



Places of Jewish Life in the District of Fürth

Introduction by the translator and project coordinator

In 2003 Mr. Karl Neubert presented me with a copy of *Stätten jüdischen Lebens im Landkreis Fürth* (Places of Jewish life in the District of Fürth) by Mr. Helmut Mahr, Director of Studies (Ret.) and District Heritage Curator.

After reading Mr. Mahr's study, I came to the conclusion, that this extraordinary work should be translated into English. To the best of my knowledge no English work exists, which is covering the history of the towns of Wilhermsdorf, Langenzenn and Zirndorf and encompassing the time span from the 16th to 20th century.

I like to point out, that this translation is a fitting companion study to the work by Hugo Barbeck, *Geschichte der Juden in Nürnberg und Fürth* (History of the Jews in Nuremberg and Fürth, see [here*](#)) when I had the honour to be on the translating team of this book.

I was assisted in this long and formidable task of translating the Mahr text into English by Mr. Karl Neubert and Mrs. Faye Gravelle. I am very grateful for their splendid yeoman work.

I am indebted to Mr. Gerhard Jochem for providing the technical support and most important, his offer to host and publish this work on his *rijo* website.

I thank District Warden Dr. Gabriele Pauli for her permission to translate and publish *Stätten jüdischen Lebens im Landkreis Fürth* on the internet.

Mr. Helmut Mahr's work was originally published in 2001 for the "week of brotherhood" and under the auspices of the District of Fürth.

Willie Glaser

November 2007

St. Laurent Quebec, Canada

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Helmut Mahr: Places of Jewish Life in the District of Fürth



Disgraced tombstone at Wilhermsdorf's Jewish cemetery

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Foreword by the district warden

The week of brotherhood, which is a yearly event during March is an important contribution in dealing with the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime against Jewish citizens.

For many years the district administration has been actively involved with the important week of brotherhood and the important encounters with our Jewish citizens. During the past years we have presented in the district the former rich Jewish life with tours, exhibitions and slide shows.

This was only possible because the district administration could call on the district's heritage curator, Helmut Mahr, who is well known beyond the borders of the district for his historical and homeland research. With his great spirit for research and much effort he explored the history of the Jewish citizens in the district of Fürth and presented it in an exhibition, which made his knowledge available to the public.

As the exhibition had over 10,000 visitors, it was my wish that the profound research by Helmut Mahr about the "Places of Jewish life" in the district should be made available to all pupils in our district and furthermore that it should be made available to all interested citizens of the district.

I am very thankful to the district's historian, Helmut Mahr, for his research work in this booklet, which is written in a form that is understandable and illustrative for all who are interested in history.

I hope this booklet will find many readers and will contribute to the strengthening of the relations between the citizens of the district and our Jewish fellow citizens.

Dr. Gabriele Pauli

District Warden

1. Introduction

On March 6, 1999, the district warden, Dr. Gabriele Pauli, opened the exhibition “Places of Jewish life in the district of Fürth”. This project was the concept of the author of this booklet and compiled from his research data. They rely amongst others on the Jewish files in the town archives of Langenzenn, which Dr. Michael Kroner, the previous curator of the district archives, made available by his reorganization of the archives.

The exhibition showed nine tables of selected categories of Jewish life from the 16th to the 20th century in the district of Fürth. After the conclusion of the exhibition in the office of the district warden, the exhibition toured many schools within and outside the district of Fürth. The exhibition reached over 10,000 visitors and ended at the beginning of summer.

This booklet should help to deepen the appreciation of the pictures, texts and plans of the exhibition. It leans intensively on the concept drafted for the exhibition, but it does not touch on all details of the topics, only manuscripts, events and patterns, which are exemplary for what was developed from the records.

For this reason this booklet is in this form. It is a contribution of the district of Fürth to a little known part of its history and at the same time it should open a door for further research.

But its most important function is to communicate the awareness, that citizens of Jewish faith had been our neighbours in the district of Fürth for many centuries, and also that the destruction of the Jewish communities since 1933 left us poorer in many ways.

Sincere thanks to Mrs. Gisela Blume for the names provided by her research data and especially to district warden Dr. Gabriele Pauli who enabled this publication to be made available for the use in all the schools in the district.

Oberasbach

November 9, 2000 Studiendirektor a.D.

Helmut Mahr

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2. Jewish communities in the district of Fürth

The “*Landkreis Fürth*” (district of Fürth) was named “*Bezirksamt Fürth*” until 1938. In great parts it originated from the territory of the former “*Oberamt*” Cadolzburg (superior principal office in the principality of Brandenburg-Ansbach), and from Wilhermsdorf, which was for-

merly an independent state of imperial knights in the Holy Roman Empire of German Nationality. Since the 15th and 16th century, Jewish communities were present in three places in these territories: in Wilhermsdorf, in Langenzenn and in Zirndorf.

We are best informed about the smallest of them, Langenzenn. The town archives in Langenzenn has many manuscripts which relate to Jews. These include inquiries, replies to many procedures, statistics, official decrees, as well as letters of protection from the time after the Thirty Years' War (1618 - 1648). These were deposited in several file folders. We do not know what happened in the Jewish community of Langenzenn before this war.

We have to assume that the contents collected in Langenzenn about the official correspondence with the *Margravian* government in Ansbach and with the Principal Office in Cadolzburg, which was responsible for Langenzenn and Zirndorf, also applied to the Jewish community in Zirndorf, but at present very few submissions can be found.

In 1742 the Protestant parson Johann Christian Wibel wrote about the Jewish community in Wilhermsdorf in the eleventh chapter of his well researched book "*Historical description of Wilhermsdorf*". He quotes from original sources, which were available to him at that time, but which do not exist any more.

The following is said about Wilhermsdorf which is the oldest Jewish community in the area of the district of Fürth:

"For many years Jews lived here and from a tax registry dated AD 1568 can be seen, that they [the Jews] for some 150 years or more maintained their own synagogue and place of burial. On one of the old grave stones in the burial ground, the year of the creation of the world is written (taking the lesser number 212), which according to the Christian way to count is the year 1452." Therefore, according to this, the local Jewish Kehilla (community) was older than in Fürth, which had its beginning in the year 1528. [1]

The first verifiable appearance of Jews in Langenzenn was in 1528. During this year the city council of Nuremberg complained to *Margrave George the Pious* about his permission, which he had granted to Jews to settle there. The council was afraid, that in spite of its ban to trade, to do business or to borrow money from the Jews, the citizens of Nuremberg might ignore this ban, what actually happened again and again. [2]

It was noted that a Jewish family settled in Zirndorf on January 11, 1558. *Margrave Georg Friedrich* gave permission to the Jew Jacob and his brother Samuel to settle in Zirndorf. "*Like the other citizens, they will have to help to carry the burden of the community (Zirndorf). They are entitled to all community rights, such as water, grass (fodder and grazing), bathing, midwife and meat purchase*". [3]

But Jews must have settled in Zirndorf before 1558, because in the year 1551 the council of the city of Nuremberg complained to the *Margravian* government in Ansbach that the Jews from Burgfarrnbach, Fürth and Zirndorf passed the city gates and traded with the citizens of Nuremberg in spite of a ban to do so. The council claimed that the *Margravian* government should prohibit Jews under their protection so do, but the *Margravian* government never reacted to this request. [4]

3. The Protectors

The local nobility of Wilhermsdorf as well as the *Margraves* of Brandenburg-Ansbach, sovereigns of Langenzenn and Zirndorf permitted Jews to settle in the previously named localities and for the payment of a fee issued a letter of protection for them.

In 1451, Emperor Friedrich III conferred the protection rights to the regional nobility, which enabled Jews to settle in Wilhelmsdorf (Wilhermsdorf) under the protection of Wolf of Wilhelmsdorf (Wilhermsdorf). Before the extinction of his dynasty in 1569, their rights were transferred in 1566 by purchase to the family of Schutzpar of Burgmilchling and Wilhermsdorf (which was known for real estate purchases and minting of currency). In the time, while they were in power and after a long fight before the Court of Appeal of the Empire, Wilhermsdorf was given the status of an independent state in the Holy Roman Empire in 1612. After that, the families of Hohenlohe and their successors, and later the kings of Prussia and since 1806 the kings of Bavaria inherited the rights and privileges of their predecessors. No documentation is available regarding the practice the aforementioned protectors and their administration applied to their protected Jews.

The *Margraves* of Brandenburg-Ansbach took an ambivalent stand with the Jews they had accepted in Langenzenn and Zirndorf. To ridicule the Jews, they had arranged the mounting of a so called “*Jew sow*” at the gate of their castle of Cadolzburg. (A medieval derogatory image or icon of Jews in contact with unclean animals, such as pigs). On the other hand they conducted financial transactions with Jews and accepted their help in securing credits to which Jews were entitled to. They were also interested in channelling the funds received for Jewish protection as state income. [5]



“Jew sow” at the gate of Cadolzburg castle

During the second half of the 16th century the deputies of the land, consisting of noblemen, clergy and citizens argued in the legislative assemblies about the century old sweeping reproach and accusations, which were never proven, but had the aim to expel the Jews from the *Margravian* territory. The *Margraves* repeatedly legislated deportation mandates, but strong words were seldom backed up by deeds. These decrees were very reluctantly enforced or not enforced at all, because they contained a lot of exceptions and loopholes. [6]

So the threat of deportations hung constantly over the Jewish communities of their states. They were never sure how serious the threat of deportation actually was. They were left to guess about the exact meaning of the deportation decrees and if the decrees were only enacted to extort special payments from the Jews under the name of “*voluntary gift of honour*” for the prince, which would enable them to continue living in the country.

It is obvious that for the Jews protected by the *Margrave* and in spite of the issuance of letters of protection by the *territorial sovereign*, no protection by law was provided. These letters of protection were in a regular sense not contracts between equal partners. The principle of law states: “*Pacta sunt servanda*”, this means, that contracts must be adhered to and may only be dissolved with the consent of the other contract partner.

Jews were no contract partners for a *Margrave*, but subjects of temporary exploitation. Jews ranked below the lowest of his subjects. This meant that a letter of protection was only a confirmation that for the moment, the owner was under the protection of the *Margrave*, but only as long as it was convenient for him and he derived a financial advantage from it. The *Margrave* was able to cancel the contract at any time, while the Jew as an affected party had no right to recourse or even to sue for the right of domicile.

On the other hand it can be seen that the *Margraves* strived conscientiously to carry out their obligation to safeguard and to protect the Jews against harassments and brute force. This step was applied even against their own officials. They also assisted the Jews when they had a

rightful claim and they advised their officials, that in case of infringements against the Jews, severe action should be taken against the violators of the law among the local population.

A model example for this policy of change of mind is the *Margravia* deportation order of July 20, 1608, which was cancelled the same year. [7]

“By the grace of God, We, Joachim Ernst, Margrave in Brandenburg offer to everybody and all our officials, sheriffs, judges and bailiffs, also town mayors, councillors and courts in cities, market places and in the land our favourable greetings, hear thee:

We announce herewith, that a greater assembly is scheduled to take place in the month of April with our permission in order to seek advice for several specific items which belong to the governance and the ordinary seigniority. The announced assembly has in the name of the whole gentry, and amongst other items lodged a complaint about the manner with which the poor subjects are treated by the Jews living amongst us, not only with un-Christian charges and usury, but as well with suppression and lowering of the value of the pawned items and other grave complaints, which more or less pressured the subjects hard and nearly drove them from domestic honesty and placed the subjects in extreme peril. Furthermore, our explicit permission for the abolition of the laws favouring the Jews is urgently requested by the previous assembly.

In the knowledge, that they [the Jews], not through work, but only through prohibited usury and with the poor people’s sweat and blood celebrated and fed their idleness. In addition to being mockers and despisers of our true Christian religion and open enemies of our only saviour and beatifier, Christ, whom they greatly angered. We will take into consideration if we can tolerate the Jews that are with us under our authority any longer.

We also looked at the requests regarding this matter by the subjects in our authority to remove the Jews in question, which we graciously grant.

It is our honest will and opinion, that all our Jews, who are found within the reach of your offices, cities and markets or in the rural area, if they have domestic property, or reside there, are ordered and earnestly imposed upon the following: That within six months, counting from the date of the proclamation and without long delay, have to remove themselves from our principality, land, authority and territory, they are not allowed to establish homes anymore. Should in spite of this specific warning one or more Jews be found in the Brandenburg territory, they will completely forfeit their chattel and goods, which will go in our coffers.

Should any Jew with his chattel be arrested during the above stated time in your assigned area of authority he will be put in jail. Only after payment of the cost and after vowing and swearing not to seek revenge, they will be released and must leave the principality at once.

Real estate owned by some Jews must be sold in the above stated time. Moreover you have to help them to collect their rightful debt, but not with usury contracts, which will enable poor people to afford the payments.

Apart from that, in view of the freedom and safe conducts gained from the imperial majesty passage shall be granted to them after paying duty and toll.

As several Jews possess letters of safe conduct and passports, you will have to request the originals at the end of the specific 6 months and send them to our office. With this you will have carried out our final authoritative wish and our opinion and this should happen in this way. We will now retire with disposed mercy.

Date Ansbach, July 20, AD 1608.”

Then everything looked different the next year

“By the grace of God, We, Joachim Ernst, Margrave of Brandenburg [...], First of all our favourable greeting, Vester, learned scholars and respectable loyal subjects. We granted before our departure, that the Jewry’s rabbi and committee, which are up to now under our protection to remain further so. Also we granted them for a certain time graciously such protection, for which an open patent under our secret seal is issued. It is hereby graciously ordered to publish this with a general bulletin, to let all and everyone of our officials know, and so it is ordered in our name, that they let the Jews keep their privileges and that they offer them a helping hand with their applications. This is our will and we remain full of mercy. Date Höchststadt an der Aisch, July 11, AD 1609. Our strong, learned and honourable, dear loyal subject, appointed internal revenue administrators and councillors for Ansbach, all and special.” [8]

Since that time the Jewish communities in Langenzenn and Zirndorf did not have the right of permanent residence, but they were granted a domicile on a temporary basis. Later on, the loss of two thirds of the population in the Brandenburg-Ansbach territory by the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648) brought about rethinking. Now every taxpayer was needed, which also included Jews under protection.

4. Then the Thirty Years’ War came ...

In 1632, during the Thirty Years’ War all law and order in the rural areas broke down. With the result, that above all, the Jews were defenceless and suffered brute force by rampaging hordes of soldiers, because they and their possessions were refused refuge in other safe places such as Nuremberg.

The same also applied to the Jewish community in Langenzenn, because the town was crossed by a military road and was often visited by troops seeking shelter. We do not know how the situation was in Wilhermsdorf, because for awhile Wilhermsdorf had a Swedish garrison stationed in the castle.

A clue regarding the Jewish community in Zirndorf points to the fact, that because of the construction of Wallenstein’s field camp on July 17, 1632 and the resulting occupation of Zirndorf by Croats, the Jewish community was gravely affected.

On July 7/17 1632 (7 Julian calendar used by the Protestants, 17 Gregorian calendar used by the Catholics) 30 Jewish men, women and children appeared in Nuremberg and begged for shelter for one night. They reported that they were attacked by Croats and robbed. Several were killed and some were kidnapped to extort ransom. [9]

Probably they were members of the Jewish community in Zirndorf, due to the fact that on the same day Isolani’s Croatian soldiers moved into their quarters in the fields located east of Zirndorf, north of the Bibert river, which is close to Zirndorf. Trexel’s map of the Wallenstein camp from 1634 shows *“in this valley on the Bibert onwards, sat colonel Isselani with ten*

thousand Crabatten [Croatian light cavalry].” [10]

The inhabitants of Gostenhof, which at that time was situated inside the Swedish ring of strongholds encircling Nuremberg, took in the refugees, but the Jews had to leave Gostenhof because Nuremberg city council refused them admission.

The Swedish King, Gutavus Adolfus, was more humane. He issued a letter of escort for the refugees, which enabled them to go to Schnaittach, where a Jewish community existed.

5. Letters of protection and the use of protection money

As to Langenzenn, we are well informed regarding this topic. It is assumed, that the printed decrees in question and the handwritten documents, which are in the town archives were also applicable to the Jewish community in Zirndorf, because both Langenzenn and Zirndorf were under *Margravian* stewardship in the “*Oberamt*” (superior administrative office) of Cadolzburg. But we do not know how this affected the free state of Wilhermsdorf, which was under the direct authority of the emperor, without intermediaries.

The legal basis for the settlement of Jews in the territory of Brandenburg-Ansbach was a letter of protection in the name of the territorial ruler issued by the *Margravian* administration. The protection applicant had to produce proof of assets. He had to pay stamp fees and franchise taxes for the trade franchise issued to him. Only those who were able to produce certain assets and pay the funds had a chance to qualify. The local authorities had no say in these procedures.

Consequently, only financially well off Jews were able to buy the right to settle, but they had to overcome another difficulty. It required some time for them and their dependents to recoup the costs of securing their residency permit. Still, they were in a better position than the “beggar Jews”, who were refused to settle, as can often be seen from the directives of the *Margravian* authorities.

The printed letter of protection from the year 1704 for the Israelite Löw had the same structure as others issued before and afterwards. The reason, that the letter of protection was preserved in the archives is based on the fact, that the letters of protection had to be renewed from time to time, thus giving the opportunity to recall and archive them. [11]

The issuer, *Margrave* Wilhelm Friedrich, whose complete titles of rule have been listed earlier, stated “*openly with this letter [...] because of his humble request, he [...] Jew Löw, together with his wife, unmarried children also relatives or servants, has been granted the following special grace: Liberty and security is given and granted to his immediate family living in their own home or in tenancy in Langenzenn*”, the issuer takes them under his special pro-

tection and umbrella and affirms, that the applicant, his wife, his children and his relatives will be protected and shielded like other subjects. When lending money, Löw is not allowed to ask from the subjects of the Margrave whether they are clergy or secular for higher profit than the interest normally charged in the country. Then the issuer warns the applicant, “*If he [the Jew] violates the clauses of the letter, he will be fined according to imperial law and lose the grace and protection of his sovereign.*” This meant the loss of his permission to settle and to trade, expulsion and financial ruin as all the credits, given by Löw, were not repaid to him, but to the *Margrave*.

As a rule in other letters of protection, the limit on the rate of interest was specified at this point. For the principality of Brandenburg-Ansbach the rate of interest in 1696 was established at 12 percent. Why this was waived possibly depended on currency fluctuations. These arose because the emperor as sovereign in his territories had to finance the cost of the War of the Spanish Succession. So in 1701 lower valued currency was issued with the same nominal value as regular currency. For those who got stuck in other parts of the empire with this bad money, it meant a loss in value of the money of some 20 percent. Given these circumstances in 1704, probably nobody would commit himself to this rate of interest.

The holders of a letter of protection were permitted in the territory of the principality of Brandenburg-Ansbach “*to engage as honest and respectable peddlers, merchants and trades people.*” It was not explained clearly, how this was to be understood, which created the impression, that the *Margravian* administration wanted to wash its hands with this clause full of mixed and unclear definitions regarding complaints in advance. It is not likely to be assumed, that they did not know, that the admission of Jews as craftsmen and merchants was not possible.

In the next section, the authorities established the protection tariff at “*four Gulden quarterly*”. This amount is entered in hand writing. It is to be assumed, that at this time no uniform tariff for protection money existed, but the amount of the protection money always differed from place to place and was calculated according to the wealth of the applicant. It was only in 1724 that a uniform regulation was established, setting the tariff at 7 Gulden 8 Kreuzer, whereby levels for the low income applicant was established at half or even only a quarter of the tariff. This regulation would not have been enacted, if there were only wealthy Jews. Thus, this graduated level pointed indirectly to the poor financial well-being of a part of the “*Jewish protection members*”, as we will learn in the next chapter.

As to the other taxes and levies in the settlement, the “*protection members*” were subjected to the same levies as the other inhabitants. This is pointed out in a passage in Löw’s letter of

protection. In an agreement, dated April 12, 1649, between the town of Langenzenn and two newly arrived Israelites “*members of protection*” regarding their responsibilities in the community. This is deposited in the town archives and gives us the information on how to understand the local levies. [12]

The Jews Ephraim Hirsch and Israel, handed their letter of protection to the mayor and councillors in Langenzenn, which had been issued by the *Margravia* authority in Ansbach on April 5, 1649. It was the first such letter after the Thirty Years’ War, however, the original is not preserved. It is recorded in the contract between them and the town, that both “*while transacting loans, cannot ask more than a Christian may, that is 6 percent. Whereas , like other citizens and subjects they have to pay all civil encumbrances, conditions, and taxes related to the Turkish War, country and other taxes, war and transport encumbrances, and beverage taxes and the like.*”

Hereon is dealt with Jews “*about the general civil complaints with the result, that during every three months of their residency here, they have to pay 48 Kreuzer in Brandenburg currency [...].*”

When the *Margrave* instructed his officials in Löw’s letter of protection to grant him and his relatives safety, escort, protection and cover loyally, a passage cannot be overlooked that the letter of protection, as pointed out previously, was not a contract, but a patent of toleration, which could be revoked. It states “*But, if we do not want him anymore or tolerate him, Löw and his own, in our principality, this liberty [meaning the letter of protection] should not hinder us to banish Löw, and his wife and unmarried children [...].*” Which means to expulse them.

At the end of the letter of protection, the date and the secret chancellery seal were affixed and made it legally valid.

The protection money had to be discharged to the office of the “*Vogt*” (an official with judicial and administrative competence) in Langenzenn or Cadolzburg, and to be delivered and paid by him to the finance office in Ansbach. This can be seen from a statement about protection monies for Langenzenn from July 21, 1673. [13]

There it says, “*As to the Jews from Langenzenn, the following monies for letters of protection have been paid, namely:*

<i>6 Reichstaler 12 Kreuzer</i>	<i>from Wolfsohn</i>	<i>It is understood, all</i>
<i>6 Reichstaler 12 Kreuzer</i>	<i>from Matthes</i>	<i>above is on account</i>
<i>6 Reichstaler 12 Kreuzer</i>	<i>from Herz, Jew, only half</i>	<i>of the second term</i>
	<i>the sum</i>	

<i>Households</i>			<i>Persons</i>
1.	<i>Jakob Koppel</i>	<i>with 2 children</i>	4
2.	<i>Eissig Jud</i>	<i>with 5 children</i>	7
3.	<i>Michael Jud</i>	<i>with 10 children</i>	12
4.	<i>Löw Jud</i>	<i>widower, no children</i>	1
5.	<i>Schimmel Jud</i>	<i>no children</i>	2
6.	<i>Michael Jud</i>	<i>schoolmaster, 2 children</i>	4
7.	<i>Meyer Jud</i>	<i>with 2 children</i>	4
8.	<i>Moses, his son</i>	<i>with 2 children</i>	4
9.	<i>Najam Jud</i>	<i>with 2 children</i>	4
10.	<i>Bermann Jud</i>	<i>widower, no children</i>	1
	<i>Total in all 43 persons" [17]</i>		

And the Women?

It is to be noted that whoever created this account speaks only of heads of households and children but not about wives. Their existence can only be made visible by the census count of every person of every household.

When the German philosopher Kant later in his Law Ethics discussed wives in connection with property laws and thus followed a long tradition, one can assume, therefore, that this also applied to Jewish families at the beginning of the 18th century, and before, because women are only mentioned marginally in the Jewish files from Langenzenn. They seemed to have been their husbands' property, too.

Nevertheless, it is to be noted that like everywhere else in life, the women in Jewish households, because of their domestic skills, contributed considerably to the quality of life for their families. Furthermore, it is obvious, that because of their husbands' absence due to the necessity of trading for short and long periods, the wives were always privy with the commercial enterprises of their husbands. Still, they had to represent the husband in their place of residence. That required trading skills and knowledge in reading, writing and arithmetic and skills to tax pawned goods and in a majority of cases, they had the advantage over their Christian female counterparts.

The basis for this was a good and many-faceted education for girls. It seems more value was put on this by Jews, whereas Christians at that time argued it did not pay to give girls an education, since they were going to marry anyway.

Therefore it was the women who held the families together during difficult circumstances and

carried any load which they encountered. Even when nobody talked about this and no mention is to be found in any of the files, they had a substantial share when families and the Jewish communities had to stand up to all hostilities.

The administration is getting fastidious

During the first three decades of the 18th century the increasing need for money for the princely expenditures and the high cost of the erection of the Ansbach palace of residence had an impact on the practises of the administration, which had to raise the necessary funds, as curtailing the salaries of officials above, which the *Margrave* ordered, could not finance the construction. Above all, it became obvious that under the regency of the country regent Christiane Charlotte, the collection of protection money was eagerly pursued, as well as closing all existing gaps and achieving a more just code of practice. In addition and according to a directive from the administration authorities from the year 1726, more information had to be obtained about the “*protected members*”.

“As her serene Margravine, our gracious princess, also principal guardian and country regent desires to learn the conditions of the local Jews from year to year in this highly laudable principality and to see if their [Jews] number increased or decreased, it is graciously demanded, that we have to know exactly how many died each year, and what profession they had. The sheriff of Langenzenn is graciously ordered to record properly all points in question, on the one hand, on a half page and on the other hand in protocol form and to answer briefly, thoroughly and clearly and this is to be forwarded unerringly within 14 days to the princely deputation, as in Anno 1724.” [18]

The statistical data from the year 1724 and 1726 was called for every two years. Now the administration was informed on May 15, 1728 to further provide a more refined statistic for every year end. [19]

It was necessary to find out how many Jews in the *Margravian* territory were in possession of letters of protection, how many were living without letters of protection, how many were exempted from paying for the letter of protection, and how many widows, cantors and school masters existed. It was also necessary to determine how wealthy the Jews were and how many sons, daughters, relatives and servants the Jews had. To this end, printed forms were sent out and the sheriffs had to enter all numbers in the columns.

The drive to go after the money was intense, even the gratuities were collected. A directive from January 2, 1733 shows, that the sheriff in Langenzenn was ordered by the princely court councillors office, to deliver immediately the chancellery fee of one *Gulden* for the letter of protection for the Jew Schmuel from Langenzenn, together with a gratuity in the amount of $7\frac{1}{2}$ *Kreuzer*, which Schmuel gave to the chancellery servant. With these $7\frac{1}{2}$ *Kreuzer*, he contributed to the 30,000 *Gulden*, or 1,800,000 *Kreuzer*, which were to be spent for the building

23 RT 47 Kr. 2 Pf.

Judt Löw

41 RT 14 Kr.

Judt Isaac

Ansbach, November 1, 1686” [24]

From the above can be seen, that the Langenzenner Jews traded with cloth, and they also bought tobacco leaves according to the reference “*Our lordship’s factory in Schwabach, purchases of tobacco leaves [...]*.” [25]

In 1691, Jewish traders complained to the *Margravian* government, that custom collectors “*also levied customs duties on small wares, which were peddled in the countryside [...]*.” For the Jewish traders in the country, white and haberdashery goods were one of their income alternatives. In response, the government pointed out to the officials that from now on they should collect personal customs duty (“*Leibzoll*” from Jews), who have been issued letters of protection, but in this case, Jews have to be treated the same way as other citizens and subjects. [26]

In 1715, the Jews from Langenzenn and Zirndorf were obliged to give first priority to the *Margravian* mint when offering their salvage silver, “*since it happened that this salvage silver and silver crockery, melted down silver, which the local Jews under protection have in their inventory or was under negotiation because it would have been sent out of the country.*” [27]

In addition there was the trading with decommissioned horses from the *Margravian* stables, for which the Jews were collectively obliged to buy at such a high price that they could not resell them and suffered losses. It can be seen from the title VII of the edict about the privileges of the year 1737, in which was established, that all Jews should with a yearly payment of 3000 Gulden, be excluded from the compulsory trade in decommissioned military horses. Under *Margrave* Wilhelm Friedrich, the Jewish community representatives relented to the *Margravian* extortion and agreed to a blanket solution to avoid greater collective damage.

Also worth mentioning is the Jews’ activity as debt collectors for the *Margrave*, who in 1666 ordered his officials to give the Jews protection “*so that they should not be interfered with by their debtors, when bringing in debts for the Margrave [...]*.” [28]

Not to be forgotten in the 19th century are the activities in cattle trading, in farm products and hops, in trading with rummage and used clothing, and in wool and rags for paper production. There was great competition from other Jewish communities in our area, but also by out of town peddlers and wholesale buyers. In 1809 the town of Langenzenn issued 37 licences for travelling peddlers from Germany, Tyrol, Italy and Krain (former crown land of Austria 1335 - 1919), a troublesome business, which brought in very little. [29]

On the whole it can be said that the rural Jews were recognized as being poor, indeed over the period of two centuries, when the rural communities, if only in a modest degree, participated in the boom of the industrial revolution. But in the first half of the 19th century, the country saw a long lasting shortage of work opportunities, which made it even worse. Connected to this was the loss of purchasing power among the population, which had an impact on the economic situation of the Jewish communities which depended on trading.

This enabled Samson Österreicher, president of the Jewish community in Zirndorf on January 26, 1815 to reply to the query of the government of Central Franconia regarding the economic situation: *“A great part of the Jewry in Zirndorf is not rich; they have to be completely supported by others, or at least have to be assisted.”* [30]

It is no surprise, when according to an account from the year 1811, amongst the 28 Jewish heads of households in Zirndorf, ten retail merchants with haberdashery, linen and piece goods and seven cattle dealers alone can be found and they are in competition with each other. They also had to fight the competition from other Jewish communities. They barely held their heads above water. As a rule, a clerk just earned 80 *Gulden* per year, a bookkeeper and a grocer from Zirndorf had a fair income. They had to come up with substantial contributions for the teacher and cantor, who were employees of the Jewish community, as well as for three charity recipients and also most probably for other poor fellow believers. [31]

This was not different in Langenzenn, which was also stricken by a town fire in 1720. Jewish families in the Jew lane were also affected, as can be seen from a later decrease in their protection fees. It is to be assumed, they were looking for this decrease, but the correspondence regarding this matter is not available anymore. In one case in 1723, one of the affected described in an appeal to the *Margravine* Christiane Charlotte, born countess of Württemberg, his situation after the town fire and pleaded for a reduction in his protection fee. At that time Christiane Charlotte led the regency after the death of *Margrave* Wilhelm Friedrich for their minor son Carl Wilhelm Friedrich.

“[...] for 32 years I have had already the grace, to be a loyal protected Jew, who always paid his levy without hesitation. I carried on without any complaints about what I have suffered beside others in the year 1720, the great calamity, to see my new house with all belongings go up in smoke, with that I fell into the utmost misery to look for my necessary piece of bread, which for the reason of being 60 years old and getting older, hence my strength to go out into the country side is getting weaker and anyways, nearby, because close at hand is nothing to earn [...].” [32]

Christiane Charlotte, *“a crown amongst the princesses”* decided not to ignore the pleading of the fire casualties and allowed a reduction of the protection fees.

In 1728, the *Margravian* government demanded a detailed report about the situation of the

Jews in Langenzenn, which was delivered in 1729. It turned out that 11 Jewish households in the town were still found in dire circumstances. Their financial circumstances are described either as bad or they have liabilities, which up to this point in time they could not cope with. Only two had liquid capital. [33]

It was observed with this report that some of the Jews from Langenzenn were also active in the sphere of capital procurement, which means the credit business, possibly alongside other activities. Still, in 1734 it was noted, that “*There are only three better situated in the Jewish community.*”

<i>Jews with letters of protection</i>	<i>Financial standing</i>	<i>Sons and daughters at home with parents</i>	<i>Real estate</i>
<i>Jacob Coppel</i>	<i>bad</i>	-	<i>half a house</i>
<i>Hajum</i>	<i>150 Reichstaler outstanding debts</i>	3	<i>one house</i>
<i>Hirsch</i>	<i>70 Reichstaler outstanding debts</i>	2	<i>half a house</i>
<i>Michel Wolff</i>	<i>bad</i>	1	<i>half a house</i>
<i>Schimmel</i>	<i>40 Reichstaler outstanding debts</i>	-	<i>half a house</i>
<i>Meyer Isaac</i>	<i>70 Reichstaler outstanding debts</i>	4	<i>half a house</i>
<i>Moyses Joseph</i>	<i>bad</i>	3	<i>half a house</i>
<i>Moyses Meyer</i>	<i>100 Reichstaler outstanding debts</i>	1	<i>half a house</i>

<i>Jews without letters of protection</i>			
<i>Joseph Schmucl had received promise to receive letter of protection</i>	<i>400 Reichstaler</i>	-	-
<i>Lipmann Hayun</i>	<i>500 Reichstaler</i>	-	-

<i>Tolerated as per decree and paid up loan tax</i>			
<i>Menckele</i>	<i>outstanding debt of 250 Reichstaler</i>	3	<i>half a house</i>
<i>Michel Isaac</i>	<i>bad, burned down in 1720</i>	4	<i>half a house</i>
<i>Söhnlein, cantor, butcher and shul janitor at the same time</i>	<i>bad</i>	-	-
<i>Esther, widow</i>	<i>poor</i>	-	-

Not resolved is the contradiction, that on one side the financial circumstances of the Jews from Langenzenn, after the blaze in the town can be described as bad, while on the other side they were in possession of “half houses”, one is mentioned above, whose house burned down

in 1720. “Half houses” as we know them from Cadolzburg, were typical accommodations of the poor. They were separated, this means, each floor had a different owner. Vestibule, yard, toilets, cellars and attics were jointly used by the occupants. At tax evaluation, the assessed value was set 20 to 50 *Gulden* less than stone houses; so the half houses may have been framework construction.

It is not to be assumed, that the Jews who suffered damage by the fire were within a few years able to build a house again, particularly when the strict rules of the *Margravian* town planning commission only permitted the building of stone houses according to uniform guidelines. We do not know if the families mentioned in 1729 themselves lived in these poorly built houses, which were called “*Gekrietsch*” (broken down shacks) in the Franconian dialect. It is possible, that these dwellings were rented out, which brought an income, albeit a small one. But to the extent as can be established, the ownership of real estate and houses was permitted to Jews.

For a number of members of the Jewish community, there was no improvement in their bad economic situation during the second half of the 18th century. In 1808, of 19 Jewish heads of households in Langenzenn, four had a yearly income of less than 30 Gulden. The assessed value fixed by the Bavarian authorities for the disposition of the land register tax placed the heads of Jewish households next to the impoverished tradesmen and day labourers in the last tax bracket. At that time, there was a Jewish glazer, a weaver, a sock knitter and a lottery collector. They all lived at the edge of the poverty line. [34]

7. Daily life and harassment

Jews in Zirndorf, Wilhermsdorf and Langenzenn still lived amongst themselves in the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century.

The Bavarian administration numbered all houses in Zirndorf in 1811. The record shows that house numbers 3, 4, 8, 19 and 48 were in the vicinity of the synagogue, numbers 103 and 112 were in the Bachstraße, while numbers 141, 142 and 146 to 153 were clustered around the Steinweg. Houses numbered 141 and 150 were inhabited by three families, the others above 142 by two families.

Jews in Langenzenn lived in the Judengasse (Jews lane), which is today the Rosenstraße. On its western end, where it joins the market square, was the “*Judenbrunnen*” (Jews well). It was supplied by a wooden pipeline, as were all other wells.

When a Jew in Langenzenn asked the *Margrave*'s permission to live in a Christian house, we can see that this must have been quite an unusual request. We don't know whether permission was granted. [35]

Before the devastating fire of 1720, the Jewish quarters in the Judengasse must have been build in framework construction, which can be seen from the application for a building permit by a Jew that was accompanied by a primitive drawing. [36]

We know little about the housing of Jews in Wilhermsdorf. Since the eastern town gate, which leads to Langenzenn, was called Jewish gate, we can assume that Jews lived in the gate's vicinity and near the synagogue, which was outside of the town on the same road.

A series of accounts exist which point to the fact that daily life was not easy for Jews to live among Christians, and that harassment occurred again and again. It can be shown for Langenzenn. We aren't sure whether this was the case as well in Wilhermsdorf and in Zirndorf. The poisoning of the relations between Jews and Christians in Langenzenn originated undoubtedly with the protestant dean Georg Söhner. He was a hate monger, who through his sermons, as we will see, influenced the confrontational course against Jewish inhabitants in a malicious manner.

One should take notice that the absolute government treated its subjects like children on tutelage. The administration was convinced, that authorities knew alone what was good for "ignorant subjects", and all this was not done in a gentle way.

Moreover, Jews were subject to more harassment due to their inferior legal status as "protected citizens" by the administration and the legislation. We have already mentioned the requirement to purchase decommissioned military horses at inflated prices, so that there would be a loss on the resale.

Ill-famed was the so called "Jews oath", which was decreed by the imperial "*Kammergericht*", the supreme court of the empire in 1555 and which was henceforth included in the laws of the various principalities. [37]

When taking the oath was necessary in a conflict between a Jew and Christian it was humiliating and demeaning for a Jew. This was the case with the administration and the courts of the principality of Brandenburg-Ansbach, too.

On the other hand the same administration was not willing to tolerate the disturbance of law and order by Christian lawbreakers and hooligans. Thus the administration took a hard line, even against dean Söhner from Langenzenn.

Relatively it might have been insignificant to know, when an "all and better" knowing *Margravia* administration decided what kind of music could or could not be played at Jewish

weddings. Even in Langenzenn, and probably in Zirndorf as well, the town's musicians played for the bride and groom as they went from the synagogue to the house where the wedding took place. The bureaucrats called it officially "fiddling in the streets". We can assume that the musicians did not differentiate between Jews and Christians, as is evident from an order dated November 5, 1697. [38]

"[...] after we took unpleasantly notice of the way of behaviour of some of our protected Jews at their weddings not only to fiddle publicly in the streets, but also to strew wheat when they proceed to get married. Moreover they have a Jewish song played and dance to it with the melody of our Easter song 'Christ is resurrected', [...] therefore we order most graciously and strictly that Jews in our territory are forbidden to have musicians fiddle in the streets, or sing the aforementioned song at their weddings or at other occasions. But it will be allowed to them to engage musicians to play within their houses. Breaking this order will be subject to a serious fine for both, Jews and musicians."

It was worse when Jews were assaulted not only with degrading words and humiliations but also when at night their windows were thrown in with stones and they were prevented from collecting debts for themselves and the *Margrave*. [39]

Therefore, on February 22, 1666 the *Margrave* renewed his promise of protection and ordered his officials to protect the Jews conscientiously and *"to prosecute the culprits in a most serious way, in order to prevent the Jews from leaving our territory without our permission."* This implies that the government had an interest to keep the Jews in the country and to continue collecting the protection monies.

This must have been the case where the Jews were victimized as the *Margrave's* own taxmen were demolishing windows at night. This was not unusual and was the only way the population, repressed by the administration, was able to vent its frustration. If someone was caught he was dishonoured publicly at the pillory and the hangman gave him a good thrashing.

It was more complicated with dean Söhner, because he was a parson and based his sermons and actions against Jews on his duty to care for his entrusted flock in Langenzenn. His behaviour was subject to interpretation. He based his arguments on the bible and acted in his view in accordance with 2 Corinthians 6, 14 - 16 or what he understood this to mean.

His activities appeared for the first time in a communication between the *Margrave's* chancellery and the *"Oberamt"* in Cadolzburg dated February 21, 1711. In it the chancellery ordered an investigation of Söhner and the town's administrators for public disturbance of the peace after one of his sermons. [40]

"It can be seen from the attached protocol, that the Jewish community in Langenzenn mailed two letters about dean Söhner's sermon last Sunday. He accused Jews of selling meat of animals killed according to Jewish rites to Christians, that had been abused by them before. That enraged the town's people and farmers in such a way that they did not want to trade with Jews nor let them live in their homes anymore, and chased them away [...]."

The “*Oberamt*” in Cadolzburg was ordered to investigate and to interview dean Söhner and ask him to explain his side of the story “*how Jews acted in such a demeaning way against Christians.*” Söhner also had to provide the outline of his sermon.

The administration reprimanded Söhner before any of this could happen and ordered him to “*refrain from any further unfounded accusations, which may cause a disturbance of the peace.*”

The “*Stadtvogt*”, mayor and town council of Langenzenn were strictly ordered that “*under the threat of punishment to do everything that the Jews could live in peace and to respect their dignity and mingle with them [...]. Above all they should forbid the citizens and farmers to insult them with words and actions.*” In other words, differences should be dealt with by negotiations.

The next clash occurred 1716/17. Since Jews had to refrain from certain activities on the Sabbath they hired so called “Sabbath maids” in Langenzenn, and presumably in Wilhermsdorf and Zirndorf as well. These were Christian servants that worked only on Jewish holidays. In 1716 Christmas mass was celebrated on a Friday, most likely in the afternoon. Since these servants left mass early to do their duties for Sabbath, dean Söhner accused the Jews of incitement to disrupt his service.

In an interrogation in 1717 Söhner put the Sabbath maids, who came from very simple lower class families, under extreme psychological pressure and complained to the *Margravian* administration about the Langenzenn Jewry’s deliberate “*profanation of the high holiday*”. The government did not share this view and allowed the Sabbath maids to continue their service with their Jewish families. Apparently that is what Söhner had tried to prevent. The government relied on the decree of February 3 1707 under “*Title IV § 2 Rights of the Jews*”, which allowed them to practice religious ceremonies unfettered. This also included those Christians employed by Jews to serve on their Sabbath without hindrance. [41]

In 1722 Söhner started again to quarrel with the Jewish community. This time he pressured a coachman, because he was to bring a deceased Jew to the Jewish cemetery in Fürth. Söhner wanted to prevent that. The administrator for Langenzenn reported to the princely chancery.

“*[...] a Jewish boy died here last Friday afternoon, and because of the onset of Sabbath he couldn’t be brought to Fürth for his funeral, it was decided to bring him in the night from Saturday to Sunday to Fürth. I could not forbid this and I didn’t want to forbid it. Dean Söhner sent the sacristan to the coachman and threatened him to exclude him from Holy Communion, if he transferred that boy on Saturday night, even though the coachman could be back before church service commences on Sunday. The Jewry complained to me and asked for the maintenance of their religious rights [...]*” [42]

Söhner wanted to force the coachman to respect the Sunday rest, which then began at sunset on Saturday and lasted to sunset on Sunday.

The princely administrator based his decision on the law, which was shared by the government, that protection of Jews also included their ceremonies. The government negotiated with the Jewish community in Langenzenn to find a solution for a future death on a Friday, which would not have been too frequent. Söhner suffered yet another defeat here. He was not privy to the negotiations.

8. Baptism of Jews

Jews in Zirndorf, Langenzenn and Wilhermsdorf were still living within an exclusively Protestant population in the 18th century. The ever present theologically based anti-Semitism, which can be traced back to the first Christian and pagan-Christian communities, as well as the bullying and assaults caused by Protestant priests with their “*Jewish missionary*” work, led to the conversion of a few Jews to the Lutheran church and the solemnly celebrated baptisms of Jews.

The highlights were their public proclamations of faith during church service and the act of baptism itself. After these acts the converts were full members of the Protestant church. They had access to the guilds and were permitted to learn a trade, which they weren’t privy to before. They were also permitted to rise through the ranks of the administration, which we will see later on with the example of the converted senior civil servant Philip Ernst Christfels, who had been a rabbi in Fürth before converting. His sovereign appointed him to “*Kammerrat*”, a high-ranking title in the financial administration of the independent state of Wilhermsdorf.

The candidates for conversion had to undergo extensive religious instructions and weren’t allowed to work during that time. All the parishes in the deanery of Langenzenn had to contribute to their cost of living with a special levy.

We can see this from the accounts of the church of St. Lawrence in Oberasbach dated 1741, whereby the church wardens were obliged to pay three *Gulden* 14 *Kreuzer* to the deanery in Langenzenn. [43]

The baptisms of Jews in Wilhermsdorf are well documented by Wibel in his history of that town. The official baptism witnesses came in many instances from the sovereign’s immediate family and relatives.

“[...] in the year of the Lord 1700, on the 20th of August, a local Jew and his four children were baptized after having received the prescribed religious instructions and after their public confession of their faith. He was named Philipp Ludwig Gotthold. His godfather was Prince Philipp, Count of the Palatinate.”

Most attention received the baptism of a former rabbi from Fürth on July 10, 1701. He took the name Philipp Ernst Christfels, most likely after his godfather Count Philipp of Hohenlohe. He was appointed to a high rank in the count's financial administration and according to his writings he tried to entice his fellow Jews to convert.

His wife, however, seemed to have stayed faithful to the religion of her forefathers. She hid their son from her husband, but was eventually denounced by a fellow Jew. The child was taken away and was baptized on September 4, 1703.

The following Jews were baptized in Wilhermsdorf:

1700	August 20	A Jew from Wilhermsdorf with his four children
1701	July 10	A rabbi from Fürth
1701		A Jew from Oberzenn
1702	August 30	A Jewish boy from Fürth
1703	September 4	The rabbi's boy from Fürth hidden by his mother
1709	May 1	A 22 year old Jew from Wallerstein
1711	February 6	An old Jew from Poland
1718	January 12	A Jewess from Gochsheim
1725	July 19	A boy 1 ½ years old who was offered by his Jewish mother from Fürth to be baptized

In 1741 the Cabinet Council in Ansbach refused to give permission to a Jew from Osterode to be baptized because of his immoral lifestyle.

About one of the most spectacular baptisms in Langenzenn we are informed in all details by the exchange of letters by dean Söhner, who was mentioned earlier, and the church administrators in Ansbach. The letters are to be found in the Jewish files of the town archives of Langenzenn. [44]

On October 23, 1710 three allegedly Dutch Jews from Amsterdam aged 37, 31 and 25, appeared. They couldn't speak Dutch, but spoke only Italian. The two older ones understood some German and interpreted for the younger one. They pretended that they were captured by a Maltese knight when they tried to return to Amsterdam from Tunis nine years ago on a Turkish ship and were only released seven months ago after the Jews from "Toscano" paid a ransom of 260 gold pieces per person.

In Langenzenn dean Söhner reported,

"they had come to him and after a sincere appeal to God they had shown a serious intention to leave the damned superstitious Judaism and to embrace the Christian faith, willing to abide it until the end of their lives, particularly when they were convinced in their conscience by the heavenly enlightenment, about the already transpired fulfilment of all prophecies, that Messiah has arrived already and he is nobody else, but our redeemer and liberator Jesus

Christ and therefore they fervently prayed to help them with diligent education and soon by holy baptism join the bond of mercy and in order to be included in the community of the Christian church.”

These are Söhner’s enthusiastic words in his letter to the consistory. The protocol set up by the dean regarding the questioning of the three young men is in contrast with the more factual wording, although in the formulation of the questions, the suggestive nature is noticeable, which was fed to the aspirants, to which they only had to answer with a yes, but which did not originate with them. How far they were actually able to follow Söhner’s spiritual deliberations depended on their knowledge of German, which was very little.

It turned out, all their testimonies were equal in contents and form, inasmuch as one of them had a dream in Baiersdorf and for this reason decided to become a Christian. The others were ready to follow him. Oddly, it seemed they did not try to carry out their conversion in Baiersdorf. Instead they went to Fürth to be baptized there. However, they stated that according to a request to a local priest in Fürth, they couldn’t get baptized there because only recently three Jews had been baptized in Nuremberg.

They also explained to Söhner, that they were *”almost naked and bare and did not have the smallest means to stay alive.”*

Consequently, Söhner informed the consistory, that the church in Langenzenn, could not provide adequate help from its own means for the support and the necessities of the converts, because the cash position of the hospital in Langenzenn, which was the largest money lender in the area is, *”partly because of this year’s essential constructions, partly because of granting big loans to Cadolzburg, was financially so weak, that even smallest amounts of funds were not available.”*

Söhner pleaded then, that perhaps the consistory might permit the money to be taken from the Langenzenn charity office for the poor and to persuade the officials and well-to-do persons in the deanship to help with contributions from the church’s petty cash for the upkeep of the converted.

One could assume that the consistory was happy with the saving of the souls of the three Jews. Instead they proposed to supply the converts with a *“Viaticum”*, meaning travel money and shunt them to a big trading town. There they could convert to Christianity. But if they insisted to be baptized right away, *”they should be told that they could expect only little money and they should at once be instructed in the most important articles of faith and baptized.”* This letter was sent out on October 30, 1710.

But indeed, one has the impression that Söhner wanted to go ahead and carry out the baptism of the Jews in spite of the objections from the consistory. However, the candidates for baptism

were not so stupid to recognize, that because of their lack of knowledge of German, their religious instructions would be extended over the whole winter, which meant they could spend the cold winter in Langenzenn.

When the consistory proposed they should change their faith in a larger trading city, Hamburg or Frankfurt was named by the three as a destination (why not Amsterdam from where they originated?), hence, because probably the consistory did not really believe the whole matter and hoped, that in a larger trading city with connections to Holland, better possibilities existed to check their circumstances, as was the case in Langenzenn. In the archived files not one word is found which points to Söhner regarding this matter, that he, by means of his knowledge of Hebrew verified that the converts were really Jews. Hence, the suspicion arose, that not everything was done properly. It strikes me that the three men themselves obviously disliked to contact the large Jewish communities of Baiersdorf and Fürth, and the Jewish community of Langenzenn which would have been liable to help their brethren. In all probability Söhner did not even contact his colleagues from the ministry in Fürth and Nuremberg to find out why the baptism did not take place. The reason given by the converts, that the quota for baptism was already filled was not convincing. One has the impression that Söhner really did not want to know any of the details.

This resulted in a collection in the communities of the deanship. Eventually the 25 (!) baptismal godfathers reached into their pockets. It was now possible with the help of these funds to maintain and lodge the candidates for baptism from the end of October 1710 to February 1711. The *Margravian* office took care of the cost of new clothing prior to the act of baptism. The still existing account reveals how a citizen of Langenzenn was dressed at this time and the cost of the whole outfit. The cost was *56 Reichstaler, 58 Kreuzer*.

The baptism took place on Sunday, February 16, 1711. Söhner himself reported to the consistory: It took a long time to cram into the candidates for baptism answers to a few questions, which because of insufficient knowledge of German were questions, normally asked children. The questions were the simplest religious basic principles as asked six-year-old school children. The dubious nature of this baptism of the Jews can be seen with this. It took three months for the candidates for baptism to advance in their achievement to the minimum demands of the Lutheran catechism. They came up with answers that were cursory. We have no knowledge if they understood the significance of these questions and what was drilled into them as answers.

With their baptism they also received new first and family names:

Johann Georg Conrad Lorenz, Jacob Julius Ernst Joachim and Sebastian Michael Andreas

Sixtus. They also received a change of clothes. Two converts moved away, contrary to known converts who stayed on, learned a trade and got married. Nothing is known about the travel destination of these converts. The youngest, Sixtus, remained in Langenzenn and married there.

Zirndorf's wedding register of 1746 and the baptism book of 1745 informs us about a baptism of a Jew:

“June 15, 1746. Johann Christian Gottlieb, prospective farmer [in Zirndorf married] Margaretha Barbara Kirchbergerin, daughter of Joseph Kirchberger, former master baker in Ammerndorf, whose only single daughter was wedded before me this day June 15. Nota Bene this is the same Gottlieb, who in the year 1745 converted from Judaism to our Christian Evangelic religion and after previous six months' instruction by me Prodecano Dies 21 Trinitatis November 3, was baptized in the local church.”

It can be seen from the baptism register, that the Jew Isaak Sarchon born and brought up in Zirndorf, 36 years old and single, after being instructed for five months by the pro-dean and after a sermon *“before the altar made a public statement of faith in front of many congregants before being baptized.”* He received the name Johann Christian Gottlieb.

During a Christian baptism one godfather was enough. It should be noted, however, the actual great number of godfathers during the baptism of a Jew. A connection was that during the time the convert was instructed, the godfathers looked after his livelihood. Gottlieb had six godfathers: The chaplain of Zirndorf, a merchant by the name of Johann Michael Hick, Nuremberg, Johann Georg Hoffmann, tenant of the brewery in Zirndorf, Johann Leonhard Leybold, innkeeper in Kleinreuth, Georg Friedrich Eckert, miller at the Förster mill on the Rednitz in Fürth, and Johann Conrad Siebenkäs, miller in Leichendorf. [45]

9. Synagogues

Three community synagogues belonging to the Jewish communities were situated in the area of today's district of Fürth; one each for Zirndorf, Langenzenn and Wilhermsdorf. We are better informed about the synagogue in Zirndorf. About the other two only few details are available.

The precondition to build a synagogue was the prayer assembly of ten men over 13 years old, who had had their Bar Mitzvah, which made them full and valid members of the Jewish community.

Zirndorf

The first evidence of a synagogue dates from January 19, 1683:

“By the grace of God Johann Friedrich Margrave of Brandenburg [...] our gracious greet-

ings to our strong and dear subjects. We received obedient references, that the Jewry in Zirndorf plans to build a synagogue and accordingly the questioning by our parish priest Caspar Cammerer, already on September 30 of the last year rendered the report demanded. It is our emphatic wish, that our Christian church and school should not suffer any loss or hindrance and with graciousness we allow that the aforesaid Jewry will build a synagogue in the place which you reported by paying a yearly fee of one Taler to our church administration, which should not affect the usual yearly liability. So, now you have our gracious resolution to offer it to the Jews and you will have to attend to all of this.

Ansbach, January 19, 1683

Johann Friedrich, Margrave” [46]

It was noted on December 18, 1808, that in the property tax register of Zirndorf, one of the holdings and real estate descriptions demanded by the Bavarian authorities for the creation of an original land register and real estate tax listing “*village area Zirndorf, house number 148, the synagogue of the Jews is massively built of stone, pays a real estate tax of one Gulden 30 Kreuzer.*” [47]

This building, especially the synagogue hall was renovated during the years 1862 - 1864. We learn this from statements, which also list the contributions of other Jewish communities for this project. Today the original is in the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. It cannot be determined from the statement what measures were taken for the renovation. [48]

This renovation could not have been the only one, because during an examination of the synagogue, eleven layers of paint came to light in the synagogue hall. Around the two story high windows and especially around the Torah shrine, which was set into the east wall, had in the eighth paint layer, a layer of silver-green ornamental paint with a superimposed gleaming blue painted arch. The coffered ceiling above a hanging plasterboard, still existed during the last decade of the 20th century, and was then removed and preserved by the town of Zirndorf.

[49]



During an examination of the building, an Esther scroll was found under the floor boards of the attic. This Esther scroll is now in the Jewish Museum of Franconia in Fürth.

This synagogue was not burnt down during the pogrom night of November 9, 1938, however the interior furnishings were devastated and under pressure by the Nazi party the building was sold on November 29, 1938 to the town of Zirndorf for 200 Marks. The building stood empty until 1960, when it was converted into an ambulance station of the Bavarian Red Cross. [50] That was when the photograph showing the state of the building at that time was taken. As well, the building for the hearse of the Jewish community still existed at that time. The bricked in Star of David over the Torah shrine on the eastside and the high windows of the synagogue hall were still recognizable after modifications in 1960.



During the 1990s this building was changed again. A memorial plaque can be found on the westside with the following inscription: *“In memory of all Jewish citizens of Zirndorf that fell in World War I or who perished during the Nazi regime.”* Another plaque reminds of this building served as a synagogue until November 9, 1938. This plaque was unveiled on September 9, 1998.

Langenzenn

We do not know if a synagogue existed in Langenzenn before the Thirty Years’ War. The first account, from which we can determine the presence of a synagogue, is found in the Jewish files of the town archives in Langenzenn. *“Actum: Samuel Beer, a Jew from Prague, who at this time in 1670, together with the Jew, Herz, are writing the 5 books of Moses.”* [51]

Therefore, a synagogue must have existed in Langenzenn for which a Torah scroll was written. It is also possible that the synagogue belonged privately to Herz, which probably lowered the income of the synagogue of the community, as can be seen from an agreement in the year 1673, which ended a quarrel in the Jewish community. Therein is written:

“The shul [synagogue] should be in the house of the Jew Wolf, nobody should make a shul in his house, which would result in diminishing the Wolf shul. Whereas the Jew Wolf was, because of a threatened penalty, willing to make the shul, which was in his house available to other local Jews for their prayers.” [52]

It is to be assumed that this synagogue was destroyed during the town fire in 1720, which also ravaged Judengasse. In 1808 there was mention of a synagogue on Judengasse, which today is Rosenstraße 8. It had a mikwah (ritual bath) in the cellar. The synagogue room was situated left of the hallway on the east side of the house and had Gothic arch windows decorated with ornamental work located on the courtyard side.



The Jewish community in Langenzenn was small and apparently could not afford a rabbi. The files only talk of a cantor and teacher and as it appears from correspondences, the district rabbi of Fürth was responsible for Langenzenn, because in 1829 the rabbi asked the town authorities of Langenzenn to support the head of the community in collecting fines from members of the Jewish community. These fines were from members who entered the synagogue without head coverings, which according to the synagogue laws of the Kingdom of Bavaria

called for a monetary fine. [53]

A decree by the heads of the community on August 13 stated: *“Rabbi Wambacher of Wilhermsdorf should receive a remuneration of 26 Gulden when he holds services in our shul.”*

[54]

Due to a strong migration to Nuremberg and Fürth during the first decade of the 20th century, the Jewish community of Langenzenn was dissolving. There is a mention in a statistical survey, that in 1907 the community of Langenzenn was still under the direction of the district rabbi. In 1851, only 69 inhabitants were of Jewish faith in Langenzenn. We do not know when the Jewish community of Langenzenn sold the building with the synagogue and the rooms of the elementary school to a citizen of Langenzenn, because the deeds for the cadastral register of 1934 are not available anymore. The sale could not have happened before 1907. In the meantime, there were many changes made to the building. Only a sandstone plaque showing the year 1827 reminds of the synagogue. According to tradition the plaque was fastened to the door frame at the entrance to the mikwah. [55]



Wilhermsdorf

In 1742, Wibel's book about Wilhermsdorf points out that a synagogue existed already in the 15th century in this town. This building, like many other houses in the town, was destroyed during the Thirty Years' War. It was pointed out that in 1727 the Jewish community built another synagogue. This synagogue was dismantled during the spring of 1893. The inauguration of the new synagogue took place on August 25, 1893. [56]



This building still stands today. Before “*Kristallnacht*” on November 9, 1938, the Nazi party forced the last members of the Jewish community of Wilhermsdorf to sell the synagogue on October 22, 1938 to the municipality of Wilhermsdorf for 2,000 Reichsmark (RM). The local authorities in turn resold the synagogue and the adjacent school. The new owner built another ceiling in the room of the synagogue and converted the building to a warehouse. When the author measured the building in 1986 in order to reconstruct the plan, fragments of coloured windowpanes were still visible.



10. The Jewish cemetery in Wilhermsdorf

Only the Jewish cemetery in Wilhermsdorf remains as a reminder that the Jewish inhabitants of this place were for many centuries neighbours of the Christian population. According to

Wibel's description, this burial ground seems to have existed in 1452. The oldest gravestone described by Wibel was still in place in 1842. Today, the oldest gravestone in existence shows the date of 1690.

During 1863, a site for expansion was given free of charge by the municipality of Wilhermsdorf to the Jewish community. The site was located north of the old cemetery. In 1871 the Jewish community counted 172 persons as its members. The last burial took place on April 8, 1936. [57]



Since 1607, the dead of the communities of Zirndorf and Langenzenn were buried in the old Jewish cemetery in Fürth. It is not known where the dead from Zirndorf and Langenzenn were buried before then. However, there is an area in the north of Langenzenn with the name

“*Judenkirchhof*” (Jewish cemetery), which points to the fact that a Jewish cemetery could have existed there, but this is not certain.

11. The Jewish printing office in Wilhermsdorf

In 1669, Isaac Jüdel from Prague received permission to open a Jewish printing office in Wilhermsdorf. Wibel mentions in his history of Wilhermsdorf besides Jüdel, also Itzach bar Jehuda and Israel ben Meir as printers. He also speaks of several printing houses, which since 1670 operated in Wilhermsdorf. He presents a partial, non complete list of works printed in Wilhermsdorf, the last one from the year 1693, all dealt with religious scriptures. From 1712 Hirsch ben Chaim carried on the interrupted tradition until the year 1739, when the Wilhermsdorf printing house ceased operation. Wibel writes about this: “*Anno 1739, the present Jewish printing-shop ceased completely, because the book printer Hirsch and his son who lived here since 1712 moved to Fürth.*” [58]

12. From Jews under protection to German citizens

By the dismembering of territories since the Middle Ages, the population of Central Franconia was subjected to a bewildering diversity of administrative and statutory prescriptions. This also applied to Jews under protection in Langenzenn, Zirndorf and Wilhermsdorf. Since 1794 the Prussian laws of the land were applied to the people of Langenzenn and Zirndorf, which a few years later also became binding for the inhabitants of Wilhermsdorf, when the independent state of Wilhermsdorf was subjected to Prussian rule.

After the incorporation of the Prussian principality of Ansbach to Bavaria by the Schönbrunn agreement of December 15, 1805, the legal situation of the Jews there was not clear. They were still considered as Jews under protection.

On June 10, 1813 after the unification of the laws in Bavaria Count Montgelas enacted the edict regulating “*The situation of the Jewish co-religionist in Bavaria*” in order to achieve clarity. [59]

In it the Jews were assured complete freedom of conscience (Paragraph 23) and like the Christians were granted “*the pursuit of enterprises, factories, trades and crafts*”, enabling them as Jewish masters to instruct Christian apprentices (paragraph 18). They were also permitted to engage in money exchange, wholesale and retail trades as long as their accounting was done in German (paragraph 19). They could be admitted to all schools of higher learning, but all this could not delude them. On the whole the positive items of this edict brought no improvement of the situation for the Jews in our region, but rather a deterioration.

What should one think of a law, which was so blurred and in-concise, that from 1813 to 1839, 273 ministerial resolutions and explanations had to be added in order to define the law more precisely, because the Bavarian administration could not bring itself to carry out the necessary amendment of this law.

The tendency was clear-cut. It is stated in paragraph 12: *“The number of Jewish families in the municipalities where they now are residing may in principle not be increased, instead there should be a decrease if the number becomes too large.”* But who was to decide what was to be understood as too large? The state and the community administrations, not the law! Permanent residency and the right of residency depended on the Bavarian citizenship, which was acquired by birth and by the registration in the *“Judenmatrikel”* (register of Jewish inhabitants). This replaced the previous issuance of letters of protection. Jews had to swear a citizen’s oath and had to make the promise to give up the peddling business. *“Jews, who are established in agriculture, crafts and manufacturing”* did not have to pay protection money. This residency permit was only granted when a *“Matrikelnummer”* (register number) became available, e.g. when a family died out. The deciding factor was that the municipal council had the right to determine the approval of the allocation of a vacant register number, which with marriages from outside of the community led to harassing difficulties. Jews achieved Bavarian citizenship, but only as second-class citizens. They had to sue the municipalities in court if they wanted to marry into a family, which was listed in the register or for example to take over the business of a sick or incapacitated father-in-law.

The first condition for residency was marriage: At first a marriage contract had to be made, only then an application for residency could be filed. In practice it looked like this: The *“Jewish co-religionist”* Hajum Moses Krauss served from 1813 - 1815 as a soldier in the 4th company of the 17th National Field Battalion in the fortress of Forchheim and had received from his officers an excellent commendation. Subsequently, he joined the National Guard Third Class, also known as the Territorial Army. He made an application on February 28, 1817 to settle in Zirndorf, where he wanted to marry the daughter of Salomon Joseph Basch and to open a textile business. Marriage contract and discharge papers from the army were available. The bride was to bring 475 *Gulden* into the marriage, which corresponded to three times the yearly income of a tradesman. He himself had assets of 1,500 *Gulden*. The municipality of Zirndorf agreed to grant him residency.

As he did not receive an answer by October 9, 1817 for his application of residency, he renewed his application on November 10, 1817. The district court answered him and told him to be patient until a vacancy occurs. His appeal from November 14, 1817 was not answered by

the authorities. A new appeal dated January 26, 1818 was still not answered by March 25, 1818. On April 23, 1818 a further appeal was made to the Bavarian administration. On August 17, 1818 the government of Central Franconia informed him, if he were able to find a co-religionist, who is willing to give up his register number, the government has no objection to grant him residency, which will be considered as an exception, because he served in the army. Krauss answered on November 19, 1818, that a member of the Jewish community of Zirndorf ceded his "*Matrikelstelle*" (register number). On January 27, 1819 the government of Central Franconia permitted the transfer, the inscription in the register, and also the opening of a store and the marriage. [60]

In order to give Jews the same rights and duties as the other citizens of the German federation, a first attempt was made in 1848 to change this unworthy situation. This came as a result of the revolution and the Frankfurt National Assembly. The majority of the citizens of Langenzenn did not agree with this, as can be seen from a report by the county judge in Cadolzburg, issued on December 29, 1849. Above all, magistrates and community representatives, who were chosen according to the Community Edict of 1818, were selected from the "wealthy class". They had to worry about when in the future, one or another wealthy Jew entered this privileged class. The riots against the Jewish inhabitants, which occurred during March 1848 were clandestinely welcomed by the dignitaries. They remained in the background but sent the "lower class" forward, which was incited by a household servant and carpenter with threatening pamphlets against the Jews.

During further attacks in May 1848, threats of murder were used against the Jews of Langenzenn, which neither the magistrate nor "respectable citizens" condemned. As came out later, inhabitants of Langenzenn, including members of the upper class, which were accused by Jews, were the instigators. Obviously they wanted to use their newly achieved political freedom to also get rid of their debts.

Only after the government of Central Franconia threatened to send the armed forces to Langenzenn did the assaults diminish from day to day. Foreseeable billeting orders for the army were another convincing argument: The person who had to provide the billet had to look after the soldiers. Past experience showed, that the officers and other ranks assigned to the billets had no qualms to make demands. The instigators realized right away what this would mean for their pocket books and the result was that they called off their goons at once. [61]

With the collapse of the revolution, the laws about equality of rights for Jews disappeared and the discriminatory paragraphs 12 and 13 of the edicts of June 10, 1813 remained in force. They were repealed on November 10, 1861.

With this, the citizens of Jewish faith in Bavaria were made equal to other citizens. They were now Bavarian citizens with full rights. On July 22, 1913 the German national parliament declared: All citizens of the federal states are now citizens of the German Empire.

The abolition of the restrictions of residency led to a migration from the Jewish communities of the district of Fürth to the nearby towns of Fürth and Nuremberg.

Wilhermsdorf

1812 226 Inhabitants of the Jewish faith

1857 218

1871 172

1906 81

1925 47

1932 35

The same development can be observed for Langenzenn and Zirndorf.

The Jewish community in Langenzenn dissolved after 1907 and sold its synagogue.

Equal rights ...

In spite of the migration there were many social activities taking place and several brotherhoods were legalized as associations in Wilhermsdorf.

1862 Association status for the holy brotherhood for caring for the sick, funeral escorts, washing of the dead, burial and aid for the bereaved

1869 Association status for the brotherhood to aid poor travelling Jews

1892 Association status for the congregation to support sick people, which was like a health insurance

There were also social clubs, like the "*lottery association Good Luck*", which was a organisation to gamble with tickets of the Bavarian state lotteries. [62]

... Equal responsibilities

Like all young men from the district of Fürth, those from the Jewish communities in Wilhermsdorf, Langenzenn and Zirndorf as German citizens of Jewish faith had to serve in the Royal Bavarian Army. Several of them acquired military ranks. In August 1914, seven Jewish men from Wilhermsdorf went to war for Germany. One of them fell 1915 in France. Others were wounded. Also Jews from Zirndorf participated in the First World War as German sol-

diers. Up until now, their names have not been researched.

Max Neuburger from Wilhermsdorf

January 10, 1910	One year volunteer with the 7 th Bavarian Infantry regiment
April 7, 1911	Promoted to lance corporal
November 30, 1911	Released to the reserves
May 30, 1913	Promoted sergeant of the reserves
August 8, 1914	Went into the field with the 7 th Infantry Regiment

- Bavarian silver military service cross with swords for valour against the enemy, conferred by King Ludwig III.
- Medal of honour to commemorate the golden wedding of the royal couple February 20, 1918.
- Diploma of honour for exemplary performance of duty, May 19, 1918.
- Decoration of honour for wounded soldiers. Max Neuburger was wounded on August 17, 1918.
- Iron Cross 2nd class for valour against the enemy, awarded by Kaiser Wilhelm II on August 1, 1918.
- Decoration of honour conferred by President von Hindenburg 1934 for veterans of World War 1. [63]

Some 20 years later: “I had (no) comrade”

In 1935, caused by the Nazi party the names of Jewish veterans of the war were painted over on a memorial plaque. At the suggestion of the author, the municipality of Wilhermsdorf removed the paint covering the names, so that brave German soldiers of Jewish faith received their names back. At that time this act was carried out just like the manner of “damnatio memoriae” in ancient Rome, where the names of enemies of the state were removed from memorials in order to erase their remembrance. This was about men from Wilhermsdorf, who had served their fatherland loyally, which after 1933 did not mean a thing. Despite his medals and decorations of honour, Max Neuburger was brought to an extermination camp near Lublin in 1942. He disappeared without a trace.

13. The commercial side

During the 17th, 18th and well into the 19th century, Jewish traders and peddlers from Wilhermsdorf, Langenzenn and Zirndorf had carried out an important function to supply the rural

population with goods. This occurred in the villages around Wilhermsdorf, in the area of the “*Oberamt*” Cadolzburg and later for the district of Fürth. The population could not buy these goods locally because of the long distances to the larger cities. At the same time Jews traded in hops and agricultural products, jewellery, rings, watches, and especially with white goods, such as linen, sewing and dry goods. Until 1938, the live stock trade was largely in their hands. They were also active in capital procurements, but after the creation of savings banks in the district of Fürth, this type of business was taken over by these institutions.

During the second half of the 19th century a new aspect was added. Three firms established by German citizens of Jewish faith became the largest employers in the district.

The brush factory Michelsohn and Keiner

This firm was located in Wilhermsdorf and in 1927 employed 130 workers. Their high quality products were not only sold in Germany, but also in Europe and overseas. [64]

The bronze factory Eiermann and Tabor

This firm was located in Fürth at the corner of Hirschenstraße and Marienstraße, but moved a great part of its production late in the 19th century to its factory in Neumühle on the Rednitz, which belonged to the community of Oberasbach and employed some 150 people.

On February 20, 1873, the firm acquired a part of an industrial plant on the Rednitz, which was during the next decades enlarged through additional purchases. This led to an energy supply problem for the machines, since the firm shared the limited amount of water of the Rednitz with the mirror factory Büchenbacher. The water wheels with an efficiency of 35 % were too weak to drive the 192 bronze stomping mills. A steam engine was installed in 1903. Soon the firm became a leading bronze producer in Germany. This is highlighted by the great number of awards, which they received at international exhibitions, proudly featured on their letterheads. They had branches in Italy, London, Paris and New York. [65]

Max Eiermann, who was conferred the title of Commercial Councillor by Prince regent Luitpold of Bavaria, established a fire brigade in the Neumühle plant and schooled his personnel in first aid. The firm also had its own health and accident insurance and a pension fund, which Max Eiermann established with his own funds and kept up with grants from his private assets. With this the factory workers were able to receive apart from the legal pension also a factory pension. This didn't exist with firms regularly. Max Eiermann also established an own savings bank for the workers of his factory.

The firm Michelsohn and Keiner, as well the firm Eiermann and Tabor were “aryanised” in

1934, this meant that the Jewish owners were expropriated by force. This also happened to the owners of the mirror factory Jacob Büchenbacher, the third largest employer in the area of the district of Fürth. In the case of the mirror factory Büchenbacher, this unlawful action of the Nazi party is documented step by step in the files of the Nuremberg trials. [66]

The mirror factory Büchenbacher or how to aryanise a firm

The head office of the firm Büchenbacher was in Fürth, but the production facilities were in the plant at Neumühle on the Rednitz, in the area of the district of Fürth.

January 19, 1872 Jacob Büchenbacher buys a glass polishing and grinding plant in Neumühle for 33,000 *Gulden*.

April 29, 1931 The firm Büchenbacher concluded a contract with the association of German mirror manufacturers in Cologne and assumed an obligation, that as of January 1, 1932 no glass would be produced or processed. This was an internal industry settlement due to the bad economic conditions stemming from the Depression. The remaining 50 employees from a former work force of more than 100 were shed by December 31, 1931.

At that time the plant consisted of a residence, the office, the grinding plant, a machine house with a steam engine, a boiler house with the chimney, the facet grinding mill and a sand deposit, the polishing plant with the turbine house, the gypsum kiln, a coal storage, a gypsum storage, washrooms, and toilets, the factory yard and a dam for the turbine, which was built in 1920 together with the firm Eiermann and Tabor. The assessed value was set at RM 70,700. But the market value was set at RM 100,000, because of the rights of water utilization. After the shut down, the value diminished somewhat, since no maintenance was carried out to the equipment and buildings. The owner of the shut down plant was the Büchenbacher family, whose right of disposal was forcibly taken away in 1934 by the Nazis.

February 26, 1938 The plant, which was placed under the administration of two liquidators, was sold to *Süddeutsche Lebensmittel Werke* for RM 100,000, which was a fair market value.

December 5, 1938 The regional deputy head of the Nazi party, Karl Holz, charged with the “*de-Jewification of property in the district of Franconia*” arranged the following: During the night of December 5 to 6, he got a notary from Fürth from his bed, took him to the *Bergbräu* inn and had the notary issue an amendment to the sales contract from February 26, 1938,

to reduce the selling price for the glass factory Büchenbacher from RM 100,000 to RM 10,000. This was plainly unlawful, but nobody dared to contradict him. At the same time he forced the consent from the liquidators to pay the original balance of the selling price, which was RM 90,000 to the leadership office of the Nazi district (*Gauleitung*).

The liquidators were able to negotiate the amount of RM 80,000, thereby saving RM 10,000 for the settlement of the firm.

December 6, 1938 The liquidators remitted RM 80,000 to a special account of the leadership office of the Nazi district of Franconia. Thereupon the Nazi district office paid RM 10,000 into a blocked account of the Büchenbacher family. The owners being Jewish, they had no access to this account.

RM 70,000 remained in a special account of the Nazi district office and the greater part found its way as a “commission” into the pockets of Nazi district leader (Gauleiter) Julius Streicher and his cohorts.

According to an investigative report by the Nazi party, it was means like this, which enabled Streicher to siphon off RM 12 - 15 million from the state coffers designated for the exploitation of Jews and put it in his own pockets. For the conditions at that time, this was an enormous amount: A labourer then earned RM 120 - 150 a month and a clerk RM 220. Streicher used these embezzled funds to upgrade his estates.

When Hitler found out, he dismissed him and banished him to his estate at Pleikershof. He was allowed to keep the money, because Hitler prevented the prosecution from investigating this matter. He wanted to avoid the degradation of the image of the Nazi party in the eyes of the population. Nevertheless, the particulars trickled through and travelled by word of mouth as rumour.

14. “I bring you work and bread”

When in 1925 the Nazi party appeared in the district of Fürth, the smaller Jewish communities, which still existed in Wilhermsdorf and Zirndorf, were open to increased Jew baiting by the self appointed “*Franconian leader*” Julius Streicher and his filthy tabloid “*Der Stürmer*”. But in spite of all that, the Nazis exerted only a limited influence on the political bodies. Only 581 voters out of 14,469, which is 4 %, voted in the parliamentary election on May 20, 1928 for Hitler’s party in the district of Fürth. [67]

On October 25, 1929 the stock market crashed in New York. By 1931 the resulting global economic crisis reached the rural areas of the district of Fürth. The unemployment rate was

rising rapidly. Affected were the brickwork firms, the construction industry with their supply of craftsmen in Zirndorf and Wilhermsdorf as well as commuters, who went to work daily in the conglomeration of Nuremberg-Fürth, many of whom were laid off because of the bad economic situation. They received unemployment assistance. Once their benefits ran out, they became a burden on their community. The communities had to come up with one fifth of the national crisis assistance, which the unemployed were drawing after their main assistance was discontinued. Once they were disqualified, they became welfare recipients of the communities. At that time a family with two children received reduced social assistance of RM 50 per month. They had to live on that and all expenses, such as rent and fuel for the winter had to come from this. In comparison a kilogram of bread at that time cost 32 Pfennig. [68]

Whoever had saved a little had to dig into his reserves. The withdrawals from saving banks in the area of Fürth exceeded the yearly balance to such an extent that the cash drain was in a minus position by 1932. [69]

Agriculture also was pulled into this crisis. It was an election tactics of all the parties in the national parliament to protect agriculture against cheaper foreign competition by levying multi-year import duties. As food prices fell on the world market because of the economic crisis, it became impossible for the German government to keep up the protection for farmers, due to the steadily rising expenses for the unemployed. Therefore in 1932 only 68 % of the sales revenue of 1928 was achieved. Many found it impossible to pay back the loans, which were granted since 1926 and now had been called. [70]

Many thought of Hitler as saviour from their hardship, as he promised “work and bread”. With this, his foray on the rural electorate in the district of Fürth started. This was shown very clearly in the election results in 1932.

As Hitler ran for the office of President of Germany in 1932, his Austrian citizenship - Hitler was not a German but an Austrian by birth - was quickly changed to German. On March 13, 1932 he was able to garner 55.16 % of all votes on the first ballot in the district of Fürth against the incumbent Paul von Hindenburg. [71] In the second ballot on April 10, 1932, which was necessary, as no candidate - there were several - had received 50 percent, 64.43 % of the population in the district of Fürth voted for Hitler as president of Germany. This was an election based on personalities. In regular elections, other points of view were taken into account rather than what occurred in an election based on personalities. So Hindenburg became president again, but in other elections the Nazi party was successful. [72]

- Bavarian state election April 24, 1932: 56.64 % of the electorate voted for Hitler’s party in the district of Fürth.

- National parliamentary election July 31, 1932: 60.21 % of the electorate voted for Hitler's party in the district of Fürth. As no government could be established, another ballot had to take place on November 6, 1932.
- National parliamentary election November 6, 1932: 54.44 % of the electorate voted for Hitler's party in the district of Fürth.

The gain of the Nazi party was charged to the debit of the farmers' representation "*German peasantry*", which during the national parliamentary election on September 14, 1930 garnered 4,699 votes out of 15,650 in the district of Fürth. However, during the national parliamentary election of November 6, 1932 the Bavarian farmer and middle class party, the United Farmer - German Peasantry, a collective movement of the farmers only managed to get 15 votes out of 16,860 in the district! [76]

There was much agitation against the Jews before the elections, which means against German citizens of the Jewish faith. Hitler blamed the democratically elected government and the Jews for the crisis. He accused them of intentionally and deliberately destroying Germany and labelled them "*November criminals*". This was in reference to their pretended instigation of the revolution in November 1918 which according to his thinking caused the defeat of Germany in the First World War. This was an outright misrepresentation of the facts because on October 3, 1918, the Commander-in-chief, von Hindenburg, demanded in a letter to the imperial chancellor to commence armistice negotiations at once, because there was no hope to force a peace agreement on the enemy. It was not the revolution which caused the defeat, but the defeat caused the November revolution! Hitler disavowed this in his propaganda for in his eyes, the German army was stabbed in the back in the moment of victory by the "*November criminals*".

In addition, he labelled the politicians of the German parties as accomplices of the French and also supporters of the beneficiary countries which received German reparation payments of the lost war 1914 - 1918, even though the end of the reparation indemnification was achieved by the German government through negotiations on June 16, 1932.

One example of hate mongering against Jews is seen in the following newspaper advertisement published on November 6, 1932 in the district of Fürth just prior to the national parliamentary election:

"Do you know that the economic program of chancellor von Papen was established after discussing it with the Jew Jakob Goldschmidt?"

Do you know that Jakob Goldschmidt was the president of the failed Danat Bank, which was propped up by the public purse?"

Do you know that Jakob Goldschmidt at that time supported the Social Democratic newspaper ‘Vorwärts’ with RM 80,000?

Do you know that von Papen was a member of the board of directors in the firm of the Social Democratic Party member Barmat?

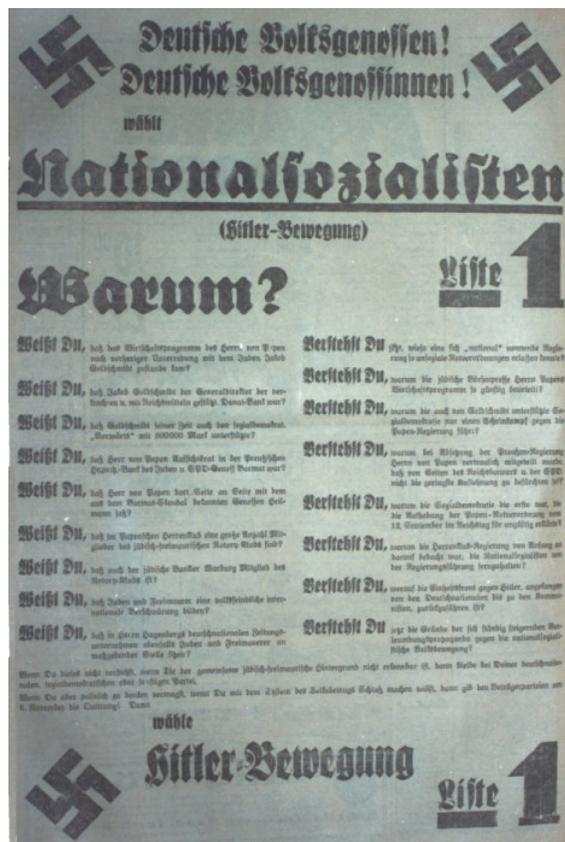
Do you know that von Papen sat next to comrade Heilmann who was known from the Barmat scandal?

Do you know that in von Papen’s circle of acquaintances, a great many are members of the Jewish free mason Rotary Club?

Do you know that the Jewish banker Warburg is a member of the Rotary Club?

Do you know that Jews and free masons are working towards an international conspiracy against our people?

Do you know that in Hugenberg’s German National newspapers, Jews and free masons are holding important positions?” [77]



On January 30, 1933, Hitler eventually became German chancellor.

In the last free national parliamentary election of democratic Germany on March 5, 1933, the Nazi party did not obtain an absolute majority, but with the help of the former adversary, the “*Deutschnationale Volkspartei*” (National German People’s Party), was able to form a gov-

ernment.

In the district of Fürth, 69.36 % of the electorate had voted for Hitler's party.

Like everywhere else in Franconia, one could observe the following:

Where a closed Evangelic population of peasants, labourers and tradesmen existed, the Nazi party received an above average number of votes.

The smaller the community was, the more the electors voted for the Nazis, whereas in Catholic regions most of the population disliked to vote for Hitler. They elected the deputies of the "Zentrum", a Catholic party, which was in opposition to the Nazis. [78]

Article 2 of the law enacted to obtain the absolute authority of power ("Ermächtigungsgesetz") for Hitler's coalition on March 24, 1932, stated that "*the national laws enacted by the national government may deviate from the constitution.*" Hitler was now able to achieve what he has been preaching for many years, which previously nobody believed: To rule against the constitution, against rights and the law and human rights. His first victims were dissenters, critics of his regime, democrats, journalists who would not be silenced, trade unionists and German citizens of the Jewish faith. This he had announced in 1924 to the readers of his book "Mein Kampf", where he then said, "*My opinion is, that once a German National Court will have to sentence some ten thousands of these November criminals, responsible for Germany's defeat, and to put them to death.*" Now he had his opponents executed without a legal verdict! And what did he announce in all the newspapers now? "*Hitler is ready to bring order, but not with a parliamentary solution.*" With this kind of order, as he understood it, the beginning of the sufferings for the small Jewish country communities of Wilhermsdorf and Zirndorf took effect. [79]

15. Fled - expelled - deported - murdered: The extermination of the rural Jewish communities in the district of Fürth

Wilhermsdorf

February 28, 1933 Hitler's new legislation stated: The basic rights of the national constitution are for the time being suspended. "*Restriction of personal freedom, the right of free expression of opinion, including freedom of the press, the right to form associations and intrusion into to the secrecy of letter, mail, telegraph and long distance telephone, ordering searches and confiscation of homes and restriction of property outside of given legal limitations are permissible.*" This law of exception was never abolished. It was the foundation of Hitler's tyranny.

- March 24, 1933 The laws enacted by the national government may differ from the constitution.
- March 28, 1933 Hitler became honorary citizen of Wilhermsdorf.
- April 1, 1933 Boycott of stores owned by citizens of Jewish faith in Wilhermsdorf. Armed Nazi sentries prevent access to the stores.
- May 9, 1933 The participation of Germans of Jewish faith at Christian burials in Wilhermsdorf is not desired.
- August 23, 1933 The Nazi party brought pressure to bear on house and domestic workers in Wilhermsdorf to cease working for Germans of the Jewish faith.
- April 30, 1934 Ban on access to the cattle markets in Wilhermsdorf for Germans of the Jewish faith. This ban had to be repealed, because the Nazi administration was unable to build their own livestock trade organization.
- September 19, 1935 Denial of citizenship for Germans of the Jewish faith. The names of seven of them, who were war veterans and amongst them the name of a soldier killed in action, which were inscribed on a memorial plaque were painted over with black paint.
- 1938 Businesses and firms belonging to Germans of the Jewish faith in Wilhermsdorf were forced to be handed over to non-Jews. The amounts paid by the purchaser had to be deposited in a blocked account, which was in the name of the former owner, but he could not withdraw any money.
- September 1938 In Wilhermsdorf, hooded youths forced their way into the homes of Germans of the Jewish faith, demolished the furniture and beat up the occupants.
- October 22, 1938 The head of the Jewish community in Wilhermsdorf was forced to sell the school at Hauptstraße 3 and the synagogue at Hauptstraße 1 for RM 2,000 to the municipality, which were then resold to private citizens.
- 1938 In 1932, 32 Germans of the Jewish faith still lived in Wilhermsdorf. By 1938, 23 of them left the town, in which their ancestors had lived since 1451. A further seven left in 1938.
- December 1938 The last Jewish couple left Wilhermsdorf. Thereupon, the local unit of the Nazi party erected signs at the town entrances proclaiming: "This town is free of Jews." [80]

The Victims

The fate of the Germans of Jewish faith from Wilhermsdorf has not been researched in detail. Some managed to escape abroad. We know about two women who were deported to a concentration camp in Riga in 1941. A veteran of World War 1, who served in the 7th Bavarian infantry regiment and was wounded on the western front, was sent in 1942 from Nuremberg to an extermination camp near Lublin. They all were German citizens of Jewish faith who had never done anything wrong and served their country loyally. [81]

Zirndorf

Since 1933 the Jewish community suffered the same breaches of justice and tribulations as in Wilhermsdorf. When Hitler was proclaimed an honorary citizen of Zirndorf in 1933 some 64 Germans of Jewish faith were still living in the town. Twenty-four of them managed to emigrate in 1938, amongst them men, who in 1934 were decorated with the cross of honour endowed by president von Hindenburg. On the evening of the national pogrom of November 9, 1938, some 26 Germans of Jewish faith still lived in Zirndorf. By using threats, the local administration demanded that they leave the town. After the Nazi militia had demolished the synagogue on November 9, 1938, some 17 Germans of Jewish faith moved away from Zirndorf. The last five Germans of Jewish faith fled to Fürth on December 1938. In his official report for 1938 the provincial president of Central Franconia reported: "*Zirndorf is now free of Jews.*" The research into the fate of the victims is incomplete. [82]

And the synagogue?

These documents are evidence of the injustice committed during the Third Reich.

After the removal of Nazi district leader Julius Streicher, the bill of sale for the synagogue in Zirndorf was annulled on November 29, 1938. The town of Zirndorf had to pay RM 1,800 in addition to the original selling price of RM 200 RM. The recipient was the secret police, *Ge-stapo*.

16. Bibliography

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- Mahr 5 Mahr Helmut, Die Synagoge in Wilhermsdorf, Aufmessung und bautechnische Analyse, Nachrichten für den jüdischen Bürger Fürths, Fürth 1986
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- Mahr 7 Mahr Helmut, Was findet sich in den Judenakten des Stadtarchivs Langenzenn? Nachrichten für den jüdischen Bürger Fürths, Fürth 1988

- Mahr 8 Mahr Helmut, Soziale Lage und frühe Sparkassengründungen im Bezirksamt Fürth des 19. Jahrhunderts, Fürth 1989
- Mahr 9 Mahr Helmut, Das Edikt vom 10. Juni 1813 und seine Anwendung für die Niederlassung von Juden in den Landgerichten Cadolzburg und Fürth, Teil I, Nachrichten für den jüdischen Bürger Fürths, Fürth 1989
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- PFAOAS Pfarrarchiv St. Lorenz Oberasbach
- PFAZDF Pfarrarchiv St. Rochus Zirndorf
- Rundschau Allgemeine Rundschau für Nürnberg-Zirndorf Generalanzeiger für Nordbayern, Zeitungsarchiv Druckerei Bollmann, Zirndorf
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- STAL Stadtarchiv Langenzenn, Judenakten, Judenschutz Nr. 166, Nr. 167
- STAN Staatsarchiv Nürnberg
- Wibel Wibel Johann Christian, Historische Beschreibung von Wilhermsdorff, Nürnberg 1742

17. Footnotes

- 1 Wibel p. 120 ff.
- 2 Müller p. 92, see also Haenle p. 20
- 3 Haenle p. 228 no. 33
- 4 Müller p. 93
- 5 STAL *Margravia*l Edict dated February 22, 1666 in order to prevent the Jews from “*ohne von Uns verlangte gnädige Erlaubnis ihren Abzug nehmen.*” (“*leaving without our graceful consent*”). See also Mahr 7 no. 2 and STAL *Margravia*l edict of June 3, 1667 regarding Jews who intend to move away. In 1668 a “*protection member*” from Langenzenn bought a letter of protection in the free state of Wilhermsdorf regardless of this regulation.
- 6 Haenle p. 21 ff.
- 7 STAL July 20, 1608 as well Mahr 7 no. 1 “*Hochfürstliches Generalaus-schreiben und Verordnung, worinnen die Abtreibung aller Juden zwar befohlen, aber nach der Hand wieder placidirt worden*” (“*Princely or-der to expel all Jews which had been revoked*”) 1608 - 1609
- 8 STAL July 11, 1609 (see footnote 7)
- 9 Müller p. 96
- 10 STAN Reichsstadt Nürnberg Karten und Pläne 1418 “*Wahrer Geometrischer Grundriß oder Wallensteins Lager*” (map of Wallenstein’s camp, so called “*Trexelplan*”)
- 11 STAL Date on seal illegible, October 1704
- 12 STAL Handwritten April 12, 1649
- 13 STAL July 21, 1673
- 14 STAL April 3, 1695
- 15 STAL April 5, 1681
- 16 STAL November 12, 1691
- 17 ST AL October 7, 1709
- 18 STAL Printed circular letter 1726
- 19 STAL Printed circular letter dated May 15, 1728
- 20 STAL Decree dated January 2, 1733. See also Historischer Verein für Mit-telfranken, 94. Jahrbuch 1988/89, Josef Maier, Anmerkungen und Quel-len zur Baugeschichte des Ansbacher Schlosses

- 21 STAL Edict dated March 20, 1737
- 22 STAL Mahr 7 Nr. 17 “*Acta [...], daß jeder Jud jährlich 2 Pfund Bettfedern und 1 Pfund Staubfedern liefern soll, so aber wieder aufgehoben worden*” (records re the delivery of feathers by the Jews) 1664 - 1679
- 23 STAL Mahr 7 no. 3 “*Generalaussschreibung die Er- und Verkaufung roher Häute betreffend*” (order regarding the trade with raw skins) 1684. See also Haenle p. 116 ff.
- 24 STAL Demand letter dated November 1, 1686
- 25 STAL Mahr 7 no. 19 mandate of November 22, 1689 “*bezüglich des Handels mit Tabakblättern vom 1. Februar bis 1. September 1689*”. Jews were buying tobacco for the tobacco factory in Schwabach. The intend of the mandate was to check whether they didn’t overcharge the factory and underpay the farmers.
- 26 STAL Circular letter dated September 3, 1691
- 27 STAL Circular letter dated May 25, 1715. On September 14, 1708 a warning had been issued in this regard. It doesn’t appear that it was obeyed.
- 28 See footnote 5, dated February 22, 1666
- 29 Mahr 8 p. 41 ff.
- 30 Mahr 11 See also STAN Rep. 212/71 B. A. Fürth no. 59, including a description of the community dated May 31, 1811
- 31 STAN See footnote 30
- 32 STAL Petition 1723. See also Mahr 7 no. 29 “*Acta [...], die Anzahl und Beschaffenheit der allhier befindlichen Schutzjuden betreffend*” (records re the number and characteristics of the local protected Jews) 1678 - 1735
- 33 STAL See footnote 32
- 34 Mahr 8 p. 40 ff., about the economic situation of the Jewish master weaver Hajum Thalheimer, also p. 50 ff. and STAL 1857
- 35 STAL See footnote 32, also Mahr 7 no. 21 “*Ipha, Juden allhier, geschehenes Bitten, daß ihm in einem Christenhaus dahier wohnen zu dürfen erlaubt werden möge*” (the local Jew Ipha’s request to move into a Christian house) 1707
- 36 STAL Construction request dated October 17, 1709 with plan. The demander writes that he lives in a very small one storey house, and that there is no

- worse one in the entire town of Langenzenn.
- 37 Boltzen p. 124 "*Sectio IX Juden-Eyd*" (Jews oath)
- 38 STAL November 5, 1697
- 39 See footnote 5
- 40 STAL February 21, 1711
- 41 See footnote 21, in which the decree dated February 21, 1711 was inserted.
- 42 STAL Mahr 7 no. 27 "*Acta der Ausführung derer toten Judenkörper [...] und wie sich deswegen zu verhalten betr. Verordnung, occasione des Juden Hajum Begräbnis*" (Records re the handling of the export - sic - of dead Jewish bodies on the occasion of Jew Hajum's funeral) 1722. According to Mrs. Gisela Blume it was Moses, son of Hajum, died on Friday, January 30, 1722, buried in Fürth on Sunday, February 1, 1722.
- 43 PFAOAS St. Lawrence "*Gotteshausrechnung*" (parochial bill) 1741
- 44 STAL "*Acta der Bekehrung dreier Juden*" (records re the conversion of three Jews) 1710/11
- 45 PFA ZDF Baptism register 1722 - 1756, marriage register 1746/22
- 46 STAN Rentamt Cadolzburg Rep. 225/4 no. 82 folio 257/R
- 47 STAN Katasterslekt der Steuergemeinde Zirndorf 1808 no. 1
- 48 Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Kirschstein Collection no. 102 "*Einnahmen / Ausgaben der isr. Cultusverwaltung Zirndorf*", (accounting book of the Jewish community Zirndorf) and no. 104 "*Synagogenumbau*" (modification of the synagogue) 1862 - 1864
- 49 Peter Wolf, Restaurator, Ehem. Synagoge Zirndorf, Dokumentation zur Befunduntersuchung vom 27.01.1984, Bayer. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Munich, construction record synagogue in Zirndorf
- 50 Notary files Zirndorf November 29, 1938 with friendly assistance from Mr. Herbert Spies and his project group of the elementary school in Zirndorf
- 51 STAL See also Mahr 7 no. 15 1670
- 52 STAL See also Mahr 7 no. 16 "*Acta eines unter der hiesigen Judenschaft entstandenen Streits wegen ihres Schulhaltens und wie solcher entschieden worden*" (records re a quarrel among the local Jewry about the liturgy and its settlement) 1673

- 53 STAL Letter dated November 20, 1829
- 54 STAL Letter and protocol dated August 13, 1859
- 55 BLASTAT Die Verhältnisse der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinden in Bayern nach dem Stand des Jahres 1907 ZS. no. 42 (1910), p. 448 ff.; see also Schwierz, p. 164 (some information is not correct) and BLASTAT ZS 1938, p. 447 Die Glaubensjuden in Bayern (June 16, 1933). According to Mrs. Blume, four Germans of the Jewish faith, born in Langenzenn, were deported from Fürth to various places in 1942:
Max Früh, born 1893 in Langenzenn
Julius Früh, born 1876 in Langenzenn
Michael Früh, born 1887 in Langenzenn
Sophie Groß, nee Früh, born 1900 in Langenzenn
- 56 Dürr Synagoge, p. 187 ff. See also Mahr 5
- 57 See footnote 56
- 58 Wibel p. 126 f.
- 59 Döllinger Israeliten VI 1-225, Das Edikt vom 10. Juni 1813 V 1-7
- 60 Mahr 10 See also STAN Judenakten 1812 "*Die Juden im Landgericht Nürnberg betreffend*" (records re the Jews in the rural district of Nuremberg), Reg. v. Mittelfranken Abg. 1932 no. 79 Tit. II. no. 34 ff. Information about the birth of Krauss' daughter on July 26, 1818 provided by Mrs Blume, Zirndorf
- 61 Kroner Die Revolution, p. 37 ff.
- 62 Dürr See footnote 56
- 63 HSTA Abt. IV Kriegsstammrollen 917
- 64 Dürr p. 203
- 65 Mahr 12 See also STAN Rep 212/7 II Abgabe 1962 no. 1529 Bronzefabrik Neumühle, and HSTA Abt. IV MKr 9219, 9220, 9221 Exerzierplatz Hainberg
- 66 STAN International Military Tribunal (IMT) XXVIII
- 67 BLASTAT ZS no. 60, p. 437 Reichstagswahl 20.5.1928. See also Rundschau of May 21, 1928
- 68 Mahr 12 p. 187 ff. Weltwirtschaftskrise
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- 71 BLASTAT Reichspräsidentenwahlen 13. März 1932, 10. April 1932 ZS no. 64, p. 207. See also Rundschau of March 14, 1932 and April 11, 1932
- 72 See footnote 70
- 73 BLASTAT Landtagswahl in Bayern 24. April 1932 ZS no. 64, p. 357. See also Rundschau of April 25, 1932
- 74 BLASTAT Reichstagswahl 31. Juli 1932 ZS no. 64, p. 425. See also Rundschau of August 1, 1932
- 75 BLASTAT Reichstagswahl 6. November 1932 ZS no. 65, p. 62. See also Rundschau of November 7, 1932
- 76 results evaluated by the author
- 77 Rundschau November 5, 1932
- 78 Falter p. 163 Ortsgröße und Nationalsozialismus, p. 169 Konfession und NSDAP-Wahl
- 79 Rundschau of November 24, 1932
- 80 Dürr p. 270 ff.
- 81 According to research by Mrs. Gisela Blume, Zirndorf, in 1942 eight German Jews born in Wilhermsdorf were deported from Fürth to various destinations:
 Leopold Neu, born 1876 in Wilhermsdorf
 Frieda Früh, nee Neuburger, born 1887 in Wilhermsdorf
 Babette Lehmann, nee Neuhöfer, born 1864 in Wilhermsdorf
 Babette Michelsohn, nee Cohn, born 1850 in Wilhermsdorf
 Max Michelsohn, nee 1875 in Wilhermsdorf
 Betty Sämann, nee Neu, born 1904 in Wilhermsdorf
 Werner Sämann, born 1928 in Wilhermsdorf
 Frieda Wolf, nee Schönfeld, born 1893 in Wilhermsdorf
- 82 According to research by Mrs. Gisela Blume several Jews from Zirndorf were deported from Fürth in 1942 to various destinations:
 Jakob Gönninger, Chasan, his wife and several daughters, among them his daughter Susanne born in 1930
 Hannchen Jochsberger, nee Mainstein, born 1882 in Zirndorf
 Ricka Michelsohn, nee Mainstein, born 1881 in Zirndorf
 Siegfried Weinstein, born 1885 in Zirndorf

His wife Lina Weinstein, nee Steinberger, born 1891 in Colmberg

Their daughter Adelheit, born in Zirndorf

Josef Weinstein, brother of Siegfried Weinstein, born 1893 in Zirndorf

His wife Hilde Weinstein, nee Neuhöfer, born 1897 in Wilhermsdorf

Their daughter Anni, born 1924 in Wilhermsdorf

All members of the Weinstein family were deported to Riga and killed

Babette Hahn, born 1923 in Zirndorf

Hedwig Mainstein, nee Rieser, born 1890 in Zirndorf

Hermann Mainstein, born 1882 in Zirndorf

Isidor Sturm, born 1863 in Zirndorf

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