villages of Baisingen, Dettingen, and Rexingen.<sup>4</sup> The pre-Hitler period “was a beautiful time,” remembered Alice Weil, a ten-year old Jewish girl in 1933.<sup>5</sup> Even outsiders thought the local Jewish community resembled “a big family.”<sup>6</sup>



*Alice Weil, c. 1935 (photo USC VHA Interview 785, Alice Weil).*

## I

In the course of three large deportations, the Nazis wiped out this “big family.”<sup>7</sup> The first deportation began with a list and a letter requiring Jews to report to the local train station in the

early morning of November 27, 1941. The directive included precise details about how much luggage they could take with them, how much they had to pay for the ticket, and what they could not take.<sup>8</sup> The Jews were then sent off around noon in a train to Stuttgart-Killesberg, where they arrived at 4:30 in the afternoon and waited for days in a cramped holding pen as transports came in from other Jewish towns and villages in the region. On December 1, the Nazis transported the Jews of Haigerloch, their names Levi, Hilb, Weil, and Ullmann, to Šķirotava, a neighborhood of the Latvian city of Riga, where in the freezing cold the Nazis and their helpers beat, starved, and worked them to death or murdered them outright in the surrounding forests.

Of all the rural Jewish communities in Württemberg and Hohenzollern, Haigerloch endured the largest numbers of Jews sent away on this transport: 112. Of all the region's cities, towns, and villages, only Stuttgart sent more.<sup>9</sup> Alice Weil, the third of three sisters and the one who remained with her parents, remembered it as the day the Nazis sent away "my family and many more, my mother's brothers, my two dear cousins, all from the same town."<sup>10</sup> Eighteen years old in December 1941, Alice was also on this train, as were over a thousand Jews from Württemberg and Hohenzollern.

The second transport occurred in April 1942, when then Nazis deported twenty-four Jews from Haigerloch to a temporary holding station in Izbica, Poland, where the Jews of Haigerloch encountered horrific conditions. Those who did not die in Izbica of hunger, exposure, or illness were sent to the extermination camps of Belzec and Sobibor, where the Nazis and their Ukrainian or Latvian helpers drove them out of the trains, forced them to undress, and rushed them--men first, women second--into the gas chambers.<sup>11</sup>

The third transport departed in late August 1942. Here the Haigerloch numbers were portentous as well—135 Jews, the largest number of any community in Württemberg

Hohenzollern. In this last transport, only twenty-five actually lived in the town. Between 1939 and 1942, the Nazi government forcibly removed Jews from Stuttgart and Heilbronn to a series of rural “Jewish towns,” and Haigerloch was one of them. The transport, with hundreds of older Jews crammed into cattle wagons, left Stuttgart-Killesberg in the early morning of August 22 and arrived in Theresienstadt two days later.<sup>12</sup>

## II

From the towns and villages of Württemberg and Hohenzollern not many survived the December 1941 transport to Riga. From Buchau, Laupheim, Hechingen, and Buttenhausen, not one came back. From Rexingen, only two returned. From Haigerloch, however, eight would come back alive.<sup>13</sup>

Captain Edward Levy brought together seven of these survivors, plus a few others. One of six children from a local Jewish family, Levy had left Haigerloch in 1925 as a fifteen-year-old to help build the family textile business in Denver.<sup>14</sup> He had nevertheless kept close ties to Haigerloch and had even come back in 1938, just before the November Pogrom, to attend the Bar Mitzvah of his younger cousin Justin Hilb.<sup>15</sup> Now, in September 1945, Captain Levy travelled from Czechoslovakia, where he was stationed, to the French occupation zone to see, talk with, and help the Haigerloch survivors. Having organized food and drink, he reserved a room in the “little castle in the Haag,” and invited a photographer, Paul Weber, who took the picture below. Save for Captain Levy, a fellow Jewish-American soldier named Herbert Schwarz from nearby Rexingen, and one of the women, the Jews sitting at the table were all survivors of the Riga transport. That transport carried over a thousand Jews to their death. Forty-two came

back alive. Eleven, including seven from Haigerloch, are in this photograph. Each had endured at least forty months in the camps.



*Survivors of Riga, September 1945. Photo: Paul Weber. Ehemalige Synagoge Haigerloch*

Starting from the left and counting clockwise, the people pictured at the table with its immaculate white cloth and festive setting are Berta Levi, with a glass in hand; her son Egon, looking down; and Berta's sister Selma Weil, who seems, as does Max Ullmann to her right, to stare directly at us. Then there is the young Alice Weil, who forces a smile for the photographer; Captain Edward Levy, who convened the gathering; and Viktor Marx, wearing a white shirt and black tie. He is sitting next to Bertha Schwarz of Rexingen, his aunt, and Herbert Schwarz of the U.S. Army. To the right of Herbert Schwarz is Sally Lemberger, also of Rexingen, who seems

shy and reclusive. The next person is Alfred Nördlinger, who lived with his parents in Haigerloch and who gestures a full throated toast. The table is rounded off by Friedel Baer, about whom we know the least; a young-looking twenty-two-year-old Manfred Schorsch from Stuttgart; and Max Ullmann's younger cousin, Irwin Ullmann.<sup>16</sup> Of the rural Jews of Württemberg and Hohenzollern who survived Riga, more than half are in this photograph.

What was said? Felt? Talked about? Unfortunately, the record is largely silent. Levy himself remembered only that “very little was spoken, but one could see that that they had suffered a lot.”<sup>17</sup> Sally Lemberger, the survivor from Rexingen, later recalled that his cousin Alice Weil wept the whole time.<sup>18</sup>

Many years after the photo was taken, Levy reread a letter he had sent back home at the time. There he recalled Alice's lamentations about their cousins:

“Dear Max, such a wonderful fellow, so musical and so young—he played the accordion so well,” and Justin, they used to sing together, what a fine boy he was—all dead, killed by the SS, all dead, dead.”<sup>19</sup>



*Max and Justin Ullmann, c. 1938 (photo USC VHA Interview 785, Alice Weil).*

At the time of Justin's Bar Mitzvah, Captain Levy had tried to get Justin and his brother Max out of the country. The father was reluctant to let his sons go. In Riga, the Nazis killed all three of

them.<sup>20</sup> The mother survived.<sup>21</sup> Her name was Hanna Hilb, and for reasons we can only guess at, she was not at the gathering.

### III

Just over two months earlier, in the latter half of June 1945, three yellow, wood-gas powered buses pulling trailers left Stuttgart for the Theresienstadt Ghetto.<sup>22</sup> Supplied with medicine, food, blankets, a doctor, nurses from the Red Cross, and various helpers, the buses headed northeast, driving past the devastated city of Nuremberg and across the Czech border, where in village after village the expulsion of ethnic Germans had left homes empty. The buses then motored on to Prague, and on the next day to Theresienstadt, arriving on the afternoon of June 20, 1945.

The camp seemed emptier than imagined.<sup>23</sup> This was because nearly two weeks before, on the night of May 8, 1945, the Soviet Red Army had already liberated Theresienstadt, and many of the inmates had already begun the arduous trek home. In the camp itself, typhus broke out, and six days after liberation, on May 14, the Soviets imposed a quarantine, trapping the remaining prisoners in the camp they had so desperately longed to leave. These were the prisoners waiting for the buses. The buses could not pick up everyone, however—not even everyone from Württemberg. Some Jews were too sick and too fragile to travel and had to be turned back. Clarissa Steiner of Laupheim was one of them, and did not survive.<sup>24</sup>

To exit Czechoslovakia as quickly as possible, the buses headed north, slowly making their way to Dresden, where even from the outskirts of the city the exhausted passengers could see the destruction that British bombs had wrought. The next day, the buses pushed westward

and southward—via Bayreuth, past the ruins of Nuremberg again, and across the rolling Swabian hills that led into a bombed-out Stuttgart. Finally, after three days of driving, on June 23, 1945, the buses arrived in the capital city of Württemberg. One of them made its final stop at a sanatorium in Degerloch, a Stuttgart suburb. Still in their shabby camp clothes and collecting their few belongings, the survivors stepped off the bus, and soon had their first good meal since their deportation began—a genuine noodle soup, served on a set table with a white cloth over it.<sup>25</sup>

For this bus, we know the names of all forty-seven passengers who were survivors. Many of them had been incarcerated in Theresienstadt for longer than they ever imagined possible—at least nine of them had been in the camp since August 1942 and seventeen since the cold January of 1944.<sup>26</sup> When they stepped off the bus, they were on average 58 years old—at a time when life expectancy from birth was about 62 years. This means that many were in the autumn of their lives. With their strength waning, they faced difficult decisions, principally whether to brave exile or to remain in Germany. In contrast to the generally younger survivors of Riga, many would stay, the fortunate ones living out their years with family. Of the forty-seven passengers on the list, twenty-one had notes next to their names saying “wants to go to his daughter,” “wants to go to her son,” “wants to go to his children.” For those in so-called mixed marriages, the notes read: “wants go to her husband” or “wants to go to his wife.”<sup>27</sup>

The fate of those without such notes is harder to trace. Many of the survivors were genuinely frail. Their family had either been killed in the Holocaust or had escaped to the United States, Palestine, or elsewhere. Too fragile to travel, many would spend their post-liberation days, weeks, months, and years in hospitals and old age homes.



Aunt Jenny Moos from Buchau, whom we have already met, was such a passenger. Having survived almost three years of incarceration, she was seventy-four years old in the summer of 1945 and had shriveled down to sixty-three pounds. Although she could barely walk, even with a cane, she would remain in Degerloch in a room of her own until 1948, thereafter living out her remaining days in a Jewish old age home in Munich.<sup>28</sup> Another such passenger was Elsa Ruth Riesser, a nurse from Laupheim with a distinguished service record from World War I and a life given over to caring for both Christian and Jewish patients in her hometown.<sup>29</sup> In early 1944, a defective oven led to a burn blister on a finger, which was then opened with an unsanitary scissor, causing blood poisoning. First the finger was amputated, then the arm was operated on--her testimony from early 1961 says eighteen times.<sup>30</sup> She lost her arm anyway, and feared it meant deportation or murder, which she escaped only by conceding to undergo medical experiments in the service of the German Army. When she stepped off the bus in Stuttgart, she was free, but no one was left in her family. She too remained in the DP camp in Degerloch for four years, much of that time awaiting restitution decisions on her family's house. She eventually moved into a Jewish old age home as well.<sup>31</sup>

The passengers on the buses from Theresienstadt were mainly women. Of the forty-seven passengers, only thirteen were men. Of the women, many were in so-called mixed marriages, and many listed family members they wanted to stay with. A few were or were to become remarkable people. Ida Lahusen, sixty-one years old, attended to the roughly 150 blind people in Theresienstadt, many of whom had lost their sight as soldiers in World War I. Few Theresienstadt inmates could look beyond their own misfortunes to take care of these people, Lahusen lamented in an extraordinary memorandum of 1945.<sup>32</sup> Of those who did take care of them, some accompanied the blind into the trains to Auschwitz, and then stayed with them in the

boxcars.<sup>33</sup> On the bus back to Stuttgart, there was a blind Jewish World-War-I veteran, once decorated with an iron cross.<sup>34</sup> His name was Fritz Fuchs. As Fuchs was not on the Württemberg list, Lahusen must have insisted he be allowed on the bus, accompanied him, and then tended to him until they were in Degerloch. Jette Levi was also on the bus. She was 78 years old and the only Haigerloch survivor from the August 1942 transport to Theresienstadt. She returned to an apartment in Haigerloch, and lived there for four years. Thereafter, she also entered a Jewish old age home.<sup>35</sup> On the other end of the age spectrum was “little Inge A,” as she is referred to in a survivor document.<sup>36</sup> Merely ten years old when she and her two parents were liberated, Inge was the youngest survivor in all of Württemberg.



*Inge A. with her parents Regina and Berthold, 1946 (Beyond the Yellow Star to America, p. 37)*

#### IV

For most of the survivors, whether of Riga or of Theresienstadt, homeward bound began with an encounter that can only be described as *unheimlich*—uncanny, disorienting, the opposite

of home. After arriving in Göppingen Main Station by train, Inge A. walked with her family to the village of Jebenhausen—like Buchau and Buttenhausen, Haigerloch and Rexingen, one of the great “mother communities” of southwest German Jewry. It too had a storied history, and was known far and wide for the melodic sounds of its cantors and the learning of its rural scholars. But because it was so close to the industrial city of Göppingen, mid nineteenth-century Jebenhausen was severely afflicted by the three curses of Jewish villages: emigration to America, exodus to the cities, and a declining birth rate. Between 1854 and 1866, Jebenhausen lost two thirds of its population. By 1899, the village closed the synagogue.<sup>37</sup> In Württemberg, no other “mother community” was hit as hard.<sup>38</sup> And yet it was a village that Inge remembered fondly.

As they got closer to Jebenhausen, people called out “You are still alive”! We thought you were dead like the rest of the Jews.”<sup>39</sup> Pointing out how miraculous it seemed, another exclaimed, “even the child is alive!”<sup>40</sup>

The detail is a telling one. It reminds us that just as very few old people survived the camps, virtually no pre-teenage children emerged either. We know this upon a moment’s reflection. Almost all of the famous Holocaust diaries and memoirs—whether from Anne Frank, Elie Wiesel, Imre Kertez, or Ruth Kluger—are from adults who at the time were just old enough to lie about their age, passing as either fifteen or eighteen. This was not the case for Inge. She was only ten years old, and a mere seven when she first went into the camp system. That she and her family survived was just luck, as she often said.<sup>41</sup>

When Inge and her family arrived at the house in Jebenhausen, they found their worst premonitions confirmed. In Degerloch, survivors had told Inge’s parents that the Nazis had deported her grandmother to Riga, where Hitler’s henchmen murdered the grandmother in a frozen forest along with hundreds of other old people. Inge did not want to believe it. But when

they knocked on the house door, a Christian woman, not the grandmother, answered. Graciously, the Christian woman allowed the former Jewish denizens back in. The woman also set them up in a guest room.

In Jebenhausen, this Christian woman, whose name remains unknown, was not the only person be kind to Inge's family. The next morning, Regina, Inge's mother, went out to ask for milk from a lady who pushed a cart through the village. Even though Regina did not have any money, the milk woman recognized her and poured her some milk. "Just accept it as a small gift for your little girl," she said.<sup>42</sup>

Then another person showed up, eager to show public displays of compassion. Regina immediately recognized her as a former Nazi. "You did not know us in those dark days," Inge remembered her mother as saying, "you may be in full view to me now, but my eyes don't see you."<sup>43</sup> Regina walked away. The other women stared. And within weeks, Inge's family moved to nearby Göppingen.

The basic scripts of these *unheimlich* encounters were rehearsed many times over. "As I walked up the steps, I believed that all our good relatives and friends would jump out at me from the houses," wrote Trude Schloss (née Ullmann), a young Jewish survivor of Riga whose grandparents lived in Haigerloch.<sup>44</sup> It was a warm summer day at the end of July in 1945. The houses of Haigerloch seemed undisturbed, the walls unscathed. "I couldn't contain myself" (*Da konnte ich mich nicht mehr halten*), she wrote.<sup>45</sup> Her experience was hardly unique. "Every house, one after another as you go up the main street, had been a Jewish house," Sally Lemberger recounted of his first time back in Rexingen.<sup>46</sup>

Sally Lemberger's return was by no means easy. After more than three years in Jungfernhof near Riga, Lemberger was shipped to Pikk Kalm (near the Latvian town of Ogre),

and from there, two months later, to Kaiserwald Concentration Camp, likewise close to Riga. A month afterwards, he and others, including Viktor Marx and Harry Kahn from Baisingen, were packed “like Sardines” in a boat and sent off to Stutthof, near Danzig.<sup>47</sup> As the Russian Army bore down on Stutthof in September 1944, that concentration camp was also dissolved, and the inmates sent by cattle car to Buchenwald, and then from Buchenwald to Rhemsdorf in Thüringen, just as the American Army drew near. Then, in April 1945, Sally Lemberger (along with Viktor Marx) were shipped away once more. This time it was in an open cattle car, the train taking five days, and stopping about two hundred miles short of Theresienstadt. The Nazis made the inmates walk the rest of the way. It was an eight-day death march, and just half of the some two thousand prisoners survived.<sup>48</sup> It was only after the Soviet liberation of ghetto on May 8 that Lemberger made his way to Stuttgart and then home to his native village of Rexingen, roughly ten kilometers from Haigerloch.<sup>49</sup>

Reduced to its basic psychological content, “home,” writes Jean Amery, is in essence “security.”<sup>50</sup> Yet what Lemberger experienced was the precise opposite. Rexingen and the area around it had become *unheimisch*. The space of his homeland, the place of his village: they were the same. But the time could not be won back. The family, the friends, the neighbors—they would not return either. “Gone,” Lemberger later exclaimed. “I mean really unbelievable. You are lost.”<sup>51</sup>

The Jewish survivors of Württemberg and Hohenzollern struggled to find a home in a society that was itself in a state of collapse. The survivors re-entered the region just German expellees from the former eastern territories, scarcely less desperate in their search for a bed to sleep in and a roof overhead, came pouring in. They returned to their homes precisely when German Army soldiers were making their long and often traumatized trek back. And they

confronted their grief about missing family members just as many non-Jewish families confronted their own tragedies: news of a son killed in the last months of the war, for example.

When Jews returned, there was invariably someone else in the home. Sometimes that someone else was a Nazi, sometimes not. In village streets, some people were sincerely kind while others showed kindness in the hopes that time would have tossed a thick blanket of forgetfulness over their earlier callousness.

When they encountered Nazis, some Jews did not flinch. Take Irwin Ullmann. He was the man sitting on the far right in the photograph of the gathering in Haigerloch. Sturdy even after the Holocaust, Irwin marched to his former home at Haag 203, evicted the SS man living there, and then rented out his house so he could at least make some money off of it.<sup>52</sup> Of course, it was the presence of the occupation forces enabled Irwin Ullmann's swagger.

Others were less defiant. Berta Schwarz, barely visible in the photograph of the last gathering (sitting to the left of her nephew, the U.S. soldier Herbert Schwarz), only made it back to her Swabian *Heimat* after a trying odyssey. Having lost her husband the year before and nearly dead herself when the Russians liberated her in March 1945, she suffered from the ravages of typhus and had to be hospitalized in a Pomeranian village in northern Germany. After her release from the hospital, her survivor friends brought her to Berlin, where, with her wounds still unhealed, Berta Schwarz was put into a convalescent home, staying there until July 19, 1945.<sup>53</sup> When she finally got back to Rexingen, she knocked on the door at 36 Freudenstädter Strasse—the house, a small number of houses up the street from the synagogue, that used to belong to her mother. But no one answered. Dora Spaeth, who had bought the home in 1938 and lived in the house, was in another village helping to bring in the harvest. When Spaeth heard the

news of Berta's return, she came back to Rexingen and the two women talked. We do not have a record of what they said to each other. All we know is that during the first few nights, Berta slept in Spaeth's house and thereafter in a separate apartment with multiple rooms within the house. Berta kept this separate apartment, and rented or lent rooms to others, such as Sally Lemberger, who sometimes stayed here. Nevertheless, both Berta Levi and Sally Lemberger spent most of their time with her friends in Stuttgart Degerloch.

Revealing too is the experience of Alice Weil, now twenty-two years old. According to her testimony, she returned to Haigerloch on June 16, 1945 and walked around town for a few hours before going to see the woman who was once the maid of the house. This was also part of a recurring pattern, as the maids were often devoted to their Jewish employers till the very end, and returning Jews often trusted them more than anyone else. But Alice was thin and haggard and at first her former maid did not even recognize her. When she finally realized who was standing in front of her, the former maid was overjoyed and took Alice in. Others came and helped. One woman, who had taken objects from the Weil household, gave them back—an unusual gesture at the time.

Perhaps Alice Weil would have chosen to reside in Haigerloch. But the Haigerloch survivors staying in Degerloch DP Camp had heard that another Jewish girl was in town. They commandeered a car, drove to Haigerloch, and “right away” said to Alice: “you cannot stay here, you have to come to Stuttgart. You cannot be alone.”<sup>54</sup>

Loneliness, “a situation in which I as a person feel myself deserted by all human companionship,” as Hannah Arendt once defined it, goes far to explaining why so few Jews returned to their small-town community and stayed.<sup>55</sup> In the end, most of the Riga survivors from the Haigerloch gathering made the DP camp in Degerloch their real if temporary home. Of the

eleven survivors of the Riga transport who had gathered around the table in September, seven of them, including all the men still alive, lived here, as did a number of other survivors who had boxed their way home from various camps.

## V

The Degerloch DP Camp consisted of a large brick building, “a big, big villa,” as Alice Weil recalled, with a few smaller houses around it.<sup>56</sup> Most lived in the large building, with multiple floors, and rooms of all different kinds. On one floor, five survivors of Riga, all but one of whom had attended Captain Levy’s gathering, were housed in two adjacent rooms. Along with Hannelore Kahn of Stuttgart, Berta Schwarz and Alice Weil of Haigerloch resided in one room, while Viktor Marx from Tübingen and Sally Lemberg from Rexingen were in the other room.<sup>57</sup> Berta was Viktor’s aunt and Viktor would soon be engaged to Hannelore, twenty years his junior—despite Hannelore’s friend Liesel’s counsel to go to find herself a “nice, rich husband” in America.<sup>58</sup> Irwin Ullmann and his cousin Max were also here. And so was Alfred Nördlinger from Haigerloch and Manfred Schorsch from Stuttgart.<sup>59</sup> For a brief time, Harry Kahn was at Degerloch as well. A survivor of Riga and other camps, he was a well-known cattle trader from Baisingen still recovering from the typhus he had contracted in Theresienstadt. He told Jeanette, neé Kaschinierow, a Riga survivor whom Harry Kahn had met in Theresienstadt, “come see me in Baisingen, there’s something to eat there, and then we can see from there.”<sup>60</sup> Kahn started trading cattle again, and with a year the two survivors were married.

Degerloch was a very different world than the one the survivors had left behind. Gone were the brutal *Kapos*, the merciless SS, the vicious dogs, the unpredictable violence, and the



omnipresent fear of deportation. “It (Degerloch) was really beautiful,” Alice Weil recalled.<sup>61</sup> Sexual desire re-awakened. People sang and played and made love. And there was food. “Each dish tasted like the best one I had ever eaten,” a resident remembered.<sup>62</sup> For breakfast, they received “white breads with a lot of butter and jelly.”<sup>63</sup> One could also have seconds, and people ate with real knives and forks. “We had all this silverware,” a survivor who resided in Degerloch, later recalled, “somehow I forgot all about it—how to eat with this silverware.”<sup>64</sup>

With food in their stomachs, and their conditions improving, the survivors quickly turned their attention to replacing the shabby ill-fitting clothes on their backs. In early December 1945, the newly constituted Jewish Religious Community of Stuttgart sent around a survey, asking what survivors needed. It was getting cold, and virtually no one had a warm jacket or gloves or mittens. Many needed sweaters. Many needed shoes. And almost everyone asked for underpants, undershirts, stockings, and handkerchiefs. In the main, the clothes came from refugee organizations in the United States that had mobilized in order to help Jews in the DP camps. Survivors also asked for bed sheets, cooking pots, and utensils. Viktor Marx wanted to know if he could get a radio. Manfred Schorsch and Sally Lemberger asked for a suit. And Alice Weil requested slippers.<sup>65</sup>

As the material conditions of life began to get better, emotional problems proved more protracted. The child survivor Inge A remembered Degerloch as a place “where everyone looked so sad, and people were quick to argue with one another.”<sup>66</sup> “Most people seemed constantly on edge,” she remembered, “often crying and speaking about missing members of their families.”<sup>67</sup>

Relief at survival did indeed give way to apprehension about the fate of loved ones. Anxious and desperate, survivors filled out forms, made requests to tracing services, and

implored people for news about parents, siblings, and cousins, even if “they had little hope of finding anyone alive,” as Inge put it.<sup>68</sup> When Alice Weil told a Jewish G.I. that she had two sisters in Chicago, the G.I. told her to write something down quickly, and he would expedite the letter to the United States. Alice wrote some version of “I’m alive,” and within two weeks her sisters wrote back, overjoyed.<sup>69</sup> Not everyone had such an easy time finding kin. Hannelore Kahn wrote her fingers sore trying to find relatives and get them to help.<sup>70</sup>

One topic that cannot get its due in this chapter is the emotional problems one might expect of a traumatized population—and which historians have been reluctant to address for the immediate postwar era. Of the five male survivors at the table, at least four consulted psychiatric medics in Stuttgart, complaining of sleeplessness, nightmares, depression, an inability to focus, breaking out in sweat, and impotence.<sup>71</sup>

These problems did not surface because of a self-imposed silence. Despite a myth to the contrary, survivors talked about what had happened. Recent research on the much larger population of East European Jews in DP camps has revealed the camps to be a veritable oral history hothouse. Jewish historians, professional and lay, interviewed other survivors, took their testimony, and published a small fraction of these testimonies in a journal called *Fun letstn churbn* (On the last Catastrophe).<sup>72</sup> The very title bore testimony to the mix of history and religion in the first interpretations of the genocide.

There is no evidence that surviving German Jews in Degerloch participated in this endeavor to record memory and write history. But an orthodox rabbi from the U.S. Army named Herbert Eskin had set up a Jewish community center in western Stuttgart, some two kilometers from Degerloch. “It was a blessing to them,” he said many years later.

We used to stay up till one, two o'clock in the morning. They would tell me, droves of them, each one telling some of their experience and then after they'd get through talking to me, they'd say, "You've heard, you think, a lot'? You haven't heard nothing yet." Each one telling the tragedy, the suffering...<sup>73</sup>

Eskin did not write their stories down at the time. We only know of them through restitution documents, subsequent writings, and interviews—memories shaped by and filtered through legal parameters, narrative convention, and the passing of decades.

Nevertheless, some narrative elements ring through with jarring clarity. A number of survivors clearly recalled their arrival in Jungfernhof, an open field with primitive unroofed barracks that once served as an airstrip, just outside of Riga. Alice Weil saw “a mountain of luggage, but no people,” and immediately recognized it as an ominous sight.<sup>74</sup> A number of survivors testified to hangings—though not with the almost Christian overtones famously given to one in Elie Wiesel’s memoir, *Night*, in which a boy is hung, just as Jesus Christ was crucified, between two others, and his body dangles, as a voice among the inmates of Auschwitz asks, ““For God's sake, where is God?”, and a voice within Wiesel answers: “This is where—hanging here from this gallows... ”<sup>75</sup> Instead of imagining an iconic religious scene, Irwin Ullmann of Haigerloch remembered, “he had to help build the thing to hang him.”<sup>76</sup> When the interviewer asked if he also had to pull on the noose, Irwin bent down his head, in assent, adding “not alone.”<sup>77</sup>

At least one other testimony, buried in a restitution request, tells us that Irwin Ullmann was not the only Haigerloch survivor whom the Nazis forced into helping them do their murderous bidding. In Jungfernhof, Alfred Nördlinger was one of fifteen people on so-called “train duty.” Nördlinger and the other inmates had to “sort out the new arrivals,” which,

according to the neurologist writing the report in 1970, meant that “people who could still walk were sent to the ghetto, the others were killed.”<sup>78</sup>

The most poignant narrative element in what survivors told is nevertheless the loss of loved ones. In a number of testimonies, survivors honed in on the precise context of when they saw their parents last. According to her written account, intended for her son, Hannelore Kahn (Marx at the time of writing) wrote that she had cried her heart out when her mother was selected to leave the camp in March 1942 and begged the SS to let her go with her. But the SS man threatened to kill Hannelore instantly if she did not stop weeping.<sup>79</sup> Hannelore’s recall of detail is sharper than in many accounts, perhaps because until sometime in 1943 she kept a diary.<sup>80</sup> In August 1944, Hannelore lost her father, whom she would go to see every evening and whose frostbitten toes had been amputated without anesthesia. At Kaiserwald concentration camp, she talked to him across the two rows of fences that separated the men’s prison yard from the women’s. Then one day her father was simply gone—the SS had thrown him on a truck delivering prisoners to a killing site for the sole reason that the truck had extra room in the back.<sup>81</sup> Irwin Ullmann also remembered that the SS threw people into trucks heading to the shooting pits on a whim. And he too recalled precisely when the Nazis murdered his parents. On January 16, 1942, the SS took Ullmann’s father to Salaspils camp, where the father likely froze and starved to death. On March 26, the SS told Ullmann’s mother she was to be sent to work in a fish factory, but in fact loaded her and many others onto a truck, drove them to the woods, and, in Irwin’s terse words, “had them shot.”<sup>82</sup>

Survivors also remembered losing members of their extended family. From the Riga Ghetto, Alice Weil recalled walking way out of her way, as she liked to, to see her cousin. She

was talking about Justin Hilb, whose Bar Mitzvah Captain Levy came all the way from Denver to celebrate. Then one day he was simply not there. She never saw him again.

“Why did you decide to tell your story,” the interviewer asked. “Because I have to tell it for them who cannot talk anymore,” Alice replied.<sup>83</sup>

## VI

Mourning, speaking for the dead, was a central element of the survivor’s experience. But the survivors did more than talk. They also worked for the dead. They put up memorial stones in the despoiled and desecrated Jewish cemeteries, and these stones were the first post-Holocaust markers of local memory. It is significant that the stones were placed in a religious, not a secular space. For it shows that the first steps towards memory followed an essentially religious, if also deeply human and perhaps trans-cultural requirement to care for and attend to the dead.<sup>84</sup>

This care for the dead began when there were no rabbis among the survivors; there were scant public places to worship; and Jewish religious organizations were in disarray. In June 1945, Herbert Eskin, the American rabbi, commandeered a space and set up the first postwar prayer room in Stuttgart—ironically in Reinsburgerstrasse 26, the former local headquarters of the SS. Here a small group of survivors met and hammered out a provisional organizational structure for what would become the Israeli Religious Community of Württemberg (*Israelitischen Kultusvereinigung Württemberg*, IKVW). At first, the organization attended to the immediate needs of survivors. It distributed clothes, helped people find places to live, and aided in locating missing loved ones. It was not until April 1948 that the organization wrote out a governing charter. But there was still no rabbi. Finally, in August of the same year, the IKVW hired Dr.

Heinrich Guttman, a German trained rabbi from Hungary, as the “State Rabbi of Württemberg.” He had only limited resources, however. Due to the scarcity of gasoline, Guttman had to ration out his trips to rural communities, leaving Jews in the countryside mainly to their own devices.<sup>85</sup>

The survivors were largely on their own with small-town cemeteries too. In the western zones of occupation, some 1700 Jewish cemeteries stood abandoned.<sup>86</sup> Many remained in disrepair. Many had been vandalized. In most places, occupation authorities forced local Germans to restore the desecrated burial grounds. But who actually owned the burial grounds? In the late thirties and early forties, German cities, towns, and villages usually took over proprietorship in name of the Third Reich after the dissolution of the local Jewish communities. Negotiations to transfer the cemeteries back to their rightful Jewish owners (as represented by the Joint Distribution Committee and other Jewish organizations) had only just begun. Moreover, these negotiations were not concluded until 1956, when the German government and the states agreed to buy the cemeteries back again with the provision that German towns would take good care of the burial grounds, even down to mowing the grass. In the meanwhile, a cloud of legal uncertainty hung over the Jewish cemeteries in Württemberg and throughout Germany. In this context, survivors, aided by occupation forces, operated on their own initiative.

It is likely that Rabbi Herbert Eskin, who initiated a monument to be erected in the so-called Prague Cemetery in Stuttgart, also encouraged and supported efforts in the towns and in the countryside—perhaps through his contacts with returning German-Jewish survivors in the Degerloch DP Center.<sup>87</sup> What we know for sure is that in late 1945 and early 1946, the Riga survivors gathered in Degerloch began their work. Viktor Marx, for example, was responsible for the memorial stone in Wankheim, the cemetery where many of the rural forbearers of Tübingen Jews lay buried. Paying mainly with food and rations, he contracted a Tübingen stonemason in

the fall of 1945 and requested that a memorial stone be cut. “These are the victims of the Tübingen Community who were murdered by the Nazi[s],” the stone inscription reads.<sup>88</sup> The stone also lists the fourteen Jews whose murder Viktor Marx knew about at the time (there were, in fact, twenty-two).<sup>89</sup> The list begins with his wife, daughter, and mother—all killed near Riga in 1942.<sup>90</sup>

Marx’s monument was the first. Others soon followed. Irwin Ullmann was the central person behind the stone that is now in the Haigerloch Cemetery. Erected in the late fall or early winter of 1945, it states, in rather passive German, “To the continuing memory of all Jews from Haigerloch who, during the Nazi era 1933-1945, had to sacrifice their lives innocently.”<sup>91</sup> But in the Hebrew inscription, the tone is different, the indignation barely concealed. “Here are buried/The martyrs and the pure killed by the cruel Germans/For the sanctity of God in the concentration camps/In Germany in the years 1939-1945/May their soul be bound in the bundle of life.”



*Memorial Stone, 1945, Jewish Cemetery, Haigerloch (Photo: Alemannia Judaica)*

In Rexingen, it was the Baisingen cattle trader Harry Kahn who erected the memorial stone. Consisting of five vertical stones, with the Star of David in the center, the memorial was consecrated in Rexingen's hauntingly beautiful forest-side Jewish cemetery on a cold, snowy Sunday in December 1947. Unlike the stone Viktor Marx had carved in Wankheim, the stone Kahn put up in Rexingen was mainly bare and without names. One of the largest rural Jewish communities in southwest Germany, Rexingen possessed a dismayingly long scroll of Nazi-inflicted agony. Perhaps Kahn could not afford to have all the names engraved. Or perhaps all the names did not fit on the stone. As in Haigerloch, the stone's inscription is different in German than it is in Hebrew. "In memory of the victims of the persecution of the Jews from 1933 -1945," reads its vague, conventional German inscription. In Hebrew, it repeats the bitter lament of the Haigerloch stone, likewise ending with 1 Samuel 25:29, asking for their soul to be bound in the bundle of life.

Kahn also set the memorial stone in Baisingen. Upon his return to his hometown, he quickly took up his old profession of cattle trading and found willing customers among local farmers who appreciated that Kahn would sell them cows who could give milk at a fair price and allow the farmers to pay in installments.<sup>92</sup> Harry Kahn was not universally loved, however. He avoided local Nazis and refused to do business with them. He criticized officials from Stuttgart, Jewish and non-Jewish, who pretended to understand Baisingen better than he. Brusque, strong willed, and quick with withering sarcasm, Kahn nevertheless possessed a certain authority. When he came back to his village, he realized that the former mayor, a Nazi, had stolen the cemetery fence for his own private use. Kahn went to his house, threatened him, and the next day the fence was back around the cemetery, where it belonged.<sup>93</sup> Kahn bought the Baisingen stone and had the engraver list the names of the victims, arranged by family. A small crowd attended. Rabbi



Guttmann, the new Rabbi of Württemberg, blessed the stone.<sup>94</sup> Adolf Haarburger, a survivor of Theresienstadt, who had likewise returned to Baisingen, read at the ceremony as well.<sup>95</sup>

## VIII

In the Spring of 1949, only two of the survivors of Riga sitting at the table that Captain Levy had convened were still in Germany: the sisters Bertha Levi and Selma Weil in Haigerloch. Berta Levi had lost her husband and brother in the cold fields of Estonia in February 1944.<sup>96</sup> She also lost her son, Egon, who sat to her right at the Haigerloch gathering. In one of the concentration camps, a Nazi bashed Egon's head with the butt of a rifle; he ultimately passed away, not having reached his twenty-second birthday.<sup>97</sup>

By 1949, when the Federal Republic was founded, most of the other Jews who once sat at the table in the little castle had already emigrated. Viktor Marx, his new wife Hannelore, and his aunt Berta Schwarz crossed the Atlantic in the *Marine Flascher*, the first ship to bring DPs to the United States after President Harry S. Truman's executive order requiring immigration quotas to designate places for DPs.<sup>98</sup> The *Marine Flascher* departed from Bremerhaven on May 11, 1946 and arrived at Ellis Island, New York, on May 20—to throngs of family members, friends, well-wishers, and reporters.<sup>99</sup> Having reconnected with her sisters in Chicago, Alice Weil was on this ship too. So too were Max and Irwin Ullmann and Alfred Nördlinger.<sup>100</sup> Soon thereafter, others followed the passage across the ocean. Sally Lemberger, with his fiancé Ruth Lang, a survivor of Riga who was also at Degerloch, boarded the second ship, the *Marine Perch*, departing from Bremen in June 1946. Manfred Schorsch also left but via a more circuitous route. Suffering from Tuberculosis, he managed to get himself to a sanatorium, first in Stuttgart, then in Davos,

Switzerland. Thereafter, he spent a short amount of time in Geneva before receiving his papers to leave for the United States in 1948.<sup>101</sup>

Then, finally, in October 1949, Berta Levi and Selma Weil also left for the United States—though not before testifying at the trial of the Nazis who had demolished the interior of the Haigerloch Synagogue.<sup>102</sup> For the two sisters, there was no more family in Haigerloch. There was no work. Their friends in Degerloch had all left. For the rest of their days, Berta and Selma would live in “a secluded wood” on a farm in Delaware County in the northern Catskill Mountains.<sup>103</sup>

By 1950, not one of the seven survivors who had come back to Haigerloch from the killing fields of Riga was still in this small picturesque town.<sup>104</sup> The half-timbered houses in the “voluntary ghetto” tucked into a horseshoe bend in the Eyach River were bereft and empty of Jewish life, again.

The survivors of Theresienstadt present a very different picture. Of those who got off the buses at Degerloch, two thirds stayed. Mostly, they stayed because family members—husbands, wives, sons, and daughters—lived in Germany. Another reason was age. Many Theresienstadt survivors were too old and fragile to entertain the journey across the ocean. Inge A’s family was an exception. Her parents, Berthold and Regina, might have given Germany a chance. But, as Inge later wrote, “they thought there was no future for me there [in Germany].”<sup>105</sup>

In March 1946, the newly constituted Württemberg Jewish community drew up a membership list of 320 names.<sup>106</sup> Roughly two-thirds of the members resided in Stuttgart—a pattern of extreme concentration in the major cities that held throughout Germany. In such cities, Jews could be anonymous, since most non-Jews did not know who they were, and at the same time they were among their people.

What of the rest—the other one third? A few cities, like Ulm and Esslingen, had a handful of Jewish returnees. Otherwise, surviving Jews found themselves scattered in various towns and villages throughout Württemberg. In only half of these cases were the returning Jews actually from the town or its immediate surroundings. There were, however, a few instances in which Jews returned to their hometowns and other Jews joined them. These places include Buchau, where Siegbert Einstein became the center of a modest Jewish community; the village of Baisingen, where the cattle trader Harry Kahn assumed this role; and Hechingen, where the Fauser family returned from exile in Switzerland and the medical Doctor Ernst Rosenfeld came out of hiding.

A second list, also put together in 1946, simply registered Jews in counties outside of Stuttgart.<sup>107</sup> Jews in so-called mixed marriages made up three quarters of the list, and of these 131 persons, only about ten percent resided in the town of their birth.<sup>108</sup> They were also not the youngest. Only a quarter of the total were even born in the twentieth century, and of those, two thirds were women. But of these women, only five were under thirty-five in 1945, meaning few could bear children. Of the rural communities in Württemberg and Hohenzollern, we only know of one community where a Jewish child came into the world and was raised Jewish. This was Fredy Kahn in the village of Baisingen, the son of the cattle trader Harry Kahn and his wife Jeanette.

Fredy Kahn was the one living thread tying the rural Jewry of the prewar to the postwar era. Peter Gay wrote that the “true home” of the Weimar spirit was not Germany but “in exile.”<sup>109</sup> The famous historian would never have guessed that the same held true for the humble cattle trader families of Württemberg and Hohenzollern, who survived, came back—and, not finding a home, fled again.

A note on sources.

How we know the names of the people in the photograph of the Last Gathering in Haigerloch is an involved transatlantic yarn. It seems that the first person to talk about the image was Irwin Ullmann. He presented the picture and identified himself and his cousin Max in a 1995 interview for the USC Shoah Foundation. Two years later, Ullmann visited Haigerloch and spoke with Helmut Gabeli, a lawyer deeply involved in local memory work. Whether Ullmann had the photo with him is unclear. What is certain is that they discussed the returnees to Haigerloch, with Irwin naming nine of them, including himself. There the matter seems to have rested—until a decade later, when others dedicated to preserving the memory of the Jewish communities in the area tracked down the identities of the rest of the men and women sitting at the table. In 2009, Gabeli published his initial conjectures, initially only a few of the names, in the *Gedenkstätten-Rundschau*, a regional newsletter dedicated to working through the Nazi past. The editors of the newsletter, Heinz Högerle and Barbara Staudacher, then took the baton and travelled to New York, where they put the picture in front of Hannelore Marx, the widow of Viktor Marx. Hannelore, then eighty-seven years old and living in Washington Heights, was not at the gathering, but she nevertheless identified most of the people at the table. Another Haigerloch refugee, Henry Schwab, and Irwin Ullmann himself, identified two more of the Jews at the table and confirmed others (left was only one person, who has been identified as Friedel Baer). The photograph is now featured prominently in the Synagogue Museum in Haigerloch.

<sup>1</sup> Helmut Gabeli, “Die Männer der Gemeinde –fast alle Viehhändler.?: Jüdische Viehhändler in Haigerloch,” in *Jüdische Viehhändler zwischen Schwarzwald und Schwäbischer Alb*, ed. Uri R. Kaufmann and Cartsten Kohlmann (Horb: Barbara Staudacher Verlag, 2008), 98.

<sup>2</sup> Wolf, Alice. Interview 785. Interview by Rosemarie Levin. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, February 09, 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Schwab, in Haigerloch-Handreichung - Haus der Geschichte Baden-Württemberg, Transcription of Interview with Henry Schwab, Arbeitsblatt A3, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Luise Metzger Erzählt, “Tel Aviv – New York,” February 14, 1969, p. 7, in: CEH/LBI Memoir Collection (ME 807).

<sup>5</sup> Alice Wolf. Interview 785. Interview by Rosemarie Levin. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, February 09, 1995. Hereafter USC VHA Interview 785, Alice Weil.

<sup>6</sup> Luise Metzger Erzählt, “Tel Aviv – New York,” February 14, 1969, p. 7, in: CEH/LBI Memoir Collection (ME 807).

<sup>7</sup> There was a fourth, but it was small. On July 10, 10, 1942, three men and two women, none of them originally from Haigerloch, were deported to Auschwitz and killed. [Source](#)

<sup>8</sup> In detail, see Helmut Gabeli, “Evakuiert” Die Deportation der Juden aus Württemberg und Hohenzollern nach Riga im November/Dezember 1941,” in *Gedenkstätten-Rundschau* (Henceforth GR), Nr. 7. (Nov. 2011), p. 2. Every possible local official was involved in the deportation, from the town mayor down to ordinary clerks who tabulated Jewish possessions.

<sup>9</sup> CJH/LBI AR 25096. Deportations to Riga Collection Box: 1, Folder: 19, Stuttgart, 1 December 1941,

<sup>10</sup> USC VHA Interview 785, Alice Weil.

<sup>11</sup> Barbara Staudacher, “Vor 80 Jahren: Deportation von Stuttgart ins ‘Durchgangsghetto’ Izbica in Polen,” in GR, 28 (May 2022), 9-11; Stefan Hänschen, *Das Transitghetto Izbica im System des Holocaust* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2018).

<sup>12</sup> Heinz Högerle, Andreas Keller, Martin Ulmer, “Vor 80 Jahren: Deportation von Stuttgart ins KZ Theresienstadt,” GR 28 (Mai, 2022), 12-13. Of the 1078 Jews on the train, only 48 would survive.

<sup>13</sup> Kreisarchiv Zollernalbkreis, Sammlung Jeggel, Nr. 1. Helmut Gabeli to Utz Jeggel, September 30, 1998.

According to a list prepared by Irwin Ullmann for Helmut Gabeli and discussed during Ullmann’s visit to Haigerloch on July 12, 1997, there were nine Haigerloch survivors of the camps. These included Irwin Ullmann himself, Egon Levi, Berta Levi, Selma Weil, Alice Weil, Hanna Hilb, Max Ullmann, Alfred Nördlinger, and Jettchen Levi. Not all were born in Haigerloch. Jettchen Levi was a survivor of Theresienstadt.

<sup>14</sup> <https://extras.denverpost.com/news/news0329y.htm>.

<sup>15</sup> From survivors, Levy had heard what the Nazis had done to family and friends, and he was flush with rage. When he found out where the local Nazi boss, Josef Kronenbitter was hiding, Levy tracked him down, arrested him, and drove the fugitive back to Haigerloch. In Haigerloch, Levy tied Kronenbitter on the front hood of his jeep, and wended his way through the town’s steep streets so all could see that the once mighty do in fact fall. A half a century later, non-Jews remembered Levy defiantly showing off his captured Nazi. Landratsamt Baisingen, Sammlung Jeggel, . Interview with Back (p. 12); further details in *Möglichkeiten des Erinnerens Orte jüdischen Lebens und nationalsozialistischen Unrechts im Zollernalbkreis und im Kreis Rottweil*, ed. Alte Synagoge e. V. Hechingen Gesprächskreis ehemalige Synagoge, 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> For the trail to decipher the names of the people in the photograph, see Helmut Gabeli, “Überlebende der Shoah aus Haigerloch,” GR 2 (April 2009), 18-21; Helmut Gabeli, Heinz Högerle, and Barbara Staudacher, *Mochmals: Die Haigerlocher Wiedersehensfeier 1945*,” GR 3 (October 2009), 18-19; Helmut Gabeli, “Nachtrag und Korrektur: Haigerlocher Wiedersehensfeier, 1945,” GR 4 (May 2010), 19.

<sup>17</sup> Haigerloch Synagoge Oral History Collection, Edward Levy, interview transcription.

<sup>18</sup> Helmut Gabeli, “Überlebende der Shoah aus Haigerloch,” GR Nr. 2., April 2009, p. 18, citing Alice Weil’s recounting of what Sally Lemberger later told her.

<sup>19</sup> Edward Levy to Otto Werner, November 9, 1995, in Otto Werner, *Deportation und Vernichtung hohenzollerischer Juden* (Balingen: Schwenk, 2011), 71.

<sup>20</sup> Edward Levy to Otto Werner, November 9, 1995, in Otto Werner, *Deportation und Vernichtung hohenzollerischer Juden* (Balingen: Schwenk, 2011), 71.

<sup>21</sup> On Hanna Hilb (**not yet consulted**): Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg - Archivalieneinheit EL 350 I Bü 45537, Einzelfallakten: Hilb, Hanna.

<sup>22</sup> Maria Zelzer, *Weg und Schicksal der Stuttgarter Juden: Ein Gedenkbuch* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1964), 262-272. It remains unclear who set this merciful transport in motion: the city of Stuttgart, the local anti-fascist organization, or an orthodox rabbi named Herbert Eskin serving in the U.S. Army. Each claimed responsibility. See, for Eskin's claim, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute for Contemporary History, Oral History Division, Interview with Rabbi Herbert Eskin, November 19, 1974, The Rabbi Eskin Transcripts, 57-58. For the interviews: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fR3J-AARWSU&t=1735s>.

<sup>23</sup> According to Sigmund Weil, a Jewish doctor who had survived underground in Stuttgart and accompanied the bus: testimony from the early 1960s, reproduced in Zelzer, *Weg und Schicksal der Stuttgarter Juden*, 267.

<sup>24</sup> According to Sigmund Weil's testimony, reproduced in Zelzer, *Weg und Schicksal der Stuttgarter Juden*, 267; see also [http://www.ggg-laupheim.de/Opfer\\_der\\_Shoa.htm](http://www.ggg-laupheim.de/Opfer_der_Shoa.htm).

<sup>25</sup> Inge Auerbacher, *I am a Star. Child of the Holocaust*. (New York: Viking, 1993), 70-71; on the finances and organization of Degerloch at this time, see Sonja Hosseinzadeh, "Die jüdische Gemeinde in Württemberg seit 1945," in *Jüdisches Leben im Wandel der Zeit*, ed. Paul Sauer and Sonja Hosseinzadeh (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 2002), 162-3.

<sup>26</sup> Stadtarchiv Stuttgart 1026/1268 Israelische Kultusvereinigung Württemberg, "Aufstellung über die aus dem KZ Theresienstadt befreiten Württemberger," 3.3.1949.

<sup>27</sup> Zelzer, *Weg und Schicksal der Stuttgarter Juden*, 269-271.

<sup>28</sup> Sarah Kentner, "Jenny Moos—eine der wenigen Überlebenden," in *Das jüdische Zwangsaltersheim Eschenau und seine Bewohner*, ed. Martin Ulmer and Martin Ritter, (Horb: Barbara Staudacher Verlag, ), 111-112; Charlotte Meyenberger, *From Buchau nach Theresienstadt*, 14. while different branches of Germany's restitution offices squabbled about who was responsible for her, whether the office in Stuttgart or in Munich. Finally, in August 1952, the Stuttgart office representing Baden-Württemberg agreed to pay her 570 DM per month. Aunt Jenny Moos died a year later on October 17, 1953.

<sup>29</sup> Maria Zelzer, *Weg und Schicksal der Stuttgarter Juden: Ein Gedenkbuch*, 240-242.

<sup>30</sup> Testimony reprinted in Maria Zelzer, *Weg und Schicksal der Stuttgarter Juden: Ein Gedenkbuch*, 240-242.

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.gedenk-buch.de/KAPITEL/74e%20RIESER%20Babette.htm>.

<sup>32</sup> Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Q 3/12 Bü 3, Handakten Alfred Marx, Landgerichtspräsident. Ida Lahusen to Alfred Marx, February 4, 1947. Understandably embittered, she was not unhappy to see that in the postwar period "everything was coming back to the Germans, what they did to the Jews."

<sup>33</sup> Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, J 168/1. Zeitgenössische Berichte (bis 1945). Ida Lahusen, "Bericht über Blindenheim und Blindenbetreuung in KZ Lager Theresienstadt," 3 pp.

<sup>34</sup> USC/VHA Gerda Wasserman, Interview 3144. Interview by Miryam E. Rabner, June 02, 1995, Segment 102. Very likely, Fritz Fuchs was the uncle of Gerda Wasserman.

<sup>35</sup> Helmut Gabeli, "Die Menschen wurden bitter getäuscht: Vor 70 Jahren: Deportation von Haigerlocher Juden nach Theresienstadt, Nur zwei überlebten," *Schwarzwälder Bote*, 20.08.2012.

<sup>36</sup> Resi Weglein, September 10, 1945 (Letter in possession of The Jews of Württemberg), in: CJH/LBI AR 7041 Leopold Levi Collection, Box: 1, Folder: 5.

<sup>37</sup> Stefan Rohrbacher, *Die jüdische Landgemeinde im Umbruch der Zeit* (2000), 38.

<sup>38</sup> On Jebbenhausen, A. Taenzer, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Jebbenhausen und Goepingen* (1927, 1982); N. Bar-Giora Bamberger, *Die jüdischen Friedhöfe Jebbenhausen und Göppingen* (1990), and especially Rohrbacher, *Die jüdische Landgemeinde im Umbruch der Zeit*.

<sup>39</sup> Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America* (Unionville, New York: Royal Fireworks Press, 1995), 9.

<sup>40</sup> Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America* (Unionville, New York: Royal Fireworks Press, 1995), 9.

<sup>41</sup> Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America*, 9, 190.

<sup>42</sup> Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America*, 15.

<sup>43</sup> Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America*, 15.

<sup>44</sup> CJH/LBI Leopold Levi Collection; AR 7041, Box: 1, Folder: 5; Trude Ullmann Schloss, July 31, 1945, Haigerloch (Letter in possession of The Jews of Württemberg).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Barbara Staudacher, "Das letzte Stück Heimat," *GR* 15 (November 2015), 10. She is quoting from Mimi Schwarz, *Good Neighbors, Bad Times* (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 2008). See also Pieces of Memory/biographies/Sally Lemberger, p. 15.

<sup>47</sup> VM Restitution, 230. Jacob H. Friedman, M.D. June 21, 1965 to Erich Cohn, Zurich. Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen Wue 33 T1\_7284, 22. Sally Lemberger, Eidesstattliche Erklärung, May 12, 1951. Lemberger shared this odyssey with Viktor Marx.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen Wue 33 T1\_7284, 22. Sally Lemberger, Eidesstattliche Erklärung, May 12, 1951.

<sup>50</sup> Jean Améry, “Wieviel Heimat braucht der Mensch” (1966), here cited from the tr. Améry, *From the Mind’s Limit*, 46.

<sup>51</sup> Barbara Staudacher, “Das letzte Stück Heimat,” *GR* 15 (November 2015), 10. She is quoting from Mimi Schwarz, *Good Neighbors, Bad Times* (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 2008). See also Pieces of Memory/biographies/Sally Lemberger, p. 15.

<sup>52</sup> **Irwin Ullmann**. See also the case of Liesel X. Liesel X had a similar experience. A survivor of Riga, she returned to Stuttgart, found her husband, also a survivor of Riga, and together “they threw out the Nazi , who had taken over their apartment their apartment with everything in it.” Hannelore Marx, *From Despair to Happiness* (Bookbaby, 2015), 90-91.

<sup>53</sup> Wue 33 T1\_1515, Bertha Schwarz, 27; Wue 33 T1\_1515, 83, Eidesstattliche Erklärung Karoline Wolf (married Sichel) et al. September 5, 1953.

<sup>54</sup> Wolf, Alice. Interview 785. Interview by Rosemarie Levin. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, February 09, 1995. Segment 98.

<sup>55</sup> Hannah Arendt, “Ideology and Terror: A Novel Form of Government,” *The Review of Politics*, 15, 3 (Jul., 1953), 322.

<sup>56</sup> Wolf, Alice. Interview 785. Interview by Rosemarie Levin. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, February 09, 1995, .

<sup>57</sup> On Hannelore and forced farm work, see Wolf, Alice. Interview 785. Interview by Rosemarie Levin. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, February 09, 1995. Universitätsarchiv Tübingen, Nachlass Lilli Zapf, Victor Marx to Lilli Zapf, April 22, 1973. Marx, *From Despair to Happiness*, 93.

<sup>58</sup> Marx, *From Despair to Happiness*, 91, 94-95. Hannelore did not take the advice; she married Viktor in Degerloch on November 25, 1945, and they spend their honeymoon in Rexingen—in a room in Berta Schwarz’s apartment.

<sup>59</sup> Arolsen Archives. International Tracing Service, 3112305, Folder 305: Stuttgart Degerloch. “Aufstellung sämtlicher im Jewish Camp Degerloch wohnenden Leute am 31.1.1946.” A copy of Irwin Ullmann’s pass in USHMM Archies, Irwin Ullmann papers, Accession Number: 1995.A.0460.

<sup>60</sup> Fredy Kahn, “Pieces of Memory,” p. 3; <https://d-nb.info/1267972769/34>. Fredy Kahn, “1945 – Harry Kahn kehrt nach Baisingen zurück,” *Schwäbische Heimat* 4 (2016), 406.

<sup>61</sup> Alice Wolf. Interview 785. Interview by Rosemarie Levin. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, February 09, 1995, .

<sup>62</sup> Inge Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America*, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Yetta Flancbaum, Interview 14940. Interview by Lenore Weinstein. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, May 07, 1996.

<sup>64</sup> Irving Rosner, Interview 9421. Interview by Fred Charatan. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, November 30, 1995.

<sup>65</sup> Stadtarchiv Stuttgart, 1026/867 Fragebogen zur Bedarfsermittlung der nach Württemberg zurückgekehrten Juden (Rundschreiben Dezember 1945). Requests ordered alphabetically by last name.

<sup>66</sup> Inge Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America*, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Inge Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America*, .

<sup>68</sup> Inge Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America*, 3.

<sup>69</sup> VHA Testimony, Alice Weil, segment 95.

<sup>70</sup> Marx, *From Despair to Happiness*, 99-100.

<sup>71</sup> This paragraph based on readings of restitution documents from the Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg and the Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen.

<sup>72</sup> See *Von der Letzten Zerstörung. Die Zeitschrift “Fun letstn churbn” der Jüdischen Historischen Kommission in München 1946—1948*, ed. Frank Beer and Markus Roth, trans. (into German) from Yiddish by Susan Hiep, Sophie Lichtenstein, and Daniel Wartenberg. (Berlin: Metropol Ver-lag, 2021).

<sup>73</sup> The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Institute for Contemporary History, Oral History Division, Interview with Rabbi Herbert Eskin, November 19, 1974, The Rabbi Eskin Transcripts, 35. On Eskin, see Alex Grobmann, “American Jewish Chaplains and the Shearit Haplelah: April-June 1945,” *Simon Wiesenthal Annual*, vol. 1:

<https://www.museumoftolerance.com/education/archives-and-reference-library/online-resources/simon-wiesenthal-center-annual-volume-1/annual-1-chapter-5.html>.

<sup>74</sup> Alice Wolf, Interview 785. Interview by Rosemarie Levin. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, February 09, 1995: 27:55.

<sup>75</sup> Elie Wiesel, *Night*, tr. Marion Wiesel (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 65.

<sup>76</sup> Irwin Ullmann. Interview 3959. Interview by Mildred Gelfand. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, July 13, 1995, Segment 13.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Wue T1\_1153 Alfred Nördlinger, 157. Herbert Boehm, M.D. to the German Consulate, May 19, 1970.

<sup>79</sup> Marx, *From Destruction to Happiness*, 46.

<sup>80</sup> Marx, *From Destruction to Happiness*, 49.

<sup>81</sup> Marx, *From Destruction to Happiness*, 63.

<sup>82</sup> Irwin Ullmann, Interview 3959. Interview by Mildred Gelfand. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, July 13, 1995, Segment 11.

<sup>83</sup> VHA/USC Alice Wolf (néé Weil), Interview 785. Interview by Rosemarie Levin, February 09, 1995, Segment .

<sup>84</sup> On the transcultural aspect of care for the dead, see Thomas W. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead. A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 1-28.

<sup>85</sup> Sonja Hosseinzadeh, “Die jüdische Gemeinde in Württemberg seit 1945,” 268-269.

<sup>86</sup> CJ/LBI AR 1485. Jewish Restitution Successor Organization Collection, AR 1485. Reports and Memoranda, 1960 - 1973, Box: 1, Folder: 1. Saul Kagan and Ernest H. Weismann, “Report on the Operations of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization, 1947-1972,” 27-28.

<sup>87</sup> On Eskin and the Prager cemetery in Stuttgart, see Sonja Hosseinzadeh, “Die jüdische Gemeinde in Württemberg seit 1945,” 169-170.

<sup>88</sup> Universitätsarchiv Tübingen, NL Lilli Zapf, Victor Marx to Lilli Zapf, November 29, 1971.

<sup>89</sup> Martin Ulmer, “Vor 70 Jahren setzte der Shoah-Überlebende Victor Marx ein Zeichen der Erinnerung,” *GR*, Nr. 15 (November 2015), 12.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> On site observation.

<sup>92</sup> Fredy Kahn, “1945—Harry Kahn kehrt nach Baisingen zurück,” *GR* 13 (Nov. 15, 2015), 5. On this rural world and the language of trade, see Helmut Walser Smith. “The Discourse of Usury: Relations between Christians and Jews in the German Countryside, 1880-1914.” *Central European History* 32, no. 3 (1999): 255–76; and Stefanie Fischer, *Ökonomisches Vertrauen und antisemitische Gewalt. Jüdische Viehhändler in Mittelfranken 1919-1939* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2021).

<sup>93</sup> Fredy Kahn, “1945—Harry Kahn kehrt nach Baisingen zurück,” *GR* 13 (Nov. 15, 2015), 4.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>95</sup> Adolf Haarburger later emigrated with his wife Theresia to Melbourne, Australia. For an account of their experience, based on an interview in 1955, see: <https://www.testifyingtothetruth.co.uk/viewer/metadata/105709/1/>.

<sup>96</sup> Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, Wue 33 T1\_1092. Bertha Levy, Anhang zum Soforthilfe, October 16, 1946.

<sup>97</sup> Egon Levi died on September 25, 1945. Wue 33 T 1\_1129, 30 (Berta Levi).

<sup>98</sup> Irwin Ullmann, Interview 3959. Interview by Mildred Gelfand. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, July 13, 1995. Segment 23; for his cousin: StaL EL 350 I-B 26797 Max Ullmann. Landesamt für Widergutmachung 23.3.1961, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup> A silent news clip captured the arrival: USHMM: Refugees arrive at Ellis Island. Film, Accession Number: 1988.184.1, RG Number: RG-60.0352, Film ID: 157. <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn1001473>.

<sup>100</sup> Irwin Ullmann. Interview 3959. Interview by Mildred Gelfand. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, July 13, 1995.

<sup>101</sup> Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I-ba 60617, 174. (Manfred Schorsch). Werner Koenig, M.D. to German Consulate, Los Angeles, February 28, 1969.

<sup>102</sup> See Helmut Gabeli, “Urteil: Im Namen des Deutschen Volkes: NS-Verbrechen gegen Gut, Leib und Leben der Haigerlocher Juden und die Strafjustiz,” *GR*, 5 (November 2010), 6-10.

<sup>103</sup> Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, Wue 33 T1\_1126 Frederic M. Alberti, Rechtsanwalt, March 27, 1967. They lived in Grand Gorge, New York.

<sup>104</sup> Hanna Hilb had emigrated to Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1947, though apparently returned to Stuttgart-Degerloch in 1949; thereafter, she was, according to Helmut Gabeli, in the United States between 1952 and 1955, and then



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again in Montivideo until her death in 1975. See Gabeli, “Evakuiert” Die Deportation der Juden aus Württemberg und Hohenzollern nach Riga im November/Dezember 1941,” in *GR*, Nr. 7. (Nov. 2011), 9.

<sup>105</sup> Inge Auerbacher, *Beyond the Yellow Star to America*, 22.

<sup>106</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Württemberg, Jewish Community, March 1946:  
[https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source\\_view.php?SourceId=20923](https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source_view.php?SourceId=20923)

<sup>107</sup> Stadtarchiv Stuttgart 1026/1262 Israelitische Kultusvereinigung Württemberg. N.d.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture* (New York: Harper, 1969), 135.