

תולדות משפחת

ESKEL

אסקל-אשכנז



לזכר

אמי אולגה אסקלס
שנפטרה בילדותי

אבי אוטו יוסף אסקלס
שהחל מחקר זה בשנת 1930

וד"ר פאולה אסקלס
שהיתה לי אם שנייה

PART VII

הַקְדָּמָה

PREFACE - HEBREW VERSION

בני משפחת אשכולות היקרים,

בשנת 1988 הגשתי לכם את החלק הראשון של תולדות משפחת אשכולות-אסקלס. כיום, כעבור כמעט 8 שנים, אני יכול להגיש את העבודה הגמורה - גמורה לשעה זו בלבד, כי בנושא זה אין לעולם סוף ושלמות: דורות הולכים ובאים, נולדים ומתים, מתחתנים וגם מתגרשים לפעמים, ומהלכים את מקום מגוריהם. לכן, בכוונתי לשלוח מדי פעם נוספת שתכלול את השינויים שחלו בינתיים.

מחקר זה, בו התחלתי לפני כעשר שנים מכיל, לפי מיטב ידיעתי, את כל הנתונים שבנמצא. מתחילת עבודתי החלטתי שלא לעסוק רק באבות אבותי הישירים, אלא לנסות ולגלות כל דבר הקשור במשפחת אשכולות-אסקלס לכל דורותיה.

אם הצלחתי במידת מה, היה הדבר בזכות בני משפחתנו הענפה, אשר סייעו בידי בהתלהבות וביעילות, בזכות מר האראלד פריילינג מפרנקפורט/מיין, גרמניה אשר, יחד עם תלמידיו מבית הספר התיכון בקלסטרבך (Kelsterbach), ערך מחקר יסודי על יהודי קלסטרבך ובתוכם משפחת אסקלס, ובמיוחד בזכות מר פאול י. יעקובי מירושלים, אשר הנחה אותי בעבודתי והעמיד לרשותי את המחקר שערך על המשפחה. תודתי העמוקה נתונה לכולם.

בעית השפה

לאחר לבטים ארוכים החלטתי לערוך את הספר ולהוציאו לאור בשפה האנגלית; רק הקדמה זו והחלק ההיסטורי, שנכתב ע"י רותי איתן, מופיעים בעברית. הסיבה פשוטה למדי: רבים מבני המשפחה חיים באמריקה, מקצתם באירופה וכולם דוברים אנגלית. גם מרבית בני המשפחה החיים בארץ קוראים ומבינים אנגלית. הוצאה לאור של הספר בשתי גרסאות, אנגלית ועברית, היתה כרוכה בהוצאות אדירות שאין להן כיסוי, ולכן אפשרות זו ירדה מהפרק.

כיצד נוצר הספר?

לפני למעלה מששים שנה התחיל אבי המנוח, אוטו אסקלס, לקבץ נתונים ראשונים ומיסמכים אודות המשפחה. אולם, הוא לא המשיך בנושא זה לאחר שנת 1935 והשאיר רק פרטים מעטים. כאשר החלטתי להמשיך במה שהתחיל אבי, עלה בידי לאסוף מידע רב על הדורות שחיו לאחר שנת 1700, אך כל התקופה הקודמת נותרה בבחינת נעלם. לעזרתי בא מר פאול י. יעקובי, אשר ערך מחקר יסודי על המשפחות לב - אסקלס, ואשר העמיד לרשותי את מחקרו זה. בראיון להודות למר יעקובי מקרב לב בשם כל בני משפחת אשכולות-אסקלס ובשמי.

לפי מיטב ידיעתי, כל הנתונים הכלולים בספר זה נכונים וקיים תיעוד לגבי מרביתם, פרט ל-Yikhus-Letter, המתבסס בחלקו על התנ"ך ובחלקו על מסורת שהועברה בעל פה מדור לדור ואשר, כמובן, מוטלת בספק רב בבחינה היסטורית.

חלקי הספר

- היסטוריה של יהודי אשכנז**
פרק זה נכתב, על פי הזמנתי, בידי רותי איתן מאוניברסיטת חיפה, כדי לאפשר את הבנת הרקע ההיסטורי של הספר ואת השפעת המאורעות וההתפתחויות ההיסטוריות על תולדות המשפחה.
- לוחות יחוסין**
הלוחות כוללים את כל המידע המעודכן שבנמצא לגבי כל ענף (Line) של המשפחה. המידע על הענף הראשי (Main Line) עד שנת 1700 בערך, נתקבל ברובו ממר פאול י. יעקובי, ואילו המידע המאוחר יותר, לאחר התפצלות המשפחה לענפיה השונים, נאסף בעמל רב מבני המשפחה, עיריות, מוסד 'יד ושם' ומרכז האיתור של הצלב האדום.
- תולדות חיים (ביוגרפיות)**
עשיתי מאמצים רבים כדי לאסוף מידע על בני המשפחה החיים ועל הדורות שהלכו לעולמם. למרות מאמצי, מידע זה אינו שלם מסיבות אלה:
לגבי רבים מאבות אבותינו קיים רק מידע מצומצם ביותר ונאלצתי להסתפק במה שמצאתי. סיבה נוספת היא שלא כל בני המשפחה החיים שלחו לי מידע מלא על עצמם ועל ילדיהם.
לא ניסיתי לסגן את הסיפורים השונים או לתת להם צורה אחידה. אני מקווה שדווקא הסיגנונות השונים יתרמו ליצירת תמונה צבעונית של משפחת אסקלס.
- בתי קברות**
בניגוד לבתי קברות נוצריים, שבהם הקברים מתחילים לעיתים קרובות כעבור מספר עשורים, בתי הקברות היהודיים קיימים לעד - עד לתחיית המתים. קברים רבים של בני משפחת אסקלס נשתמרו במשך כל העתים, למרות המשטר הנאצי וההפצצות במלחמות העולם, והם שמורים במצב טוב. מן הראוי שדורנו, והדורות שיבואו אחריו, יכירו ציוני דרך אלה, ופרק זה יאפשר להם לבקר את קברי אבותיהם ואבות אבותיהם.

5. משפחת לב - אסקלס לרורותיה

בן המשפחה הראשון, הידוע לנו, הוא ר' בצלאל בן יעקב (לב), שחי במאה הארבע עשרה בוורמס, גרמניה, עיר שהיתה בתקופה זו מרכז מפורסם של חיים יהודיים. במשך כ-300 שנה נמנו על אכות אבותינו רכנים מפורסמים, ושמותיהם קשורים בוורמס, אלזאס, בוהמיה, פראג, ווינה ופוזנן, שהיו מרכזים חשובים של לימודי תורה. בסוף המאה השבע עשרה התישבה המשפחה בווינה, ומבאן ואילך התפצלה לשלושה ענפים:

- הענף 'הגרמני', שאליו משתייכים כל בני המשפחה הקיימים, הגיע מווינה דרך פירט (Fürth) לקלסטרבך (Kelsterbach), בלומר כל הענפים הכלולים בתולדות המשפחה, פרט לענפים 2 ו-12.
- הענף 'האוסטרי', ענף 2, הענף העשיר, המפורסם והמתועד ביותר, שנטבל כולו לנצרות; בדור האחרון לא נולדו בו צאצאים ממין זכר ולכן אינו קיים יותר כענף של המשפחה.
- הענף 'הפולני', ענף 12, שעליו יש לנו רק מידע מצומצם ביותר ואשר הוכחד כולו בשואה.

ההתפתחויות בחיי היהודים

בעבר, המשפחה והדת היו מעוון של היהודי. הוא עבד קשה כדי לפרנס את משפחתו, חייו היו נתונים בסכנה מתמדת, והוא רדתו היו נושא לבוז מצד העולם הסובב. כל היופי והכבוד של היהודים בעבר נתגלמו בדתם ובמשפחתם.

במאה ה-19, לאחר שהמהפכה הצרפתית הביאה לעולם רעיונות חדשים, החלה האמנציפציה של היהודים כאירופה. כתוצאה מכך החל תהליך איטי ורב תהפוכות, ואפשרויות חדשות נפתחו בפני היהודים. הם התחילו לגלות תחומי פעילות אינטלקטואליים, חברתיים ומקצועיים חדשים מחוץ לעולמם המסורתי. תהליך זה הפחית, כמובן, את חשיבותם של שני הגורמים העיקריים בחיי היהודים - דת ומשפחה. רבים לא יכלו עוד להשלים עם המסורת הדתית המקובלת וביקשו צורות ותוכן שונים להיותם יהודים. התנועה הרפורמית, הציונות וטכילה לנצרות הן בין תוצאותיה של התפתחות זו.

גם היחסים בתוך המשפחה לא נשארו כפי שהיו. אם, לדוגמה, במחצית הראשונה של המאה התשע-עשרה חיו מרבית בני 'הענף הגרמני' (ענף 1) בקלסטרבך כשבת מלוכד, הרי בסוף המאה לא נותר שם אף אחד. המרחקים הגדולים בין מקומות מגוריהם, והקשיים שהיו קיימים מלפני מאה שנים ועד למלחמת העולם השנייה בתחבורה ובתקשורת הבינלאומית והבין-יבשתית וכמו-כן, תהליך החשיפה לעולם הסובב, צימצמו את מערכת היחסים המשפחתיים וניתקו למעשה את הקשר בין חלקי המשפחה שחיו ביבשות שונות.

השואה שינתה תפישות והשקפות רבות אצל היהודים שנותרו לאחריה. גברה חשיבות המשמעות של היותך יהודי ושל חיים יהודיים. המשפחות היו מצומצמות יותר ובחלקן הוכחדו כליל. המשפחה המאוחדת היתה שוב למרכז חשוב של החיים. מי שנותרו בין החיים חיפשו את מי שנותרו בין החיים וכולם, ביחד, התאבלו על הנספים.

בישראל למדנו שוב לדעת את שמחת המשפחה הגדולה. אחת ההפתעות המרגשות והמעוררות ביותר עבורי היתה התגלית של משפחה גדולה ומאושרת בארז"ב, המקיימת יחסים הדוקים בין בני המשפחה. אני מקווה שספר זה ואמצעי התקשורת והתחבורה המודרניים יתרמו להידוק הקשרים בין כל בני המשפחה.

בני משפחה יהודים ולא-יהודים

בעבר היתה קיימת זהות מוחלטת בין הדת היהודית והעם היהודי. טכילה לנצרות גרמה לא רק להינתקות מהעם היהודי אלא גם לניתוק מוחלט מהמשפחה. גם למומר לא היה עוד עניין בעבר. אך הזמנים והתפיסות השתנו. אין בכוונתי לדרון בספר זה בשאלה האם היהדות היא דת או עם, או שניהם כאחד, ומה צריכה להיות מערכת היחסים ביניהם. יהודים בכל רחבי העולם, אשר לא יכלו עוד לנהוג על פי המסורת האורתודוקסית, פיתחו תכנים וצורות חיים אחרים כדי להמשיך ולחיות כיהודים - הקהילות הרפורמיות והקונסרבטיביות, מצד אחד, הממשיכות להיות דתיות, ומדינת ישראל, מצד שני, שבה יהודים חילוניים ודתיים כאחד יכולים לחיות כיהודים. למדנו לקבל שייתבנו פירושים - דתיים וחילוניים - שונים למושג היהדות. בישראל, חלק מהאוכלוסיה אינו מגדיר עצמו כיהודי על פי הדת, אך גאה להיות בעל לאומיות יהודית.

קיים מרחק רב בין הגישה האישית לתופעת הטכילה לנצרות לבין הגישה הלאומית. כיהודים, יהודים רבים - פרט לאורתודוקסים - יקבלו נוצרים כידידים ואפילו כבני משפחה. המבחן החשוב והיחיד יהיה לגביהם אופיו ותבונותיו של האיש. אולם, מנקודת ראות לאומית, אין אנו יכולים להיות אדישים לעובדה שהמעבר לנצרות וכמו-כן, הרבה נישואי תערובת, מובילים לעזיבת הקהילה היהודית. כיהודים, ובעיקר לאחר השואה שבה ניספו ששה מיליון יהודים, אנו חרדים לעתיד עמנו ולבנו דואב על כל אדם העוזב אותנו.

אך עלינו להשלים עם העובדה שהיו מקרים, ובודאי יהיו עוד מקרים בעתיד, שבהם בני המשפחה יעברו, מסיבות אישיות, לנצרות. למרות הצער שבלבנו והבעיות העוללות להיווצר לכל המעורבים, עלינו להצהיר בצורה חד-משמעית שהמשפחה נשארת משפחה וכל אחד מבניה שייך אליה ויקר לה.

מקור השם ESKELES

קיימות שלוש גירסאות באשר למקור השם Eskeles:

- גירסה אחת אומרת שהשם Eskeles הוא המילה העברית אשכולות, כאשר היא מבטאת במבטא אשכנזי; 'איש האשכולות' הוא אדם חכם ומלומד.
- גירסה שנייה, שבה דוגל מר יעקובי, מסבירה שר' גבריאל בן יהודה לב, בן המשפחה הראשון שאימץ את השם Eskeles, נשא לאישה את בתו של הרב המפורסם ר' השל מקראקוב. על פי מר יעקובי, הוא הוסיף את השם Heshel לשמו באות כבוד לחמו, והשם השל התפתח מ-Heshel's דרך Heskels ו-Eskels ל-Eskeles.
- גירסה שלישית ניתנת ע"י Encyclopedia Judaica, המסבירה שר' גבריאל היה רב באולקוש ושהשם Eskeles התפתח מאולקוש, אלקש ל-Eskeles.

קשה להחליט היום איזו משלוש הגירסות היא הנכונה. דעתי האישית היא שהתפתחות השם מ-Heshel's או מ-Olkusz ל-Eskeles, תוך זמן קצר ביותר בחייו של ר' גבריאל, אינה יכולה להיות מוסברת אלא ברצונו של ר' גבריאל להוסיף לשמו שם של כבוד, התואם את מעמדו ואת שאיפותיו.

יהיה ההסבר אשר יהיה, בני משפחת אסקלס החיים בישראל החליטו עוד לפני 60 שנה לחזור לשם אשכולות.

הערות מתודיות

מאתר וקיבלתי חלק גדול מהנתונים הכלולים בספר מאת מר פאול י. יעקובי, החלטתי לאמץ את שיטתו לסיווג ולמיספור הדורות. השיטה מתבססת על 'דורות מוחלטים' (absolute generations), באורך של 75 שנה כ"א ובעלי מספרים הולכים ויורדים, בהפרשים של 30 שנה מרור לדור. שיטה זו בוודאי אינה מושלמת וגם אינה מוסכמת על כל בעלי המקצוע בתחום הזה, אך היא ברורה ומאפשרת לעמוד על המשכיות הדורות. במציאות, אורך החיים אינו תמיד 75 שנה, כך שהיה לפעמים צורך בהתאמות ובידלוגי על דור אחד.

מיספור השמות

אמנם השמות חוזרים על עצמם תכופות בדורות השונים, כי נהוג היה לקרוא את הנכד על שם סבו המנוח, אך בספר יש לכל שם מספר, שאינו חוזר על עצמו. המספר מורכב משני חלקים:

— החלק הראשון מציין את מספר הדור.

— החלק השני (אחרי הנקודה) הוא המספר הסידורי של השם במסגרת הדור שלו.

לדוגמה: Gabriel Eskeles 8.1 הוא מספר 1 בדור 8, ואין לטעות בינו לבין Gabriel Eskeles 12.1, Gabriel Eskeles 10.2 או Gabriel Eskeles 6.2, השייכים לדורות 12, 10 ו-6.

חיפה, דצמבר 1995
זאב אשכולות

PART VI

רקע היסטורי לתולדות יהודי גרמניה

מאת רוזי איתן

SHORT HISTORY OF THE JESWS IN ASHKENAZ

ראשית הישוב היהודי באשכנז - המינוח העברי לשטחי מערב גרמניה - והחל מהמאה השמינית, מושג זה כולל את כל גרמניה. לאחר גירוש יהודי אנגליה, בשנת 1291 וגירוש יהודי צרפת, בשנת 1306, הכוונה היא לכל יהודי מערב אירופה. החל מסוף ימי הביניים מתייחסים לאשכנז כאל המקום שבו ריכזו את שפת האידיש (Jiddisch). עדויות על קיום קהילה יהודית בקלן (Köln) שעל גדות נהר הריין מצויות כבר החל מן המאה הרביעית לספירה. הקהילה התנהלה באותו אופן בו התנהלה הקהילה היהודית בשלהי העת העתיקה. היו בה בעלי תפקידים במסגרת מאורגנת, שהיתה מקובלת על כל חברי הקהילה. עד למאה השישית לספירה, אין בידינו עדויות מוצקות על רציפות קהילתית. ידוע, אמנם, כי היו קהילות יהודיות בממלכת הפרנקים (Franken), אולם הכוונה היא לשבטים ממוצא גרמני, אשר כבשו מידי הרומים את גליה במאה החמישית. לימים הפך שטח זה לצרפת. אחרי הפרנקים שלטו באזור הקרולינגים. ראשי הקהילות ניהלו ויכוחים תיאולוגיים על פירושי התלמוד עם אנשי דת נוצריים והיו נושא, כמו יתר אנשי הקהילה, לרדיפות ולנרדמים.

הקיסרות הקרולינגית (Karolingen), הנקראת על שמו של קארל (Karl) הגדול, השתרעה על השטח שבין נהרות המאס (Maas) והמוזל (Mosel), בין השנים 751-1012. בתקופה זו פחת הלחץ הדתי על היהודים. הם לקחו חלק בהתפתחות המסחר, וביניהם כמו מספר סוחרים עשירים. בתקופת שלטונו של לואי החסיד (Ludwig der Fromme, 2-ה-840-778) בנו של קארל הגדול, שנקרא גם Charlemagne (814-747) ניתנו ליהודים זכויות יתר, שהגדירו את מעמדם הכלכלי והמשפטי, וכן את חובותיהם למלכות. בתחילה ניתנו הזכויות לבודדים ולאחר מכן, לקהילות שלמות. כתבי זכויות אלה, שהיו בבחינת מתת חסר ליהודים, נוסחו על ידי האחרונים בעצמם. התפתחותן של קהילות הסוחרים היהודיות נמשכו בהתמדה גם במאות התשיעית והעשירית. יהודים הגיעו לאשכנז מאיטליה, ספרד וארצות האיסלם. זה השלב, בו התהווה הבסיס לישוב היהודי באשכנז.

מצבם הכלכלי של יהודי אשכנז

היהודים הראשונים שהגיעו לריין במאה הרביעית לספירה היו סוחרים בקנה מידה בינלאומי. הם קישרו בין אירופה של ימי הביניים לבין ארצות המזרח. את עיקר המשא והמתן המסחרי ניהלו עם האצילים הפרנקים. הסחורות העיקריות שנסחרו היו עבדים, בגדים, אריגים ואספקה לצבאות האצילים.

וורמס (Worms)

האגדה מספרת שחיילים יהודיים, ששירתו בליגיונות הרומיים בגרמניה, התישבו בוורמס מוקדם מאוד. עדויות הסטוריות מוצקות מעידות על התישבות יהודית במקום בסוף המאה העשירית. הקהילה צמחה במהלך המאה ה-11, ותעודות הסטוריות מעידות על כך שהעיר שימשה מקום מעבר לסוחרים יהודיים מאיטליה, אשר העבירו סחורות לוורדן (Verdun) שבצרפת.

החל מן המאה ה-11 הצטיינה העיר בבתי מדרשה, מהם יצאה תורה לקהילות היהודיות האחרות שעל נהר הריין. בשנת 1034 הוקם בה בית הכנסת הראשון. בשנים 7-1076 הוקם בית הקברות היהודי. בית קברות זה, שהוא העתיק ביותר באירופה, שמור ופתוח למבקרים. בבית הכנסת לימד רש"י (רבנו שלמה בן יצחק, 1105-1040) תורה. בסביבות שנת 1090 נתן המלך ליהודי וורמס כתב זכויות, שהיה דומה בתוכנו לזה שניתן ליהודי הקהילה הסמוכה שפייר (Speyer). ליהודי וורמס ניתן היתר לנוע ללא הגבלה בכל רחבי הממלכה ולעסוק במסחר, מבלי שחוייבו בתשלום מסים והיטלים נוספים. הם הורשו לעסוק בחלפנות, לשכור משרתות ולהעסיק מיילדות. נאסר על כל נסיון להעביר בכוח על דתם את ילדי היהודים, ויהודי שהתנצר איבד את חלקו בירושת אביו. מספר משוררים מפורסמים כמו מקרב אנשי הקהילה, ביניהם יהודה ברוך, תלמידו של רבינו גרשם (להלן) בותב ההמנונים, יעקב איזק, ומוריו של רש"י כששהה בוורמס, יעקב יקר ואיזק אלעזר. תקופת העשייה הפוריה שובשה על ידי הרדיפות שהתחוללו נגד היהודים בעקבות מסע הצלב הראשון (1096).

מסעי הצלב

מסעי הצלב התקיימו בין המאות ה-11 וה-15. מטרתם היתה לשחרר את ירושלים מידי 'הכופרים' המוסלמים ששלטו בה באותה עת. היתה זו תוצאה של התגברות הקנאות הדתית הנוצרית בתחילת האלף הראשון לספירה, וציפיה שלא התממשה לתחייתו של ישו. על הצלבנים נימנו בעיקר פשוטי העם ואצילים חסרי ממון. עד להגעתם לארץ הקודש נהגו להרוג, לשדוד ולבזבז ביותר בעיירות ובכפרים, בהם התגוררו מי שנקראו בפיהם 'כופרים' וביניהם - גם היהודים. וורמס לא נמלטה מגורלן הדומה של אחיותיה שעל הריין, דרכן עברו הצלבנים. בהגיע השמועות הנוראות על אשר מעולל ליהודים ההמון המוסת העדיפו יהודי וורמס, לפחות בשלב הראשון, להסתגר בבתייהם. בתמימותם סמכו על עזרת שבניהם, ואף הפקידו בידיהם את ממונם ורכושם. תקוותיהם לא התגשמו. השכנים שמכבר הצטרפו להמונים נושאי הצלב, ויחד עם שאר הפורעים, ערכו טבח ראשון ביהודים ב-18 מאי 1096. שדידי הקהילה מצאו מקלט בארמון ההגמון. מקץ שבוע ימים הובהר כי ההגמון חסר כל יכולת ואמצעים להגן על היהודים. הארמון נכבש בידי הפורעים, ואילו היהודים שנותרו לפליטה נפלו בחרב או העדיפו למות על קידוש השם. המקורות יודעים לספר כי: "...היהודים שחטו איש את אחיו ואיש את קרובו ואשתו ובניו, וגם חתנים ארוסותיהם ונשים רחמניות את יחידיהן, וכולם קיבלו בלב שלם דין שמיים ובהשלמת נפשם לקונם היו צועקים 'שמע ישראל'... מספר מועט של יהודים הסכים להיטבל לנצרות. בסך הכל אבדו כ-800 נפש. מחזות דומים נישנו גם בשפיירא ובמגנצא (Mainz)".

החל ממסע הצלב הראשון הועמדו יהודים רבים במהלך הפרעות בפני הברירה: להתנצר או למות על קידוש השם. איריאל "קידוש השם" היה קיים משבבר הימים וגם בימי הביניים הפך לגורם מרכזי, בעת שלא באה ליהודים ישועה. היהודים העדיפו ברובם לשלוח יד בנפשם ולהרוג את יקיריהם, למען לא יפלו לידי הגויים. הם הרגישו במי שממלאים אחר צו עליון. מבלי שידעו את דוקטרינת הטרמיניזם, הם האמינו שהאלוהים הוא שיקום את דמם. היהודים חששו מפני המרת דת מאונס ומהטבלת ילדים רבים לנצרות. סיפורי קידוש השם נועדו לחזק את הדימוי העצמי, הגאווה וזקיפות הקומה של היהודי. בספרות התקופה, אין בל גינוי למי שהעדיפו המרת דת על פני מוות. החבמים, מצידם, דאגו למקרים בהם נלקחו בכוח הודאות מיהודים שהתנצרו, והם ביקשו להימנע מהפללה וסיבוגה של כל עדת בני ישראל.

היהודים ממסעי הצלב עד העת החדשה (המאה ה-15)

לאחר מסע הצלב הראשון הורע ביותר מצבם של היהודים. הקשר בין האזורים השונים באשכנז היה משובש ולא בטוח. קמו ליהודים מתחרים מארצות שונות, בעיקר מאיטליה. רבים ממקורות המסחר נחסמו בפניהם. הבנייה אל תוך העיר נמנעה מהם ואילו בגילדות - ארגוני מסחר הפתוחים בפני אומנים נוצריים בלבד - לא יכלו להיות חברים. אי לכך, היהודי נאלץ לתעל יותר ויותר את אפיקי עיסוקיו לביוון של הלוואה בריבית. הנוצרי פנה אל היהודי על מנת לקבל הלוואות לצרכי השקעה, תשלום חובות או מיסים. בידי היהודי היה ההון הדרוש וכמו-כן, הנסיון. בין מבקשי ההלוואות היו סוחרים, מנזרים, אבירים ונסיכים. היהודים נהגו לשמור על מקורות פרנסתם על ידי לקיחת שיעורי ריבית גבוהים, עובדה שלא הוסיפה בבור לדימויים. לצורך העמקת ריכוז ההון נהגו היהודים להקים שותפויות עם בני המשפחה המורחבת, וחרגו לעיתים אף מעבר לגבולות המדינה. מצרם נהגו הנוצרים לתת משכונות שונים כערבות, כגון תבשיטים, חפצים ובגדים משומשים. על מנת לשמור על הרבוע שמושכן אצלם היו היהודים לחייטים, צורפים ונפחים. בשלב מאוחר יותר החלו למכור בעצמם את מרבולתם.

ב-1097, כשנה לאחר הטבח, התיר הקיסר הגרמני הנרי ה-4 (Heinrich 4-1106-1050) ליהודים שהתנצרו לחזור לחיק היהדות. זמן קצר לאחר מכן שוב הוקמה קהילה קטנה בוורמס. ב-1112 חידש הקיסר הגרמני הנרי ה-5 (1125-1086) את מערכת הפריבילגיות שניתנה ליהודים עוד בימי אביו, הנרי ה-4. יהודי וורמס, בשאר יהודי גרמניה באותה העת, התמקדו מעתה בחלפנות בספים, ולא במסחר. בתקופת מסע הצלב השני (1146) למדו היהודים במקום את לקח אבותיהם ונמלטו מבעוד מועד למבצרים בסביבה, ושהו בהם עד יעבור זעם. עם שובם לעיר התרחבה אט-אט הקהילה היהודית.

במאה ה-13 קיבל ההגמון את השליטה על עניני היהודים. הוא הישווה חלק מחובותיהם לחובות הנוצרים (מדובר בעיקר בשיפוט הפלילי). המשמעות הנוספת שהיתה לשינוי עבור היהודים, היא שמעתה ואילך נאלצו להשליש לידיו מס נוסף ובתמורה לו - זכו להגנה. עם זאת, במקרה של התקפה על העיר, היו חייבים היהודים לקחת חלק פעיל בהגנה ואכן, כך היה בשעת המצור על וורמס ב-1201. מלומדי וורמס לקחו חלק בסינודים (בינוסים תיאולוגיים) רבניים, אשר התבססו בחבל הריין (Rheinland). כמו כן לקחו חלק בהכנת ההצעות לחוקים והסדרים שהיו אמורים לחול על 3 קהילות ש"מ (שפיירא, ורמייזא ומגנצא). לתקנות שהתקינו היתה השפעה מרחיקה לכת על כלל קהילות אשכנז. יהדות אשכנז, למדות קשריה עם קהילות יהודיות רחוקות, חיפשה תמיד דרכים עצמאיות להקמת הנהגה פנימית.

שני היסודות העיקריים אשר הינחו את הקהילות היו אישים גדולים ושיתוף חברי הקהילה בהנהגה. בכל כתבי הזכויות שקיבלו היהודים מאת השליטים, ניתנה להם הזכות לחיות על פי דיניהם. זכות זו הפכה את הנהגת הקהילה לישות בעלת לגיטימציה משפטית ומדינית. באותה תקופה נהוג היה להתאגר בתאגידים, שהיו אירגונים מקצועיים או משפטיים, בעלי ריבונות משפטית בתחומים מסוימים, ושפעלו ללא קשר ישיר עם השלטון המרכזי, שתיפקדו היה לקוי מאד. המבנה הקורפורטיבי הימי-ביניימי הקל על השליטים להתייחס אל היהודים כאל קבוצה נוספת, קורפורטיבית אף היא, המנהלת בעצמה את עניניה.

ככל שתכפו הפרעות ביהודים, וההגנה על שלומם הפיסי ועל רכושם הפכה להיות בעיה קיומית, עלה והתחזק מעמדם של השתדלנים. השתדלנות והדיפלומטיה היו דרושות ליהודים על מנת לקבל כתבי זכויות והגנה, וגם כדי לעשות שימוש נכון בכספים שיועדו למטרה זו. במאות ה-11 וה-12 התגבשה באיזור הריין הנהגה מרכזית, שהתבססה על כינוס ראשי הקהילות בעיר קלן כימי השוק. המטרה היתה לדון בבעיות הכלל. הפרנס הקהילתי הפך לדמות מרכזית בקהילה ומחוצה לה. ייחסו לו תבונות של אדם ירא שמיים, צדיק ונשוא פנים. בין האנשים שהטביעו את חותמם על אופיה הרוחני והדתי של הקהילה היו רש"י והרגמ"ה (רבנו גרשום מאור הגולה, - Das Licht der Diaspora (960-1028).

בתקופת חייו של רש"י התפתחו מאוד מוסדות הקהילה וההנהגה העצמית, בהם ראה רש"י את הבסיס לחיי האומה בגולה. הוא דרש מראשי הקהילה להפגין רמה מוסדית גבוהה והרגיש את חובת התוכחה על חוסר מוסריות. גיבוש כוחה של הקהילה בא לה גם מתוך סולידאריות יהודית אל מול חברה נוצרית עוינת וכן, משום אופיה המיוחדת של מערכת קבלת ההחלטות שהנהיגה, שהיתה מבוססת על יכוחים, דיונים והחלטות פה אחד. במהלך המאה ה-12 גובשו והוגדרו מוסדות הקהילה כלפי פנים וחץ, תהליך שחל בעזרתו של נכדו של רש"י, רבנו תם (נעקב בן מאיר תם, 1100-1171).

לקראת המאה ה-13 הפכו קהילות, שהיו ממוקמות בתוך הערים, לישויות פוליטיות מוגדרות. בוורמס, האישיות ההלבית בעלת ההשפעה הגדולה ביותר היתה הפייטן מנחם בן יעקב. כמו כן בלטו אלעזר בן יהודה, שהיה תלמידו של יהודה ה"חסיד" ומחברו של 'ספר הרוקח' וברוך בן מאיר ובנו, מאיר מרטנבורג, שהיה אב בית דין, ואשר נפטר בשנת 1281.

המגיפה השחורה

ב-י' אדר ב', שנת 1341, בעת שהשתוללה באירופה "המגיפה השחורה" (black death) פרצו שוב בורמס מהומות אנטי יהודיות. "המגיפה השחורה" הוא בינוי עממי למגיפת האבעבועות השחורות שפרצה באירופה במחצית המאה ה-14 ועשתה שמות באוכלוסייתה של אירופה. בתוצאה מן המגיפה שונו לחלוטין פניה הדמוגרפיים של היבשת. היהודים הואשמו בהפצת המגיפה ובהרעלת בארות המים. אף נאמר שמאחר והם ידעו אלו בארות מורעלות, לא שתו מהן ובך נותרו בחיים. הסברה ההסטורית היא שהמחלה פרצה בהגיע לחוף מלחיה של ספינה שהפליגה מן המזרח לאיטליה והיהודים, ששמרו על כללי ההיגיינה, נפגעו באופן יחסי פחות מהאוכלוסיות האחרות.

בהגיע הפורעים לוורמס, יהודים מעטים הצליחו להימלט דרומה, לעיר היידלברג (Heidelberg) וסביבותיה. רוב רובם של אנשי הקהילה נותר בביתו. עם בוא הפורעים העדיפו רבים להצית את עצמם. אחרים ניטבחו על ידי ההמון. מועצת העיר התרימה את רכושם. עם תום הפרעות ויתר המלך קארל (Karl) ה-4 (1316-1378) על כל הזכויות המלכותיות שהיו לו בנוגע ליהודים, לטובת ניהולה של מועצת העיר. מעתה ואילך נוהלה הקהילה על ידי 12 פרנסים, שאחד מהם מונה על ידי ההגמון כ"בישוף של היהודים" למשך כל ימי חייו. בעל המינוי האחרון נפטר בשנת 1792.

החל מהמחצית השנייה של המאה ה-14, קיימות עדויות ראשונות על אבות משפחת לייב (Loeb), אשר שלוש מאות שנים לאחר מכן תיקרא אסקלס (Eskeles). הבוונה היא לרבי בצלאל בן יעקב לייב, רבי יעקב בן יהודה לייב ולרבי בצלאל בן חיים.

לאחר המגיפה חל שינוי גם במשלח ידם של היהודים. הם עסקו ברוכלות זעירה, משחרים עם מרכולתם על פתחי הבתים, או שהיו למתווכים בעסקאות ועירות. גם התפתחותה של העיר תרמה לא במעט לשינוי - היהודים סיפקו לבורגנים את הסדקית והסחורות הדרושות להם. מעמד הבורגנים, תושבי הערים, הוטב בעקבות הקמת הערים והתפתחות המסחר. באופן יחסי לשאר האוכלוסיה היו מרבית הבורגנים עשירים ומשבילים, אך חסרי זכויות פוליטיות.

לקראת שלהי ימי הביניים (באמצע המאה ה-15) גדל מאוד מספרם של היהודים שהחלו להתגורר באיזורים מרוחקים, בהם לא חיו יהודים עד אז. הדבר נבע אמנם מן הרדיפות, אך גם מן הצרכים הכלכליים, שהביאו לחיפוש אחר מקורות פרנסה חדשים. גם במבנה הקהילות חל שינוי. בעקבות הגירושים והמשברים התבופים נזקקו היהודים להדרכה רבה וליראת שמיים. הדבר גרם לשינוי מעמדי של מספר נושאי תפקידים. החל במאה ה-15 היה חכם הקהילה למנהיג, והוא ראה את עצמו כבעל המרות הבלעדית. תופעה זו השתלבה עם מתן ה'סמיכה', שהפכה להיות תנאי הברחי במילוי תפקיד של דיין ומורה. הסמיכה היקנתה לבעליה את התואר 'מורנו', ועיקרה מתן אישור על ידי חכם מובהק כי המוסמך הוא בעל ידע בהלכה ורשאי להורות בעצמו. שכבת החכמים החדשה שקמה דרשה בי ינתנו לה פריבילגיות ותבעה מקום מרכזי בהנהגת הקהילה. החכמים החלו מתיחסים אל עצמם כאל קרואים. הדבר יצר מחלוקות וקרעים בינם לבין תלמידיהם. יחד עם זאת, הבינוסים האיזוריים של ראשי הקהילות המשיכו להתקיים.

בין השנים 1353-1355 הוקמה שוב קהילה יהודית בוורמס. הדבר נבע מסרובם של תושבי העיר לשלם עתה את המיסים ששילמו היהודים קודם לכן. הקהילה ציינה את י' באדר ביום זכרון. מקהילה זו לא נותר דבר, פרט לשמה ועברה המפואר. אף על פי כן, ניתן לומר שלא היתה מהוללת בקורמותיה. סופה היה בשנת 1615, עם התקוממות בעלי המלאכה. באיזור הגיטו של פרנקפורט רמיין (Frankfurt am Main) התחוללה מהומה שכוונה נגד הפטריצים המקומיים. במהלך הפרעות, שבוגו בשם "Fettmilch", על שם מחוללן, נפגעו יהודים ורכוש יהודי. הסדר הושב על כנו בעיר בעזרת המיליציה המקומית, אך ספיחי המהומות פגעו בקהילות יהודיות אחרות שלאורך הריין. יהודי וורמס נימלטו מן העיר והפורעים חיללו את בית הכנסת ואת בית הקברות. היהודים שבו למקום כשנה לאחר מכן. הפרנס הראשון של הקהילה המחודשת היה דור יהושע אופנהיים (Oppenheim), אשר הקים בשנת 1624 את בית המדרש על שם רש"י.

בשנת 1679 העלו הצרפתים את העיר באש, וכעשר שנים מאוחר יותר הוקמה בה שוב קהילה יהודית. במאות הבאות לא נימנתה וורמס על הקהילות החשובות בגרמניה. במהלך המאה ה-19 חיו בה כ-800 יהודים, שנהנו משיוויון הזכויות שניתן ליהודי הסן (Hessen). בתקופת 'אביב העמים' (ראה להלן), מונה יהודי למשרת ראש העיר. עד עליית הנאצים לשלטון מנתה אוכלוסית וורמס 1016 יהודים.

בשלהי ימי הביניים הלכה והתגבשה בקרב היהודים ההברה כי עליהם לשבוע את השליטים בדבר הצורך בשהותם בתוך הנסיכויות השונות. הם האמינו שעליהם להדגיש את האדרת שמו של השליט בשומרו על היהודים. הם הפכו, מרצונם, לרכוש הפרטי של שליט זה או אחר. הם היו ל"עבדי האוצר". בשנת 1263 הכריז הקיסר פרידריך השני על היהודים בגרמניה כ"עבדי האוצר" (servi nostra camerae Servants of our Treasury). הפריבילגיות שהעניקו השליטים השונים ליהודים מתקופה זו ואילך היו בעיקר בנושאי ממון.

הרדיפות

עד למאה ה-15 היתה הדת הקתולית הדת הלגיטימית היחידה באירופה. היהודים הושפלו והקתולים הוקיעו אותם כרוצחי ישו. עם זאת, יש לזכור שהכנסיה שימשה לעיתים גם כגורם מרסן של ההמון צמא הדם. קיומה של היהדות כחטיבה נפרדת היווה מאז ומתמיד אתגר מתמיד עבור הבנטיה, שראשיה נהגו לצאת מדי פעם בפעם בכתבי פולמוס כנגד התלמוד, הויכוחים, שנועדו לפאר את הנצרות, גרמו ליצירת אווירה של הסתה אנטי יהודית, ולהגברת בידודם ורדיפתם. היהודים פוטלו, צוירו ותוארו בכל שטחי האומנות באורח מעוות ומפחיד. במקומות רבים באירופה נאלצו היהודים לחבוש כובעים מחורדים או טלאי צהוב, על מנת להקל על זיהויים. ההמון יחס ליהודים את כל הרע והמושחת, ובעת חג רתי או כאשר אירע אסון כלשהו, היהודים היו תמיר הקורבן. אחד הביטויים הבולטים במיוחד היו עלילות הדם (המבנה המשותף הבולט

שביניהם; היהודי כצמא לדם ילדים). הפרעות נגד היהודים היו תולדה של בערות דתית וקנאות, אך יחד עם זאת, חזרה על עצמה תמיד המגמה לנסות ולשרוף את שטרי החוב השנואים. לקראת העת החדשה נעשה מצבם של היהודים קשה ללא נשוא משום שהשלטונות לא רצו או לא יכלו להגן עליהם. גם גינוי הפרעות נעשה בלשון רפה.

ההנהגה היהודית בשלהי ימי הביניים

הרציפות הקהילתית הגיאוגרפית, כלומר ישיבת קבע במקום אחד למשך זמן ארוך, לא הצליחה להישמר עקב אירועים חיצוניים. בבל פעם נאלצה הקהילה לשקם את עצמה במקום אחר, ולהקים את מוסדותיה. בקהילות הוותיקות והמבוססות התגבשו חוקי שלטון צרים במיוחד, שהתבססו על יחוס משפחתי ועל בסקף. השתלטותן של האוליגארכיות המשפחתיות פגעה באווירת השיתוף והסולידאריות, והוציאה את הטעם מן המפגשים האיזוריים.

פעולות ההנהגה העצמית ומגמותיה

גבית מסים

הקהילה נשאה באורח קולקטיבי באחריות לגבית מסים והעברתם לשליט. נעשה אמנם נסיון לגבות את המסים באורח פרוגרסיבי וצודק, אך לא בכל המקרים עלה הרבר יפה. השלטונות מצידם היו תמיד מובנים להגיש עזרה באכיפת המס.

החרם

החרם שימש ככלי להשלת מרות מבפנים. הפרנסים השתמשו בו בכדי לדעת את ערך הרבוש, מעשי גניבות, אבירות וכד'. בעיני בני התקופה נתפס החרם ברשות של כוח עליון. מי שנתפס בעבירה על תקנות הקהילה בודד משאר חבריה והוטל עליו חרם. מי שהוטל עליו חרם יכול היה להתנצר, וכך היה מסייד מעליו את העונש. ידועים מקרים מועטים של התנצרות. לרוב העדיפו העבריינים, אף הנוקשים מביניהם, להיות מוחרמים, אך להישאר במסגרת הקהילה.

מוסדות משפטיים

כל קהילה שאפה לקיים בית דין משלה. למעשה, תחום שיפוטו של בית הדין היה הקהילה. הקהילה הסתייגה בדרך כלל מקבלת יהודים נוספים למסגרתה. 'חרם הישוב' הוטל על מי שהתיישב בתוכה בניגוד לדעת פרנסיה, ורק במקרים של קליטת פליטים נפרץ דין זה. במשך השנים נבנתה בתוך הקהילות מסורת קהילתית מהוגנת ויחוס פנימי של הוותיקים, שמנעה את הצטרפותם של מי שאינם שייכים.

תקנות כלכליות

'מערופיה'

היתה זו תקנה שקבעה שאין לנסות ולמשוך גוי, שהוא לקוח קבוע של יהודי מסוים, לקנות אצל יהודי אחר, על ידי מתן הנחות הטבות.

'זבות הקריאה'

היתה זו פניה לדעת הקהל על עוול שנעשה, תוך כדי הפרעה לקריאת התורה. דבר זה היה מקובל בעיקר בעיירות קטנות.

שינוי דמות המשפחה

החרם הידוע ביותר הוא זה של רבינו גרשום, אשר אסר על יהודי לשאת שתי נשים, פרט למקרה בו דעתה של אשת איש ניטרפה עליה. חרם זה שינה לחלוטין את אופיה של המשפחה היהודית באשכנז.

חיי החברה והרוח

החל מסוף המאה ה-10 הצטיינה יהדות צרפת ואשכנז ברמתה התרבותית הגבוהה ובמסורתה המיוחדת. נוצרו חוגי לימוד סביב חכמי הקהילה, שאימצה לעצמה מערכת אידיאלים, כגון שירות לאומה ורגה מוסרית עליונה. גם העם הפשוט קיבל הנחיות לגבי התנהגות נאותה. חכמת לימוד התורה, השפה והספר הפכו לאידיאל עליון. דאגת אבות לבנים הביאה לעיצוב שיטת הלימוד והחינוך, אשר הברילה בין היהודים לגויים. היצירה הרוחנית לא פסקה למרות הרדיפות של המאה ה-14. גידול הישיבות תרם רבות לרוחניותו של העם. במקומות מסוימים ריבו סביבו החכם מספר תלמידים, שהפיצו את רעיונותיו בהמשך. ההוראה הפכה אמנם לענין של כבוד, אך גם של פרנסה. החכמים התפרנסו גם ממתן ארוחות חמות לתלמידיהם בבתיהם. נוצרו חוגים של בחורי ישיבה, כעלי הווי וסגנון המיוחדים להם.

בעלי התוספות (Ergänzer) - מאות 11-13

לשם העמקת הבנת התלמוד נוצרו באשכנז 'התוספות'. בעלי התוספות התייחסו אל התלמוד כאל תחום מקודש וראו ביצירתם רק פירוש לתלמוד, לרש"י ולגאונים. מן הבולטים שביניהם היו ד' שמואל בן רבי מאיר ורבינו תם. 'התוספות' מהוות יצירה קולקטיבית, שנמשכה לאורך מספר דורות. היא כוללת פירושי מילים ובידורים, הגדרת מושגים או ניסוחם מחדש, דיונים משפטיים ועוד.

החל מן המאה ה-12 ובמהלך המאה ה-13 התהווה בקהילות אשכנז חוג חסידים יראי שמים, אשר יראו את החטא וכיקשו להגשים אורח חיים של פשטות ותום. הם החמירו מאד עם עצמם ועשו מלאכתם בהתלהבות ומתוך יראת הבורא. חסידים אלה היו מיסטיקאים, אשר חקרו את תורת המיסתורין והסוד. תפיסת הבריאה שלהם היתה הוליסטית, והתקיימה בה גם אמונה בשרים ורוחות. הם האמינו כי המתים משפיעים על החיים. הם בוו לעולם הקיים, אך פחדו מפני כוחות דמוניים. למרות אורח חייהם הסגפני-ניזירי קיימו חיי משפחה סדירים. את התפילה ראו כתפילת חסד, שבלתנית, אישית. הכוונה והריכוז הרב היו יסודות מובנים באמונתם. האמונה שבלב והכוונה היו החשובים ביותר. עד למאה ה-18 היו האידיאלים החסידיים לערך עליון בחיי יהדות אשכנז.

שפת הדיבור

היהודי המשיך לשמור ולשמר את השפה המקורית איתה הגיע לגרמניה, גם בהיותו בתוך חומות הגטו. בעוד המעמדות העליונים המשיכו להקפיד על שפה מקורית, אימצו לעצמם המוני העם שפה משלהם. הם יצרו זיגורן חדש, שהיה חשוף לוואריאציות שונות של הדיאלקטים המקומיים. יהודים שהגיעו מאיטליה ומצרפת אימצו מספר דיאלקטים והחיו את שפת האידש, תוך צירוף אלמנטים חדשים. לעיתים נותרו בשפתם גם אלמנטים רומאניים-לטיניים. במקרים אחרים חיקו באורח זה או אחר את הדיקרוק הגרמני. שפת האידש היתה נפוצה מאוד בקרב קהילות יהודי דרום גרמניה בשלהי ימי הביניים, ויש מי שטוען לקשר בינה לבין השפה הגרמנית העתיקה (Mittelhochdeutsch).

היהודי נהג לתבל את שפתו בסממנים מן העבר, כגון שיבה לטכסטים עבריים קדומים, וכך סייע לשפה להשתמר. קהל הנשים העדיף אותה בשל תרגומי המקרא, הסידור וספרי המוסר. נהגו לתרגם גם סיפורי מעשיות, אהבים ומסעות, שהפכו אותה לפופולארית בקרב רוב העם. עם ההגירה מזרחה תפסה האידש את מקומה של השפה הסלאבית, שהיתה מקובלת עד אז על היהודים. כמובן שנוספו לה גם אלמנטים מקומיים אך בכלל, רוב יהודי אירופה דיברו, כתבו וחיו באידש עד לתקופת ההשכלה. מה שעצר את התפשטותה של השפה לדרום אירופה היה הניב הבלקני של היהודים הספרדיים. אחת הסיבות לשוני בהטעמות ובהבדלות בין נוסח אשכנז לנוסח ספרד, היא ההשלכה הלשונית שעשו מן האידש יהודי גרמניה, גם לנוסח הקריאה והדיבור של השפה העברית.

במאה ה-17, לאחר פרעות ת"ח-ת"ט (1648-1649), פרעות שערך הקוזקים ואחרים ביהודים עם סיום מלחמת 30 השנה (1618-1648) עבר המרכז הרוחני של יהדות אשכנז, מבחינה במוחית ואיכותית, לפולין-ליטא.

בגרמניה הלך והתגבש מעמד חדש של "בעלי בתים" עשירים, שהתערה בתרבות העירונית הסובבת. יהודים אלה היו שונים באופיים מיהודי מזרח אירופה. ההבדל נבע בעיקרו משינוי במקור הפרנסה, בעקבות הגילויים הגיאוגרפיים של תחילת העת החדשה (1492 ואילך). באותה העת עלתה מאוד הדרישה למוצרי מותרות ופאר. יהודי אשכנז החלו בפעילות כלכלית ענפה יותר, גם על ידי סחר עם המושבות שמעבר לים. גם הסחר היבשתי עם יהודי פולין וליטא הגדיל מאוד את היקף מסחרם. נוצרו קשרים חדשים ביניהם לבין האימפריה העות'מאנית. יהודים מגורשי ספרד, ולאחר מכן גם אחיהם האשכנזים, חדרו לסחר האבנים הטובות והתמחו בו. על לקוחותיהם העיקריים נימנו בתי האצולה הגדולים בגרמניה.

הרפורמציה (Reformation)

תחילתה של הרפורמציה בכומר הגרמני מרטין לותר (Martin Luther, 1483-1546), שיצא חוצץ נגד מכירת כתבי המחילה (אינדולגנציות), על ידי האפיפיור, על מנת לממן בניית בנייני פאר ברומא. לותר, שהתבונן רק לתקן, יצר למעשה דת חדשה - הדת הפרוטסטנטית. יחסו ליהודים, כמו גם יחסו לאירועים אחרים, בגון מרד האיכרים הגרמני (1515), מעידים על דמותו השנויה במחלוקת. בתחילה היה יחסו ליהודים אוהד, משום שקיווה להציג באמצעותם את פגעי הבנסייה. משלא זכה לאהדה מרובה בקירבם, או לחילופין - להמרת דתם, יצא נגדם בכתבי משטמה ובעס. הסוציולוג מקס וובר (Weber, 1864-1920) מסביר את הדטרמיניזם הפרוטסטנטי באמונה כי גודלו של אדם עלי אדמות נקבע מראש. אם הוא מצליח - משמע שנשא חן בעיני אלוהיו עוד בהיותו בחיים ואם לאו - קללת אלוהים עליו. קל וחומר לגבי היהודים. מצבם העגום והשפלתם בהווה הוא סימן ליד האלוהים, שנשט אותם למען עם אחר, טוב יותר. נרדפים ומקוללים, נראו היהודים במי שגורלם אינו ניתן עוד לשינוי. מהר מאוד התפכחו היהודים מתקוותם לסובלנות או אהדה של הכיתות הפרוטסטנטיות. בין "שלוש אוגסבורג" (Augsburg, 1555) שקבע כי "דת הנסיך היא דת המדינה" (cuius regio eius religio), ואשר תחם את צפון גרמניה ללותראנים ודרומה לקתולים, לבין מלחמת 30 השנה, היה המצב הפוליטי באשכנז בלתי יציב.

היהודים בבוהמיה (Böhmen)

בתחילת המאה ה-16 החלו משפחות גרמניות, משפחת פוגר (Fugger), לדוגמא, להקים מונופולים במסחר, שדחקו את רגליהם של הסוחרים הקטנים. עבור היהודים מצב זה, שלווה ברדיפות ובפשטות רגל, היה בלתי נסבל. בחיפושיהם אחר מקורות פרנסה חדשים היגרו לבוהמיה, מורביה ופולין. ברבע הראשון של המאה ה-16, כאשר היתה בוהמיה נתונה לחסותו של המלך היגלוני (Jagellonen), בית מלוכה פולני ששלט בין השנים 1386-1572, וניכר בדרך כלל ביחסו הטוב ליהודים, גדל בה מאוד מספר היהודים. המלך הטיל את מרותו על היהודים ואסר עליהם לקבל חסות של אצילים מקומיים.

באותה תקופה נדרה גם משפחת לב, אבות משפחת אסקלס, מזרח, ואנו מוצאים אותה החל במאה ה-16 בבוהמיה, בפראג ובפוזנן. בתחילת המאה ה-17, אנו פוגשים בביתו של רבי חיים איסנהיימר, המתייחסת אל משפחתו של המהר"ל מפראג (Der Hohe Rabbi Loeb von Prag). המהר"ל, שנולד בפוזנן ונפטר בפראג, זכה בעיר זו לפירסומו הרב. במוהו, נולד בפוזנן ונפטר בפראג אחיו, סיני בן בצלאל ליב, סבו של רבי גבריאל אסקלס.

ב-1501 הודיעו המלך וה'לנדטאג' (Landtag - הפרלמנט המקומי), שאם היהודים ישלמו במדויק את המסים המוטלים עליהם, לא יגורשו מן הארץ וכל זכויותיהם תישמרנה. מספר ערים בבוהמיה הצליחו, באמתלות שונות, לגרש את היהודים מתוכן אך בפראג, פרט לשנה אחת שבה הם אכן גורשו, אסר המלך על היהודים לצאת מתחומה, והעמידם תחת חסות הבורגראף המקומי (Burggraf - מעין ראש לעירוניים). גם את היהודים שנמלטו מהעיר החזיר לתחומה. מועצת העיר, שלא ראתה בעין יפה את שגשוגם, עשתה ככל יכולתה לצמצום פעילותם הכלכלית.

מאחר והיהודים לא היו מסוגלים לעמוד כגזירות הללו, דרשו תושבי העיר ללא הרף לגרשם. המצב לא השתנה כל עוד נמשכו המלחמות עם הטורקים (במהלך המאה ה-16) והנסיכים היו זקוקים לסחר ולאשראי של היהודים. את בניסתו לעיר של המושל החדש פרדיננד (Ferdinand) חגגו היהודים בעם רב. פרדיננד הבטיח, בקודמו בתפקיד, לשמור על כל זכויותיהם ולא לתת יד לגירושם. הוא גם הזהיר את המקומיים מפני נסיונות לעשוק את היהודים. מעתה היו ענייניהם נקבעים על ידי 'הלישבה הבוהמית', שגבתה מסים מן היהודים והגנה עליהם מפני מועצות הערים. האחרונות נזפו מדי פעם על יחסם הלא-הוגן ליהודים. הלשכה עמדה בקשר עם פרנסי קהילות פראג ועם ועד קהילות ישראל בבוהמיה.

אף על פי שהמלך היה זקוק מאוד להכנסות שבאו מן היהודים, הוא לא הצליח להפסיק את עלילות הדם והגירושים בערי מוראביה (Moravien) ושליזיה (Schlesien). שם גברה השפעתם של העירוניים, שדרשו גם את גירוש יהודי פראג. הם השתמשו בתואנה שהיהודים מבריחים מטילי כסף לחו"ל וכך, פוגעים במונופולין של בית יציקת המטבעות המקומי. אחרי שהטורקים הביסו את ההונגרים בקרב אופן (Ofen, הונגריה, 1541) הלכה וגברה השפעת דורשי הגירוש. אליהם הצטרפה עתה גם הלישבה, בטענה שהיהודים משתפים פעולה עם הטורקים. ואכן, הוצאה פקודת גירוש וההמונים החלו בווזים את רכושם של היהודים. בשלב זה התערב המלך, לקח את היוצאים תחת חסותו, העמיד את הפורעים לדין ונתן ליהודים ארכה לצאת את הארץ עד שנת 1542. בנהוג, העשירים זכו לארכה ממושכת יותר, עד אשר סידרו את ענייניהם הכספיים. לקראת סוף המאה ה-16 גורשו יהודים מאיזורים רבים בגרמניה, בעיקר מן הערים. היהודים נדדו לאיזורים הקרובים יותר לגבול הפולני והתיישבו בקהילות כפריות קטנות. איזורים רבים בפנים הארץ "נוקו" מיהודים. רק בארבע ערים באשכנז המשיכה הרציפות הקהילתית ההסטורית - פראג, וינה, פרנקפורט דמיין ווורמס, אך זאת לא לזמן רב.

קהילת יהודי וינה

בוינה גדלה מאוד הקהילה היהודית, שנעורה שוב אחרי מלחמת 30 השנה (1648-1618). באוסטריה היה קיים חשש בלתי פוסק מזרם הפליטים שבאו מאוקראינה והציפו את המדינה בעקבות פרעות ת"ח-ת"ט. אוסטריה, שגירשה זה מכבר את כל היהודים מתחומה, תהתה מה לעשות בהמוני היהודים. בעקבות המלחמות נגד הטורקים גברה מאוד השפעתם של הקתולים ובעיקר, מסדר הישועים (Jesuites). הללו הסיתו את הממשלה נגד יהודים ופרוטסטנטים כאחד. בעיקר התקנאו הללו בקהילת יהודי וינה, שמנתה כ-4000 איש, רובם אנשים אמירים. רוב יהודי הקהילה היו סוחרים, שקיימו קשרי מסחר עם טורקיה, איטליה ופולין. עיקר מסחרם היה באריגים, תכשיטים, סוסים ומתן הלוואות לאצילים. היהודים שילמו דמי חסות עבור ישיבתם, ומסים נוספים. עובדה זו לא נעלמה מעיניהם של הנסיכים, שנאלצו לשמור על קשר הדוק עם היהודים, מאחר ואלה עזרו להם בשעה קשה. מלחמת 30 השנה הביאה להתעשרותם הכוללת של חלק מן היהודים.

עקב התפתחות זו ביקשה מועצת העיר לקחת את היהודים תחת חסותה. למרות נסיונות חוזרים ונישנים סירב הקיסר משום שידע שבכך יביא כליה על הקהילה וכתוצאה, על הכנסותיו. השינוי במצבם של היהודים חל עם עלייתו לכס השלטון של הקיסר ליאופולד ה-1 (1640-1705). תלמיד ישועי אדוק זה היה נתון להשפעתה ולהפצרותיה של מועצת העיר, וכן - לעצותיה של אישתו הראשונה מרגרית תרזה (Margaret Theresa) בתו של המלך פיליפ ה-4 (Philip) מספרד, שהיתה צוררת יהודים ידועה לשמצה. היה לה קשה להשלים עם העובדה שבארצה לא חיו כלל יהודים, ואילו במקום בו שלטה, שישגה הקהילה היהודית.

את זממה הגשימה בעת שפרצה המלחמה עם הטורקים. הופצה עלילה על פיה היהודים, שמסחרם עם העותומאנים היה ידוע לכל, מנהלים איתם משא ומתן של בגידה. ההשפעה היתה מיידית. החלה הסתה המונית, פרעות והתעללויות בידי יחידים וקבוצות ב'עיר היהודים'. הקיסר הפסיק אמנם את ההתפרעות, אולם התלכט בפתרון הבעיה. את האמצעי סיפקה בידיו זוגתו. לאחר שילדה ולד מת החליטה 'לפיס' את האלוהים, על ידי העלאת היהודים בקורבן. את האישור לגירוש היתה אמורה לתת ועדה אינקוויזיציונית, שהוקמה על מנת לפתור מספר בעיות תיאולוגיות בנושא היהודים. הוועדה חרצה כמובן את דינה כצפוי - גירוש. במהלך עבודתה, ועל פי הסיכומים שהגישה, יצרה דימוי שלילי ביותר של היהודי, הפועל באופן נפשע ואפל.

בחודשים יולי ואוגוסט 1699 ניתנה הפקודה לגירוש היהודים העניים מוינה ומאוסטריה התחתונה. היו אלה בעלי הרכוש המועט, שלקיסר לא היה בהם כל ענין. ביניהם נימנו גם רבנים ותלמידי חכמים, שהיו פטורים ממס. ליהודים העשירים ניתן היתר להישאר עד אשר יחסלו את עסקיהם. היהודים ניסו להעביר את רוע הגזירה בדרכים שונות, אך ולד מת נוסף רק הגביר את רצונו של הקיסר להביא לידי גירושם המוחלט. בינתיים מכרו אנשי מועצת העיר את בתייהם של היהודים, אך לא העבירו לידיהם את הכספים. כמו-כן הוטלו עליהם מסים והיטלים נוספים. מצב זה הביא לדילדולה המוחלט של הקהילה, וכך הגיע גם יומם של העשירים. רק 16 פרנסים נותרו כבני ערובה למקרה שבו יערימו היהודים על הנוצרים או ינקמו בם. מאחר ודבר לא קרה, הפרנסים שוחרדו וגורשו אף הם. במהלך האירועים לא המיר אף יהודי את דתו על מנת להישאר

במקום. בתוך זמן קצר הפך הרובע היהודי לרובע נוצרי ובית הכנסת - לכנסייה. אלא שתושבי וינה החלו מרגישים במהרה בחסרונם של ההון והמסחר היהודי. המלך, שלא יכול היה לחזור בו בגלוי מהחלטת הגירוש, התיר ליהודים לחזור טיפין טיפין. וכך, למרות התנגדותם הגוברת של העירוניים, גדל מספרם של יהודי וינה תוך תקופה קצרה יחסית.

גרמניה

הישוב היהודי בגרמניה התרחב אחרי מלחמת 30 השנה. זו היתה תוצאה של הגירה פנימית, שהיתה פועל יוצא של מניעים כלכליים, גירושם ונסיון לפתוח בחיים חדשים. דוגמה טובה לכך הינה הקמת הקהילה היהודית בפירט (Fürth). כשנירנברג (Nürnberg) גירשה מתוכה את יהודיה פתחה בפניהם פירט, הקרובה אליה, את שעריה. פירט היתה קשורה למזרח, כמו גם ערים אחרות שלאורך הריין, בדרכי מסחר. יהודים מלווים בריבית מוזכרים בה לראשונה בשנת 1440. מאוחר יותר, סולקו מן העיר. בשנת 1528 הורשו לחזור ולהתישב בה. בשנת 1582 נימנו במקום כ-200 תושבים יהודיים. בשנת 1607 מוזכר כבר שמו של רב. 2 פרנסים ייצגו את הקהילה בפני המועצה המקומית. יהודי פירט עסקו בעיקר במסחר. קשרי המסחר שלהם היו עם בוהמיה והמזרח. קיימות שתי גירסאות באשר להשפעת מלחמת 30 השנה עליהם. על פי גירסה אחת נפגע האזור באופן קל יחסית, ואילו על פי הגירסה השנייה נפוצה הקהילה לכל עבר בתקופת המלחמה.

גירוש יהודי וינה בשנת 1670 הזרים אל העיר פירט הרבה הון וכשרונות, והיא הפכה לבת תחרות רצינית לפרנקפורט דמיין. לימים, עובדה זו תרמה ליצירת הבסיס של הקהילה היהודית הגדולה בברלין. הקהילה המורחבת התרכזה בעיקר סביב Geleitgasse. בית הכנסת הישן שליד Königstrasse נבנה בשנת 1617 ובית הכנסת החדש בשנת 1697. בית כנסת נוסף, של משפחת פרנקל, הוקם ב-1707. בית הקברות הוכשר כמאה שנה קודם לכן ובשנת 1653, גם בית החולים "הקרש". לקראת סוף המאה ה-17 החל מתפתח בפירט הדפוס העברי. כמה בתי אב יהודיים החלו לעסוק במלאכת הדפוס והוציאו לאור מספר נכבד של ספרים. למרות שהיו נסיונות להפסיק את ההוצאה לאור של הספרים שהודפסו בעברית, נמשכה המלאכה עד המחצית השנייה של המאה ה-19. בשנת 1719 מנתה הקהילה כ-400 בתי אב. הסטטוס הפוליטי שלה הוסדר על ידי הבישוף. בתמורה למסים השנתיים ששילמו היהודים הובטחה להם הגנה על חייהם ורכושם. הם הורשו לבנות בתי תפילה ולהעסיק חזן, שמש וקברן. במקרים של ויכוחים בין יהודים היתה זכות השיפוט נתונה לבית הדין היהודי. במקרים של חילוקי דיעות ומשפטים בין יהודים לנוצרים, הם נשפטו על ידי בית הדין הכנסייתי. קהילת פירט הסדירה את כל ענייניה בעזרת קובץ תקנות שהותקן בשנת 1728. בית היתומים היהודי הראשון בגרמניה הוקם בפירט בשנת 1763, והחל במאה ה-17 ועד 1824 היתה במקום גם ישיבה חשובה. בשנת 1862 הוקם בפירט בית ספר יהודי אורתודוקסי, שהוכר בשנת 1899 על ידי השלטונות גם כבית ספר חיוני. במקביל רבתה חשיבות הקהילה, שבניה עלו לגדולה בתחום המשפטנות. הקהילה תרמה רבות להתפתחות הכלכלית והפוליטית של העיר. מספרם של יהודי פירט עלה בהדרגה עד לשנות ה-80 של המאה ה-19. החל משלב זה הלך המספר והצטמצם. עם עליית הנאצים לשלטון נימנו בפירט 2000 יהודים, שהיו 2.6% מכלל האוכלוסין.

בעיקבות גידוש היהודים מווינה הגיעו גם בני משפחת אסקלס לפירט, חזרו לאחר כן לווינה ולבסוף, הענף הגרמני של המשפחה התישב בפירט. לא ידוע לנו במדויק מי ומתי עבר מווינה לפירט ובחזרה, אולם ברור שהקשר בין בני המשפחה בשתי הערים היה הדוק. ר' יעקב חיים אסקלס, בנו של ר' גבריאל אסקלס, הוסיף לשמו את השם פירט. בזכרונותיה כותבת גליקל מהמלין (Glückel von Hameln, 1645-1724) על יהודי פירט, שעסקו במילואות זעירים, יצור תכשיטים וזולים ורוכלות בסדקית גרמנית והולנדית. גליקל מאזכרת גם את רבי גבריאל אסקלס, שהיה רבה של מץ ואב בית הדין של מורביה.

היהודים בגרמניה במחצית המאה ה-17

יהודי החצר (Court Jews, Hofjuden)

לאחר מלחמת 30 השנה החל תהליך התפוררותה האיטית של "האימפריה הרומית הקדושה של הלאום הגרמני" (The Holy Roman Empire) - הוא השם שניתן לנסיכויות גרמניה וחלקים נוספים באירופה, שהשתייכו אל השבטים הגרמניים החל מן המאה ה-9 ועד לכיבושי נפוליאון - תחילת המאה ה-19). קמו בגרמניה יותר מ-300 נסיכויות מפוצלות אשר בכל אחת מהן, פרט לערים החופשיות, כגון פרנקפורט והמבורג, שלטו האצילים באופן אבסולוטי, בהעתק לשיטת הממשל שהיתה נהוגה בצרפת. במצב הפוליטי החדש שנוצר קם מעמד חדש של יהודים, שנקראו 'יהודי החצר'. יהודי החצר היו נתונים לשליטתם הישירה של הנסיכים וזכו לפריבילגיות במעמד, לבוש ובד'. בני משק ביתו המורחב של היהודי זכו אף הם בהטבות אלה. תפקידיו של יהודי החצר כללו אספקה, אפסניה, הלוואות, מסחר, אספקת אבנים טובות, חפצי אומנות וכד'. יהודי החצר הראשונים המוכרים לנו הופיעו בווינה ובפראג, ואט-אט הפכו קהילות היהודים חסרי הפריבילגיות להיות תלויות בהם. מספר יהודי חצר שהצטיינו מאוד בשירותם לנסיכים זכה אף בתארי אצולה.

בתקופת המשבר והחורבן שעברו על אירופה בשנים שלאחר מלחמת שלושים השנה, היהודים עזרו מאוד בהבראת הכלכלה. תרומה רבה תרמה לכך מערכת הקשרים העניפה שהיתה קיימת בין היהודים באזורים שונים באירופה. היהודים עזבו את הגטאות, עברו למרכזים עירוניים גדולים ועסקו בהלוואה בריבית, רוכלות, מסחר זעיר, בנקאות בקנה מידה קטן ועוד. באיזורי דרום גרמניה עסקו במסחר קימעונאי בבקר, סוסים, נוצות, בגדים, תבואה, טבק, אריגים, חייטות, וכד'. במקומות שבהם עדיין לא היו קיימות גילדות - בליטוש יהלומים, ציור ועוד. את סחודותיהם נהגו היהודים למכור בירידים שבערים הגדולות. במקביל, היו מי שקיבלו חווים לאספקה של מתכת הבסק, לצורך יציקת מטבעות. סחר פורה מאוד התנהל בשטרי חוב וחליפין.

גם הפעילות הרוחנית-תרבותית, שהושבתה בעקבות פרעות ת"ח-ת"ט, התעוררה קמעה בעקבות שובם של יהודים גרמנים מפולין וליטא לגרמניה. יש הסטוריונים הטוענים שמלחמת 30 השנה הביאה בעקבותיה את העידן השני של יהדות גרמניה, העידן הפולני-גרמני. עידן זה אופיין על ידי שובם של יהודים פולנים לגרמניה, אותה נטשו הוריהם עשרות שנים קודם לכן. היהודים עשו דרכם חזרה כשהם ממלאים את דרכי הארץ. הם הביאו איתם דיאלקטים חדשים של השפה העברית והאידיש וכמו-כן, פילוסופיות רבניות, שמקורן במזרח. החל בשלב זה היו המשכילים והרבנים בעלי מוצא מזרח אירופאי.

לקראת סוף המאה ה-19 והתעצם מעמדם של יהודי החצר. הנסיכים היו זקוקים להם כמי שסיפקו אפסניה סדירה לצבאותיהם וחיטה למחסני התבואה והחירום של העיר. היהודים סבלו מתחרות קשה של סוחרים נוצריים וכן מיבולים קטנים או מבצורת, שהיו עלולים לשים לאל את כל מאמציהם. היו אף מקרים בהם נאסרו או הוצאו להורג, כתוצאה מתסיסה חברתית או אי מילוי דרישות. הם המשיכו להיות מעמד רב השפעה בכל הנוגע להמשך קיומה של הקהילה היהודית, שמתוכה באו או אותה הקימו.

קיימת טענה האומרת כי תלותה של הקהילה ביהודי החצר היתה גם המקור לחולשתה, משום שהדבר היווה פתח למעורבות השלטון החיצוני בהסדרים הפנימיים. 'עמך ישראל' פיתח רגשות מעורבים, קיצוניים מאוד ביחסו ליהודי החצר. מחד, הודות להם נפתחו אפשרויות חדשות למסחר ולהתישבות קבע אך, מאידך, גרמו עושרם וראוונותם לשנאה וקנאה עזה. ההתעשרות המהירה הביאה אמנם לעליה ברמת החיים, אך היא גרמה לירידה במוסר. תאווה הבצע גברה ובעקבותיה נשכחה התורה. ערב העידן הקפיטליסטי החל ערכו של אדם להיקבע על פי עושרו. יהודי החצר העשירים בנו להם ארמונות ויהודי המעמד הבינוני גרו בדירות מרווחות והחזיקו משרתים. שימוש בכלי כסף וזהב וחקיקי אורחות חייהם של הגויים הפכו חזיון נפרץ. גם המטיפים בשער שצעקו חמס על הפערים ההולכים וגדלים בין עניים לעשירים לא הועילו. יהודי החצר שלטו ביד רמה בהמוני היהודים, שהיו גם הראשונים להיפגע ברגע שסר חנינם של יהודי החצר מפני השליט.

יהודים עשירים אלה גילו עניין הולך וגובר באוספי תרבות, אמנות והקמת מוזיאונים, באמצעותם תועדה ונשתמרה המורשת היהודית. הדבר איפשר גם לגרמנים רבים להביר בדרך בלתי אמצעית את יופיה של מורשת זו ואת תרבותה. זו היתה תקופה בה העניקו יהודי גרמניה לבניהם חינוך למותרות ועלה ערך ההנאה שלא למטרת פרנסה. הדבר הביא רבים מהם לעסוק בעניינים בטלים, בגון משחקי מול וקלפים.

לקראת שנת 1700 חל גידול מספרי כתוצאה מן הריבוי הטבעי, נישואין בגיל צעיר והיעדר מגיפות. יהודים שגורשו משווייץ ומבוהמיה העתיקו את מקום מגוריהם לגרמניה. לקראת המאה ה-18 התוספו קהילות רבות, חדשות, שמנו למעלה מ-30,000 איש. המאות ה-17 וה-18 הביאו לפריחה תרבותית בצרפת ובריטניה, ולא דווקא בגרמניה. גם היהודים ניפגעו מהידלדלותה של הרוח, והדבר בא לידי ביטוי בהצטרפות לכיתות משיחיות שקריות. בגרמניה התחילו להתפרסם באותה עת כתבי שיטנה אנטי יהודיים, בעיקר פרי עטו של אייזנמנגר (Eisenmenger 1654-1704), אשר היו בעלי השפעה מרחיקה לכת על עתיד היהודים.

תנועת ההשכלה (Rationalism)

תנועת ההשכלה התפתחה במאות ה-17 וה-18, בעקבות ההתקדמות וההתפתחות המהירות של מדעי הטבע. השפעתה ניכרה כמעט בכל תחומי החיים. היא חוללה שינוי ערכים רדיקלי בהומאניזם המערבי ועיצבה מחדש את תפיסת עולמו של האדם המודרני. למרות שמרבוזה של התנועה היה בפאריס והוגיה הראשיים היו צרפתים אף הם, מגמתה היתה קוסמופוליטית ומסריה נועדו לקהל הרחב. השתכללות הדפוס ואמצעי התקשורת איפשרו את העברת האידיאלים שלה ממקום למקום במהירות גדולה יחסית. עקרונותיה התבססו על ההעזה לחקור ולדעת, על אמונה אופטימית בכושרו הלוגי של האדם הרציונאלי להגיע לאושר, על אמונה בשכל כמקור לפתרון הבעיות וגיבוש תפיסת עולם, על ספקנות וביקורתיות כלפי העבר בכלל והכנסייה בפרט, על חופש פעולה כלכלי ואי התערבות המדינה (ליבראליזם). הדגש הושם על השכלתנות, ועל הצד ה'שכלי' שבכל דבר. משכיל אמיתי נחשב מי שבוחן את הכל באורח הגיוני. זו היתה ההכרה בזכותו של השכל להיות אדון לעצמו, ללא שום סמכות או מרות קודמת. לא היה כל יתרון לאשר התרחש בעבר, כגון מסורת, מנהגים או חינוך. העבר שיעכב את השכל. מקור כל הרע בבערות וראשית כל תיקון בתכונה. היתה להשכלה הערכה מחודשת של המציאות והיה בה אידיאל חברתי של תיקון ציבורי. היא ביקשה את הטוב והנעים עבור האדם.

האבסולוטיזם הנאור

מספר שליטים אירופאיים, כמו יקתרין ה-2 מרוסיה (Jekaterina Alexejewna) (1762-1796), יוסף ה-2 מאוסטריה (1741-1790) ופרידריך ה-2 מפרוסיה, ('פרידריך הגדול' 1712-1786), אימצו באופן חלקי את רעיונות ההשכלה. שליטים אלה לא זנחו את אופיו האבסולוטי של שלטונם והמשיכו לרכז ביריהם את כל הסמכויות והחירויות. השוני המהותי בהתייחסותם הוא בסיס ההצדקה הלגיטימית לקיומם, ששוב לא היה כוח אלוהי, כי אם השירות שנתנו לנתיניהם. הם ראו עצמם כמשרתים העליונים של המדינה, על פי ראות עיניהם... "הכל למען העם, אך לא על ידי העם".

השפעת ההשכלה על היהודים

תנועת ההשכלה היתה לתסיסה רוחנית אשר הקיפה את כל תפוצות ישראל החל ממחצית המאה ה-18 וזכתה לאהרה מרובה, בעיקר בקרב יהודי מרכז ומערב אירופה. ההשכלה היהודית טבעה סיסמאות שכללו חכמה, הוזה אומר הרחבת הדעת ולימוד מדעים כלליים, מלאכה, הוזה אומר דאגה ציבורית להכשרת הדור הצעיר לעולה של פרנסה מבושרת, לשון, הוזה אומר לימוד הלשונות הזרות במקום מושבם של היהודים,

נימוסין, הווה אומר שיפור הילכותיו של האדם כפרט ובחברה גם יחד. את העם היהודי העמידה ההשכלה בפני הסתירה שבין הרגשת החיים המחורשת לבין השקפת העולם המסורתית. את הפרצות הראשונות יצרו היהודים האמירים, שהיו קרובים באורחות חייהם אל הגויים. חוגים אלה היו מעורבים בניהול המדינה ועל כן, ניתפסו לרעיונות אלה במספרים חולכים וגדלים.

מרכז ההשכלה בברלין

מרכז ההשכלה היה, ולא במקרה, בברלין. הישוב היהודי בפרוסיה היה אמיד ולא מסורתי. השלטונות נהגו סלקציה בישוב היהודים. הם ניצלו את הפוטנציאל הפיננסי והתערבו בחיי הקהילה. היהודים הרגישו עצמם חלק מן המדינה, אף על פי שהדבר עמד בסתירה למצבם המישפטי, כחסרי זכויות. יהודי פרוסיה הסתגלו מלכתחילה במנהגים, נימוסין ותרבות לחברה הסובבת. במקביל חל תהליך של פריקת עול ממסורות ומכבילים קהילתיים, שממילא היו רפים. ההתנערות המהירה לא היתה לטעמם של משכילים יהודיים ונוצרים באחד. כוונת ההשכלה היתה שההסתגלות תבוא באורח הדרגתי ומכובד, ולא על ידי זילזול בפרהסיה בדת היהודית. בברלין נהגו להיפגש ב'סלונים' אופנתיים, שם דנו בענייני ספרות, אמנות ופילוסופיה, ללא הקשר דתי. היתה זו חברה משבילים טהורה. רוב המשכילים העדיפו את ההשכלה המעשית, הנוצרית, ולא ניתפסו להשכלה העיונית דווקא. כלומר, הם העדיפו את קשרי המסחר וההערכה לאדם באמצעות מגע ישיר.

באבי תנועת ההשכלה היהודית נחשב משה מנדלסון (Mendelssohn 1729-1786). הוא נטה ללימודים חילוניים מגיל צעיר והושפע מרוח הרציונאליזם. בהגיעו עם משפחתו לברלין, הסתופף בחברתם של משבילים יהודיים והושפע מן הפילוסוף והסופר הגרמני לסינג (Lessing 1729-1781). הוא האמין שההשכלה תועיל לשיפור מצבם של היהודים, שקפאו על שמדיהם בדורות הקודמים. את הדרך לכך ראה בתירגום התנ"ך לגרמנית. לסינג, במחזהו 'נתן החכם' (Nathan der Weise, 1779), ודוהם (Dohm, 1781-1820), במאמרו: "על שיפור מצבם האזרחי של היהודים" (2) (1783, 1781), "Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden", רצו להוכיח כי צרת היהודים היא תוצאה של הכבילים והמצב הכלכלי-חברתי שניבפה עליהם על ידי הנוצרים. השיפור יחול, לדעתם, עם ביטול ההגבלות.

הדברים לא היו פשוטים כל כך. לא כל הגרמנים היו מודעים לשינויים שטמנה בחובה ההשכלה, ועוד פחות גרמנים היו משוכנעים בצדקת שינוי היחס ליהודים. גם בקרב היהודים עצמם לא היתה ההתייחסות להשכלה חד-משמעית. היו ביניהם הבדלי מעמדות בולטים. העשירים דמו כמעט בכל לנוצרים ואף שלחו את ילדיהם לבתי ספר 'מתוקנים', ואילו המוני העם המשיכו לחיות סגורים בגיטאות מעופשים, עניים וחסרי כל, מבלי שזנחו את הרגליהם הישנים. מבאן, שיהודי ההשכלה לא איפיינו את כלל יהודי גרמניה, שהיו חסרי זכויות לחלוטין. את השינוי הביאו איתם צבאות צרפת המהפכנית.

גרמניה בתקופת המהפכה הצרפתית

ב-1792 בבשו בסערה צבאות צרפת המהפכנית את איזורי הריין. בכל מקום שאליו הגיעו, פירסמו תקנות שהפכו את כל התושבים לאזרחים שווים בפני החוק. הדבר כלל גם את היהודים. במיינץ ובקלן נשרפו חומות הגטו ויהודים מגורשים הורשו לחזור. 'אופוריה' נמשכה זמן קצר בלבד. מיד לאחר עליית נפוליאון לשלטון, דוחות אנטי יהודיות חדשות החלו נושבות בגרמניה. תנועת הרומנטיקה (Romanticism) הגרמנית ביקשה להלל ולפאר את העבר הגרמני, על ידי חזרה למקורות ההיסטוריים. התנועה הטביעה את חותמה על הספרות, האמנות וחקר ההיסטוריה הגרמנית, שהחלה לפרוח בתחילת המאה ה-19, התבססה על עיוות תורת ההיסטוריה של דארווין ולא מצאה בתוכה מקום לקיומם של יהודים.

הדין הציבורי בבעיית היהודים

לדין הציבורי בבעיית היהודים נודעה השפעה מכרעת על עיצוב המדיניות הפוליטית כלפיהם ועל דעת הקהל הגרמנית. השאלה המרכזית היתה האם להעניק ליהודים שוויון זכויות ולהפכם לאזרחים שווים של העם הגרמני, או שמא להשאירם חסרי זכויות, ובמקרים קיצוניים יותר, אף להביא לגירושם. הגרמנים בכללם התקשו מאוד להשתחרר מן הדיעות הקדומות והמסורות האנטי יהודיות שליוו אותם זמן כה רב. המשכילים עצמם היו חלוקים בדעתם באשר לדרך הנכונה, משום שרובם התכוונו לתיקונם של היהודים, אשר יביא בסופו של דבר להתבוללותם בחברה הגרמנית.

במושג 'תיקון' התכוונו לחינוך, נימוס, שפה, הרגלים וכו', אשר יעזרו לטשטש את ההבדלים בין גרמנים ליהודים, דבר שיביא תועלת מרובה גם למדינה עצמה. המשכילים דיברו על אופי אנושי יותר של המדינה, על סתגלנות ועל תהליכים הדרגתיים. המתנגדים דיברו על גאווהם הלאומית-חברתית של היהודים, אשר אינה ניתנת לגישור, על הסכנה הצפויה למדינה ממתן זכויות לגוף לאומי נפרד, על החשש מפני הגירה מאסיבית של יהודים לגרמניה בעקבות מתן הזכויות. הנטיה היתה לתת ליהודים זכויות כפרטים, אך לא כגוף לאומי. הסרקסטיות שבענין נובעת מן העובדה שרצונם של המתקנים והשוללים כאחד היה להשיג בדרכים שונות מטרה זוה - טמינת היהודים.

ב-1806 (שלום טילזיט) נחתמו נצחונותיו של נפוליאון בגרמניה. הוא הקים את 'הקונפדרציה של הריינוס' על חורבות 'האימפריה הרומית הקדושה' של הלאום הגרמני. הקונפדרציה היתה מורכבת מ-36 מדינות חילוניות, עצמאיות לכאורה. הצרפתים חוקקו חוקים שבאו לבטל את העבדות, לפרק את הגילדות ולהעניק חופש מירבי לפרט ולכלל. הגרמנים הבינו לראשונה מהו חופש אמיתי, בניגוד לנתינות מתרפסת. היהודים זכו לחופש חלקי או מוחלט במספר ערים ומדינות. בברלין היתה מעורבותם בחיי הנוצרים גדולה כל כך, עד שנמצאו מי שטוענים כי במהלך אותה התקופה התנצרו כעשירית מיהודיה.

ישראל יעקובסון פתח בית ספר יהודי-נוצרי והכניס עוגב לבית הכנסת. במקביל נעשו שינויים מרחיקי לכת בנוסח סידור התפילה היהודי והוצאו ממנו כל התפילות המדברות על גאולה ושיבת ציון. שאלת הגאולה כלל לא עמדה על הפרק. היהודים הללו הרגישו כי הם נמצאים על ספו של דור חרש, שיגשים את רעיונות ההשכלה. כמתן הכשר לגאולה יהודית ייחודית ראו משום חוסר נאמנות לעם הגרמני.

סביב ה'סאלונים' האופנתיים שנוהלו על ידי נשים יהודיות, כרחל לוין - ורנהאגן (Varnhagen), הנרייטה גרץ (Grätz) ואחרות, התנהלו חיי התרבות. המשכילים הגרמניים הידועים שלקחו חלק ב'סאלונים', כגון: פייכטה (1762-1814 Fichte), האחים שלגל (Schlegel) ואחרים, אשר לא נמנעו מלהכיע את שאט נפשם מן היהודים, שאין להם חלק ונחלה בעם היהודי.

ההתנתקות של יהודי גרמניה מן הקהילה האורתודוקסית, תהליך שהחל כבר במאה ה-17, הגיעה לשיאה בתחילת המאה ה-19. נוצר פער הולך וגדל, שלא היה ניתן לגישור. למרות שעקרונות היהדות הרפורמית היו מקובלים רק על כמה עשרות יהודים, ורוב מניינם של היהודים נותר במסגרות המיושנות, היתה לתנועת הרפורמה השפעה גדולה מאוד, בעיקר עקב הגירת חכריה אל מעבר לים.

ב-1813 נענו יהודים רבים לקריאתו של פרידריך וילהלם (Friedrich Wilhelm, 1771-1815), מלך פרוסיה, ויצאו להילחם נגד נפוליאון. עם שובם מן המלחמה נכונה להם אכזבה מרה. הקנצלר (ראש הממשלה) האוסטרי מטרייך (Metternich 1773-1859), שהיה קנצלר אוסטריה מ-1813, הקים בקונגרס המנצחים כוינה (1815) את הברית (Bund) הגרמנית. הקונגרס, שביקש לכטל את רעיונות הלאומיות והמהפכנות, הביא איתו ריאקציה גם בנושא זכויות היהודים. הקונגרס קבע שהיהודים רשאים ליהנות מכל הזכויות שכבר אושרו להם על ידי מדינות גרמניה. הכיטוי הזה בא להחליף את המינוח 'במדינות גרמניה' משום שפרט לפרוסיה, שהעניקה בשנת 1812 שיוויון זכויות ליהודים היושבים בתחומה ובמקלנבורג (Mecklenburg), הוענק שיוויון הזכויות על ידי הצרפתים ולא על ידי מדינות גרמניה. הארץ נישטפה במהפכנות 'טויטונית' (Teutonen) - הכוונה לשבטים הגרמניים המקוריים. לימים הפך המושג למטבע לשון הכא לבטא את מקוריותם של הגרמנים הטהורים ללאומנות אנטי-יהודית.

ארגוני המתעמלים (Turnvereine), בראשותו של המנהיג הבריזמטי האב יאהן (Vater Jahn) ואירגון הסטורטנים הכלל גרמני החדש, הכורשנשפט (Burschenschaft), יצאו נגד הזר והלא-גרמני. בפסטיבל ורטבורג (Fest Wartburg) באוקטובר 1817, העלו כאש ספרים 'ריאקציוניים', ביניהם גם ספרים שנכתבו על ידי היהודי שאול אשר (Ascher). סופרים ואנשי אקדמיה גרמניים, ביניהם ידועים מאוד, כמו הפרופסורים פריז (Fries) מינה (Jena) ורוהס (Ruhs) מברלין, יצאו במאמרי שטנה נגד היהודים. מאחר והשפעתם של השניים היתה גדולה ביותר זכו גם מאמריהם באהרה מרובה.

על רקע זה פרצו בגרמניה באוגוסט 1819 פרעות שנשאו את השם 'פרעות ה-הפ-הפ' (Hepp-Hepp Krawalle). הפרעות, שהיו גם תולדת המשברים הכלכליים-חברתיים שאפיינו את המעבר בגרמניה מחברה קורפורטיבית ימי-ביניימית לחברה קפיטליסטית, הוכיחו ליהודים כי רגשות השנאה האנטי יהודיים, הימי-ביניימיים, לא פסו מגרמניה. מרי ויאוש הפכו מנת חלקם של היהודים. מי שרצו כריס כניסה מכובד לחברה הנוצרית נאלצו להתנצר.

דמוגראפיה והגירה יהודית

בסביבות שנת 1800 חיו רוב היהודים האשכנזים במזרח בגבולות ההשפעה התרבותית הגרמנית. למעשה נשאר רק מספר קטן של יהודים גרמניים, שמקורם עוד בימי הביניים. ברובם התגוררו סביב נהרות הריין (Rhein) והמיין (Main), כשמסביבם איזורים נרחבים ריקים מיהודים. עד למאה ה-18 לא היתה התיישבות יהודים באיזורים רבים של פרוסיה, מקלנבורג ובוואריה (Bavaria). וינה וברלין, בשני הקצוות של דרום וצפון, החלו מקבלות חשיבות מכרעת: ברלין במאה ה-18 ווינה, החל מן המאה ה-19. עם כיבושי פרידריך השני והחלוקה השלישית של פולין (1795), סופח מחוז פוזנן (Posen) הפולני לפרוסיה. באיזור זה התגוררו אלפי יהודים, שהיו ברבות הימים לרוב מניינה של יהדות גרמניה. מצב זה הביא לחוסר איזון בין הקהילות הגרמניות הוותיקות לבין הקהילות היהודיות שזה מקרוב סופחו.

אף על פי שכמעט ולא היו קשרי נישואין בינמעמדיים, המגע הביא להחרפת ההבדלים המעמדיים. רק מספר שנים לאחר מכן, כאשר יהודים אלה הבינו שהקהילה המסורתית אינה מספקת אותם יותר, הפכו לתומכיה הנלהבים של ההשכלה, הצטרפו למרכז בברלין ותרמו את חלקם במקצועות המסחר והעיתונאות. דרכי גרמניה מלאו יהודים 'פולנים', כפי שנקראו. חלקם ראה בגרמניה קרש קפיצה להגירה מעבר לים, חלקם נותר על אדמת פרוסיה. ארגוני עזרה הדדית של הקהילות השונות הגישו להם עזרה ככל אשר השיגה ידם. גם בקרב יהודי גרמניה עצמה התרחשה הגירה פנימית, בעיקר לאיזורים היותר אורבניים.

במאה ה-19 ישבה קבוצת היהודים השלישית כגודלה ברוכסות הסן (Hessen). עד למחצית המאה היה בה מספר היהודים בעליה מתמדת, ואז החלה ההגירה מעבר לים. אחת הסיבות לכך היא שרוכסות הסן לא לקחה חלק בהתפתחות הכלכלית של גרמניה, ועל כן העדיפו היהודים לעזבה. חסרו ברוכסות ערים דינאמיות. פרט לבירה קסל (Kassel) ולמספר ערי שדה, היתה הבחירה בין מלאכה למסחר. המשפחות היהודיות העדיפו מקורות פרנסה פרודוקטיביים יותר ונדרו למקומות אחרים. לאחר כ-15 שנים של הגירה בלתי פוסקת הצטמקו קהילות קטנות שמסביב לוורמס, עד אשר נעלמו לחלוטין. בבוואריה חלה ירידה משמעותית כמספר היהודים בעקבות חקיקת חוקים דרקונים נגדם. הקו הבולט שהסתמן החל ממחצית המאה ה-19 הוא ריכוזם ההולך וגובר של היהודים במדינה הפרוסית ובפרנקפורט, שמספר יהודיה עלה על זה של המבורג (Hamburg).

דמוגראפים מצביעים על העובדה המעניינת, שמספר היהודים גדל דווקא במקומות מסורתיים או במקומות בהם ניתנו להם זכויות (פרט לסקסוניה Sachsen, בה גדל מספר היהודים בהדרגה), אלא באשר ישבו או היגרו. התרבותם המוחלטת של היהודים היתה מהירה כהשוואה

לרובי הטבעי באירופה, שעברה מהפכה במתן שירותים רפואיים וסניטאריים. הדבר נבע ככל הנראה מן הסיבות הבאות: עליה בתוחלת החיים, ירידה בתמותת תינוקות, מיעוט מקרי התאבדות, יציבות בחיי המשפחה, מיעוט ילדים לא חוקיים, מעמד האישה, הדאגה לגידול הילדים, מספר נמוך של מקרי שיכרות, מסורת של עזרה הדדית, צדקה וכיו"ב. נקודה נוספת הראויה לציון היא שער שנת 1848 לא התפקדו רבים מן היהודים, על מנת להימנע מתשלום מסים. לאחר הקמת הרייך נאלצו להתפקד, והנתונים שהתקבלו מאז מהימנים יותר.

כבר במחצית המאה ה-18 ניכר זרם מהגרים יהודיים אל מחוץ לגבולות גרמניה. ההגירה התגברה לקראת שנות ה-30 של המאה ה-19 והגיעה לשיאה בשנות מרידות 'אביב העמים' (1848-1849) - השם שניתן למרידות ומהפכות נגד הריאקציה, במספר מדינות באירופה. בשנת 1848 היה מספר המהגרים כ-50,000 ובשנת 1880 כמאה אלף. חלקם היגרו לאנגליה וצרפת ואילו הרוב, ממש כמו הגרמנים הנוצרים, שם פעמיו לארצות הברית. מפקדים שנערכו בשנות ה-80 של המאה מעידים על כך שהיהודים היו מרוכזים ברוסיה, אוסטרו-הונגריה, גרמניה, הקיסרות העות'מאנית וניו-יורק. רוב המהגרים התרכזו בערים הגדולות.

הודות לאופיים העירוני השתלבו היהודים במהרה בתהליך העיור שעבר על אירופה. גדל מספרן של הקהילות היהודיות שמנו למעלה מ-10,000 איש, כגון בוורשה, וינה, אודסה, ברלין, ניו-יורק. העיתונים היהודיים מאותה תקופה תיארו את המהגרים באופן קורע לב. הם הסבירו את התופעה כברירה בין בריחה ומצוקה. עד להקמת הרייך הגרמני (1870) התייחסו הגרמנים בחיוב ליהודים המהגרים, משום שראו בהגירה אקט נגד הריאקציה. לאחר הקמת הרייך ראו בהם נושאים ובוגדים.

המרת דת ונישואי תערובת

החל ממחצית המאה ה-19 והצטמצמה מגמת הטבלת היהודים לנצרות. השיעורים עלו שוב לאחר הקמת הרייך. על פי נתוניו של הסוציולוג ארתור רופין (Ruppin) הוטבלו בגרמניה במהלך המאה ה-19 כ-22,500 יהודים. על פי נתון נוסף של ההיסטוריון אטינגר (Ettinger), כמאתיים אלף הוטבלו באירופה בלבד, רובם לדת הפרוטסטנטית. לא היתה חלוקה שווה של ההמרה ברחבי גרמניה. המגמה הכוללת ביותר היתה בברנדנבורג ובפרוסיה. ככל שהיו היהודים רחוקים יותר ממקורות ההשכלה וקרובים יותר למורשתם ההסטורית, כך היה שיעור ההמרה מועט. מומרים רבים הביאו את ילדיהם לטבילה עוד בטרם נירשמו כלל כיהודים, וכך אבדו ליהדות לחלוטין.

בתקופת 'אביב העמים' היו יהודים רבים, במיוחד בפרוסיה, שרצו לרעת האם התקנות החדשות משחררות אותם לחלוטין מתלותם בקהילה. כאשר התברר שהדבר אפשרי, הקימו הללו קהילות עצמאיות. מהפך חל בשנות ה-70, כאשר ניתן היה לפרוש כיחידים מקהילת העם, ללא כל צורך בהתכוללות, ושלא על מנת להצטרף לקהילה אחרת. החל משנת 1848 הוחל בהנהגת נישואין אזרחיים. בבראונשווייג (Braunschweig) והמבורג היה מספרם של יהודים שנישאו בדרך זו גדול במיוחד. החוק הפרוסי, מצידו, איפשר גיור ליהדות וידועים מקרים של יהודים מומרים שחזרו ליהדות, ושל גויים שהתגיירו.

ריבוד מקצועי

הריבוי, ההגירה והעיור השפיעו גם על פעילותם הכלכלית של היהודים. המגמות הבולטות בשנים אלו בענפי התעסוקה של היהודים הם כדלקמן: עליה ניכרת בענפי המסחר הסדיר והבנקאות; עליה במספר הנהנים מרווחי הון והשקעות; התמעטות מלאכות הכפיים, שכירי יום ושירותים ביתיים; צמצום ניכר במספר העניים וחסרי המקצוע. קשה לדעת מה היה כלל העובדים היהודיים, ומה היתה ההתפלגות המקצועית ביניהם. התמריץ לפרודוקטיביות היה גדול עד 1848 ואחר כך, פסק כמעט לחלוטין. הקריטריונים התעסוקתיים הפכו כלכליים יותר. מקצוע מעשי הפך לענף תעשייתי-מסחרי. ככלל, המקצועות המסורתיים, שהיו מבוססים על קשרים עם האחוזה הפיאודלית או שירותי חצר לנסיכים, ננחשו. התפתחות הקפיטליזם הפכה את העשירים לקפיטליסטים, ואת רוב היהודים לפועלים.

באותן השנים התגבש באיזורים העירוניים מעמד פועלים חזק, בעל הכרה מעמדית מפותחת. היהודים העירוניים נטו להפוך לסטונאים, יצואנים ויבואנים. הם סחרו בעיקר במוצרי מזון, מותרות או מוצרים עממיים (כ-80%). הם נהגו לאמץ שיטות פרסום שונות על מנת לפרסם מוצרים חדשים. בערי פרוסיה העדיפו יהודים מסיימי בתי ספר את המסחר על פני המלאכה. במקביל, גם הסטאטוס המקצועי של מספר מקצועות השתנה והם הפכו להיות מבובדים יותר, כגון המסחר הזעיר. החל תהליך התברגנות של יהודים בעלי הון התחלתי כלשהו. רבים מהם ניתפסו למקצועות שדרשו ניידות, כגון סוכן-נוסע, הרובל היהודי בדמות מודרנית. המטרה אליה שאפו להגיע היתה עצמאות כלכלית.

בנקאות

עם הפיכתם של הבנקים לגורם רב חשיבות במשטר הקפיטליסטי עזבו יהודים רבים את החלפנות והחלו לנהל בתי בנק פרטיים, מודרניים. הם הפיצו מילווה ממשלתיים, נתנו מילווה לממשלות וניהלו עסקים בקנה מידה בינלאומי. רוב רובם של הבנקאים הגדולים ובעלי ההשפעה באו ממשפחות יהודיות ידועות. רבים נטשו את קשריהם עם היהדות, אך היו גם מי שנותרו נאמנים לה, כגון בית רוטשילד. בלייכרודר (Bleichroeder, 1822-1893) היה בנקאי גרמני ופילנתרופ ידוע. החל מ-1855, לאחר שירש את הבנק של אביו, הפך ללידו הקרוב ויועצו של ביסמרק. באות תודה על מאמציו ותרומתו לאחר מלחמת צרפת-גרמניה הוענק לו תואר אצולה. עם הפיכת הבנקים לחברות מניות מצאו היהודים כר נרחב לפעולותיהם גם בתחום זה. בית רוטשילד היה פעיל בפיתוח הרבבות באוסטריה והבארון הירש (Hirsch) קיבל זכויות להקמת מסילות ברזל באימפריה העות'מאנית. היוזמה היהודית התפתחה בתחומי הטכסיל, המזון, המערנים, המותרות, הדפוס, ההוצאה לאור, הכימיה ועוד. לאחר הקמת הרייך היו בברלין יהודים רבים שעסקו בהוראה אקדמית.

בהקשר זה ראוי לציין במיוחד את הבנק האוסטרי Arnstein & Eskeles, אשר נוסד ונוהל ע"י בני משפחת אסקלס והיה למעשה הבנק הממלכתי האוסטרי במשך תקופה ארוכה במאה ה-18. לגבי פרטים בנושא זה, ר' Eskeles Genealogy, Line 2.

תעשייה

כמרכז ובמערב אירופה נטלו היהודים, שהיו כבר מבוססים מבחינה כלכלית, את היוזמה לפיתוח תעשייתי. בגרמניה בלטה השפעתם בדרום ובחבל הריין. הם עסקו בייצור מכוונות תעשייתיות, בתעשיית השמנים ובתעשיית הנחושת. רבים מהם, בעיקר בצפון גרמניה, השקיעו כספונות. יצוין שהיהודים החרשנים לא נטו להעסיק יהודים.

יש להזכיר בהקשר זה את בית החרושת למוצרי משי בצבייבריקן (Zweibrücken) של משפחת Escales, אחד הענפים של משפחת Eskeles. לגבי פרטים ר' Eskeles Genealogy, Line 11.

התערות חברתית והתבוללות

הפתיחות לחידושים בקרב היהודים לא היתה קיימת תמיד, אך גם לא בקרב כל הגויים. מבחינה חברתית, אפשר להבחין בשיגשוג וקשר תרבותי אמיץ בתקופה של קדם-מרץ (Vormärz) 1848. פתיחותה של החברה הגרמנית באותה העת הביאה רבים מן היהודים לנטוש את יהדותם, ולנסות להידמות ככל האפשר לגרמנים. בשנת 1848 התכנס בכנסית סנט-פאול הפרלמנט הגרמני. בעקבות מהפכת 1848 החליטו בני המעמד הבינוני לצאת נגד שיטת מטרניך הריאקציונית. הם דרשו בינוס של האסיפה הלאומית, שלימים נקראה 'הפרלמנט של פרנקפורט'. הפרלמנט התפורר לאחר שנתיים. אחר כך חלה הידרדרות קשה ביחסים בין יהודים לגויים. רוב העדויות הקיימות מתארות יחסים שטחיים למדי. רווקא בקרב אנשי הדת, שלא קיבלו את רעיונות השוויון באהדה מרובה, נמצא הבסיס לפעולה משותפת, בעיקר בתחום החינוך.

החינוך היהודי

מריניות החינוך שהונהגה במאה ה-18 היתה אמורה להבשיר את היהודים לקראת הפיכתם לאזרחים גרמניים. אולם, העקרונות שהינחו את מערכת החינוך נותרו מעורפלים. ככלל, ביקרו רוב ילדי ישראל בבית הספר והושם דגש גם על לימודי הבנות. לא היתה נטייה להקים בתי ספר יהודיים על מנת למנוע 'בדלנות' ובמובן שהיתה קיימת גם בעיה כספית של מימון המוסדות. הפיקוח על כל בתי הספר היה ממשלתי. בתי הספר היהודיים הקיימים המשיכו לשמור על רמה גבוהה למדי, למרות שחלק מן המשכילים היהודיים נטה לשלוח את ילדיהם לבתי ספר כלליים, שם היתה לפעמים הרמה נמוכה יותר. לא היו, למעשה, במעט מקרים של אפליה וליהודים לא היה כל קושי להתקבל לבתי הספר התיכוניים.

גם מספר הסטודנטים היהודיים באוניברסיטאות היה גבוה ממספרם היחסי באוכלוסייה. יחד עם זאת, אין לשבוח שככל שהמגע בין היהודים והסביבה העמיק, כך גברה האקולטורציה (Acculturation) - תהליך ההתערות וההתחברות של היהודים בחברה הנוצרית. ניתן לומר שהופיעה התרחקות מערכי היהדות, באופן מודע. השמירה על המסורת וההמשכיות נפלה על כתפי היהודים. יותר ויותר ילדים יהודיים הפכו מודעים למורשתם רק במועדים או כאשר התפרצה שנאת ישראל.

אישים יהודיים (מומרים...) בשיעור קומתם של המשורר היינריך היינה (Heinrich Heine, 1797-1856) והסופרים לודוויג ברנה (Boerne) - בשמו המקורי לייב ברוך, 1786-1837) ושאל אשר, לא היו רבים. נהפוך הוא. מספרם של היהודים הבולטים בתחומי הרוח והתרבות הלך ופחת. כך גם מספרם של היוצרים היהודיים. היהודים פעלו בקמפוניטודים, מוסיקאים ומורים, אך בקנה מידה מצומצם. הסופרים היהודיים אמנם לא המירו את דתם, אך גם לא השאירו בלל את רישומם לדורות הבאים. יוצרים יהודיים ניטמעו בחברה הנוצרית אך היו שנואים עליה, ממש כמו על החברה היהודית. גורל דומה היה מנת חלקם של היהודים לשעבר, שהיו ממקימי השמאל הסוציאליסטי כמו קארל מרקס (Marx 1818-1883) ופרדינאנד לאסאל (Lasalle, 1825-1864).

אל חלק מן המוציאים לאור היהודיים התייחסו באל ליבראליים, ממשיכי המסורת של 1848. בעולם הבידור נמצאה ליהודים האווירה החופשית, הלא מסורתית, שאיפשרה להם לפתח סוג חדש של תרבות, שהיה משוחרר מכבלי המסורת הגרמנית והיהודית כאחד. הביקורת היהודית קטלה אמנים אלו ללא דחם. בתחומי הטכניקה ומדעי הטבע לא הצטיינו היהודים. בעולם האקדמי התקשו לקבל פרופסורה. עוד יותר קשה היה להיות פרופסור מן המניין. נסיונותיהם של היהודים לשכנע את הנהלות האוניברסיטאות להקים קתדרות לחקר היהדות נחלו כישלון חרוץ. מאידך, מספרם של היהודים ששימשו כתומכים, מצנאטים תרבותיים-אמנותיים, עלה. הם יצרו חוגים אופנתיים ויוקרתיים, אשר חסרו את הקשר אל היהדות. השאלה הנשאלת היא עד כמה הצליח באמת תהליך האקולטורציה? היהודים הרגישו יחס אמביוולנטי. למרות שמקומו של הרגש הדתי הלך ונחלש, לא נעלמה השנאה ולימים, אף התגברה.

החקיקה האמנסיפטורית

עד לפרוץ מהפכת 1848 לא היתה אמנסיפציה מושלמת במעט באף אחת ממדינות גרמניה. המיפנה בגישתם של היהודים אל עניין השוויון חל בעיקר לאחר שבתקופת הריאקציה החלו האנשים להיות מודעים למה שהם עלולים לאבד. חלק מן היהודים פנה, מבחינה פוליטית, לאוריינטציה סוציאליסטית. הפוליטיזציה של תכני היהדות, מתוך האפולוגטיקה והמאבק על האמנסיפציה, הגבירה עוד יותר את תהליך החילון והגירמון שעבר על היהודים. בשנות הריאקציה עוכבה האמנסיפציה. במקומות שבבר ניתנה - נפגעה. הופקעו זכויות היהודים למשרות

ממשלתיות והם סולקו מכל משרת פיקוח דתית. בפרוסיה חל שינוי עם עלייתו לשלטון של המלך וילהלם ה-1, ששלט בין 1871-1888. ממשלת ביסמרק (Bismarck 1815-1898), שהיה נציג בפרלמנט פרנקפורט ולאחר מכן מונה לקנצלר פרוסיה, לא היתה ליבראלית והיתה מובנה לערוך תיקונים בחוק היהודים רק במידה והוא לא יגרור סכסוך עם הימין השמרני. גם אם נראה היה שחלו מספר שינויים במעמד היהודים, הם היו איטיים, מרגיזים ומעליבים.

בבוואריה, לדוגמא, קידם את עניין האמנסיפציה הצורך והביקוש להון, ליוזמה ולידיים עובדות. בפרוסיה ניתנה ליהודים אמנסיפציה מלאה ב-1869. בצו נאמר: "כל ההגבלות הנובעות מהברלי דת, שהיו קיימות עד עתה לגבי זכויות אזרחיות ומדיניות, בטלות ומבוטלות". היהדות המשיכה להיות רת ניסבלת, ולא אוזכרה בחוקת הרייך השני (1871-1918).

היהודים בגרמניה בתקופת הרייך השני

למרות שנראה היה כאילו השיגו היהודים אמנסיפציה אחרי שנת 1871, היתה זו אשליה במידה לא קטנה. נשמר אי-השוויון בעיניני חינוך, גביית מסים, מינוי רבנים צבאיים, אובל בשר בבתי החולים, שיחרור מעבודה בימי שבת ומועד, ועוד. ההגדרה המשפטית של הקהילה היהודית בקורפורציה יצרה מלכתחילה בעיה תחוקתית. לכן, כן השתללו להשוות בין הפרטים היהודיים. הליברליזם עזר בשילוב הפרטים בחברה המונוליטית. נראה שלא מירת התבוללותם של היהודים היא שקבעה את מועד מתן האמנסיפציה, אלא האינטרסים של הממשל. אינטגרציה של היהודים אל תוך המדינה הגרמנית היתה עשויה להביא תועלת בתקופה של תיעוש וקפיטליזציה. ביסמרק עצמו נזקק לתיקון בחוק במסגרת מערך הכוחות הפוליטיים.

בעקבות פיצויי המלחמה שקיבלה גרמניה מצרפת (מלחמת צרפת-גרמניה, 1870-1871), בה איכרה צרפת את איזור אלזס לורייין (Elsass-Lothringen) לגרמנים והתחייבה בפיצויי מלחמה בברים, נכנסה גרמניה לסיחרור כלכלי. הנפילה לא איחרה לבוא. משבר כלכלי שפרץ בשנת 1873 פגע מאד במעמד אנשי העסקים. היהודים שימשו, ממש כבעבר, קולר לתלות בו את האשם. התגובה הגרמנית היתה מהירה ואלימה. היא כללה חרם, מהומות, שור וכו'. התוצאה המשמעותית ביותר היתה הקמת מפלגה חרשה, שחרתה על רגלה את התיאוריה האנטישמית (Antisemitism), אותה הפכה למצעה העיקרי. זו נקורת מפנה ביחסה של החברה הגרמנית ליהודים. האנטישמיות הפכה לכוח פוליטי.

לאחר איחור גרמניה גרל זרם המהגרים היהודיים מן המזרח - ('Ostjuden'). הרתיעה מהם היתה משותפת ליהודים ולגרמנים כאחד. בכל הוויתם היו שונים מיהודי גרמניה. עם זאת, בעצם בואם, מנעו טמיעה והתבוללות מוחלטת של יהדות גרמניה. יחד איתם הופיעו גם ניצניה הראשונים של הציונות. למרות מיעוטם המספרי של הציונים הגרמנים, הם נודעו בחוזקם האירגוני. לאחר מות הרצל (1904), עבר המרכז הציוני לגרמניה, שם גם נשאר בעת המלחמה. במקביל התחזקה בגרמניה תנועת היהדות הניאו-אורתודוקסית. היא אופיינה על ידי יהודים משכילים, בעלי מקצועות חופשיים, ששמרו מאוד על יהדותם. הם היוו את הבסיס להקמת מפלגת 'אגודת ישראל'. הם הקימו מוסדות שונים להשכלה גבוהה ללימודי היהדות כאיזורים רבים בגרמניה. במהלך מלחמת העולם הראשונה (1914-1918), כאשר חלק מהם שימש כרבנים צבאיים, השפעתם על החיילים היהודיים היתה רבה.

רפובליקת ויימאר (1918-1932)

'ויימאר' הוא השם שניתן למדינה הגרמנית החדשה, שהוקמה בחסות בעלות הברית, לאחר תבוסת גרמניה במלחמה - על שם מקום מושבה של הממשלה. לאחר הקמת הממשלה החדשה נראה היה שהיהודים זכו לאמנסיפציה מלאה. הם מילאו תפקידים חשובים בפוליטיקה ובמדינה, ולקחו חלק בהקמת הממשל החדש. יהודים נימנו על מפלגות השמאל, הסוציאליסטית והדמוקרטית, והשתתפו בוועדת החקירה שבדקה את נסיבות כשלונה של גרמניה במלחמה. באיזורי פרוסיה לשעבר, יהודים מונו למשרות בכירות בשירות הציבורי. התפקידים והמעמד הרם שנשאו עורר שנאה עמוקה מצידם של הזמוני העם הגרמני, שסבלו באותה העת מאינפלציה גבוהה, שנצרה בחלקה על ידי תעשיינים מן הימין אשר ניצלו את המצב לצרכיהם, ואף השתמשו ביהודים על מנת לתלות בהם את האשם לכל צרותיה של גרמניה. מספר כשלונות כלכליים ופשיטות רגל, בהם היו מעורבים גם יהודים, לא עזרו לשיפור דימויים. התעמולה האנטי יהודית גברה. תיאוריית הבגידה של היהודים, שיתקעו סכין בגב' הגרמנים במלחמה, הלכה והתפשטה. מעורבותם של יהודים רבים בתנועות מרקסיסטיות, במקביל לחשש מפני התפשטות הקומוניזם, רק הגבירה את השנאה.

קהילות היהודיות בגרמניה ניסו להתמודד עם זרם הפליטים היהודיים מהמזרח, שהלך וגבר לאחר המלחמה. הוקמו אירגוני עזרה הדדית ולשכות רווחה, שהפכו לימים לגופים ארגוניים בעלי כוח. רוב היהודים התגוררו בערים, בעיקר בברלין, השאר - באלפי כפרים קטנים, חלקם במסגרת קהילות יהודיות ממוסדות, וחלקם ללא שירותים קהילתיים. רוב היהודים שלחו ידם במסחר והיו ניידיים בין מקצועות שונים. בערים היה משלח היד העיקרי מקצועות חופשיים: רפואה, עריכת דין, תיאטרון, אמנות, עיתונות. למרות שחלק מן היהודים איבדו רכוש רב בשנות האינפלציה, הצליחו רובם להתחזק לעצמם את רכושם עד עליית היטלר לשלטון. מספר המתבוללים והנישאים בנישואי תערובת היה גדול מאוד. האירגון היהודי הקהילתי תפקד באופן עצמאי כמעט במסגרת חוקת ויימאר, ואילו מערכת הארגונים הכלל-יהודיים בכל גרמניה היתה מוסדרת ובעלת קשרים עם ארגונים גרמניים וארגונים מעבר לים.

בלט מאוד המאבק הפנימי בתוך יהדות גרמניה בין לאומיות יהודית לבין התבוללות. עם הגירתם של סופרים יהודיים רבים מרוסיה לגרמניה, הפכה זו למרכז כתיבת העברית והאידיש. במקביל גדלה מאוד תפוצתם של ספרים, כתבים ועיתונים, שעסקו ביהודים ובישראל, גם בשפה הגרמנית.

היהודים ברייך השלישי (1933-1945)

עלייתה לשלטון בגרמניה של המפלגה הנאצית (National-Socialist), הרסה לחלוטין את המבנה היהודי בגרמניה. היהודים, שהיו קרובים להגשמת שאיפותיהם באזרחים גרמניים, הוכרו כגזע 'לא ארי', שאינו יכול לבוא בקהלם של מי שנחשבים ב'ארים' (גזע גרמני טהור). החלם היה עמוק, במיוחד אצל מי שראו עצמם כגרמנים לבל דבר, רחוקים מאוד מיהדותם. בשנת 1933 הוברז חרם על היהודים. בתי עסק ומסחר יהודיים סומנו בצהוב, ומשמרות ה-S.A. ('פלוגות המחץ' הנאציות) הקפידו על איסור כניסת גרמנים אליהם. במקביל החלו התפרעויות מאורגנות (על ידי הממשל) נגד היהודים. עם הקמת מחנות הריכוז הראשונים (1933) נשלחו לשם יהודים ומתנגדי השלטון. היהודים החלו נרחקים החוצה מכל המשרות שאותם החזיקו. בשנת 1935 נחקקו 'חוקי נירנברג'. בחוקים אלה אופיין היהודי עד 3 דורות אחורנית ונאסרו כל סוגי היחסים והמגע בין יהודים לגרמנים. באותה העת היו מספר התבטאויות של מנהיגיו נאציים, שטענו כי חוקי נירנברג בהחלט מספקים את המדיניות הנאצית יהודית, וכי אמצעים נוספים נגדם לא יינקטו.

במציאות היה הרבר שונה. אמנם, בין השנים 1935-1937, נותר עדיין הון זמין בידי היהודים, שבחלקם המשיכו לנהל מפעלים נושאי רווחים. יחד עם זאת, מקרים של הפקעת בסף ורבוש יהודי היו מחזה נפוץ. עם כיבוש אוסטריה, ה-Anschluss בשנת 1938, הורע עוד יותר מצב היהודים. בעיקר סבלו תושבי וינה היהודיים. אותם האירועים נישנו גם עם כיבוש חבל הסודטים (Sudetenland) באותה השנה. בגרמניה החמיר מצבם של היהודים לאחר 'ליל הברדלח' (Kristallnacht), שאירע ב-9 נובמבר 1938. בלילה אחד הועלו באש בתי כנסת ובתי מסחר יהודיים בכל רחבי גרמניה. על היהודים הוטל עונש קולקטיבי בסך 2 ביליון מארק.

החל מ-1939 מתחיל שילוחם של היהודים למחנות השמדה בגרמניה ומחוצה לה. יהודי גרמניה מחו נגר הנעשה וניסו להזכיר את מורשתם המשותפת ואת השתתפותם במלחמת העולם הראשונה, אך ללא הועיל. הם נאלצו לסמוך על עזרתם של אירגונים יהודיים שיוכלו לחלצם ממולדתם. יהודים שהיו מומרים מרורי דורות התקשו לחזור לחיק היהדות אך האחרים, ואפילו היו רחוקים מחיי הקהילה היהודית, ביקשו להיות פעילים ולהגיש עזרה. ההגירה נרמחה בעיניהם בפתרון האפשרי היחיד. הבעיה היתה שניתן היה לקלטם במספרים קטנים בלבד, וגם שערי ארץ-ישראל לא היו פתוחים לרווחה, מה גם שהיו רבים מביניהם שחסרו כל קשר עם הציונות.

מי שחפצו בעליה לארץ השתלמו בחוות מיוחדות, אשר הכשירו אותם לעבודה חקלאית, למען יוכלו להיקלט ביתר קלות. הקהילות היהודיות הקימו מוסדות לימוד, משום שנאסר על היהודים לבקר בבתי ספר רגילים. המורים היו יהודים שנפלטו ממוסדות חינוך והוראה גרמניים. עבור הנוער הוקמו ארגונים רבים של נוער חלוצי, שהבשיר עצמו לעליה לארץ-ישראל. בשנת 1940 העבירו הנאצים את הארגון המרכזי של יהדות גרמניה, שבראשו עמד הרב ליאו בק (Leo Baeck 1873-1956) למשרד הפנים הנאצי, לו נעשה כפוף. מעתה הוא נקרא: "The Reich Union of the Jews in Germany". באותה העת היו רבים מן היהודים כלואים במחנות ריכוז, ממתינים לתורם להישלח למחנות השמדה.

יהודים גרמנים שנמלטו למדינות מערב אירופה נתפסו שוב עת בבש הצבא הגרמני את האיזורים הללו (בלגיה, הולנד, צרפת). עד 1942 ניתן היה עדיין, למי שהיה בידיו, להימלט מגרמניה, דרך נמלי ספרד ופורטוגל. במרץ 1941 החל החיסול המוחלט של יהדות גרמניה. על התוכנית היה ממונה יד ימינו של היטלר, אדולף אייכמן (Eichmann) ששילח את יהודי גרמניה לגיטאות במזרח ולמחנות השמדה. מספר זהותאבדויות בקרב היהודים היה בעליה בלתי פוסקת. בעת הזאת הפסידו בבר כולם את רכושם והאירגונים היהודיים הפסיקו לפעול לחלוטין. חלק מיהודי גרמניה הגיע לגיטו - מחנה 'לרוגמא' תרזינשטאט (Theresienstadt), בצ'כיה. כ-20,000 יהודים (על פי חוקי נירנברג) נותרו חופשיים בגרמניה, כ-8000 חזרו מתרזין. בין 160,000-180,000 יהודים גרמנים מצאו את מותם במהלך המלחמה.

Gen. No.	Line	Gen. No.	Line
1 61 Simon, Elisabeth	11	1 90 Har, Mikhel	1A
1 62 Schroeder, Sandra	11	1 91 Farthing, Mark	9B
1 63 Masini, Livia Catherina	11	1 92 Farthing, Catherine	9B
1 64 Masini, Oliver Vittorio	11	1 93 Simmoneau, Pauline	9B
1 65 Masini, Cora Felicitas	11	1 94 Goudrian, Daniel	9B
1 66 Mehlretter, Lana Victoria	11	1 95 Sobel, Avigayil	1B
1 67 Nirk, Robert	11	1 96 Eshkolot, Shaked	1A
1 68 Probst, Andrea	11	1 97 Cohen, Kyle Bryan	6B
1 69 Probst, Stefanie	11	1 98 Mayerfeld, Christopher	6A
1 70 Kohler, Stefanie	11	1 99 Bell, Samuel	6A
1 71 Kohler, Katharina	11	1 100 Hallstead, Kristin Allison	6A
1 72 Kohler, Julia	11	1 101 Escales, Catharina	11
1 73 Kohler, Felix	11	1 102 Escales, Pascal	11
1 74 Kohler, Lukas	11	1 103 Sobel, Avigail	1B
1 75 Boehm, Daniel Peter	11	1 104 Guttman, Joel Alexander	5B
1 76 Boehm, Susanne Maria	11	1 105 Weintraub Smith, Rachel Hava	5C
1 77 Kast, Moritz Alexander	11	1 106 Winbigler, Michael David	5A
1 78 Kast, Sarah Verena	11	1 107 Levinson, Ginger Elaine	5A
1 79 Doyle, Anna Helene	11	1 108 Guttman, Naomi Hadas	5B
1 80 Doyle, Grete Marie	11	1 109 Hallsted, Kimberley D.	6A
1 81 Doyle, Richard Joseph	11	1 110 Doyle, Bridget Elizabeth	7
1 82 Doyle, Georg Karl Joseph	11	1 111 Ran Alon	1A
1 83 Kohler, Simon Franz Xaver	11		
1 84 Kohler, Hannah Maria	11	0 1 Benbenishti, Paz	1A
1 85 Har, Mikhel	1A	0 2 Goldsmith, Stephen	9A
1 86 Eshkolot Kimef, Assaf	1B	0 3 Goldsmith, Jan	9A
1 87 Sobel, Elya	1B	0 4 Goldsmith, Siri	9A
1 88 Koch, Garance	4	0 5 Catharina Escales	11A
1 89 Doyle, Bridget Elizabeth	11	0 6 Pascal Escales	11A

Gen. No.		Line	Gen. No.		Line		
2	91	Rockefeller, Eileen	1	1	Benbenishti, Tamir	1A	
2	92	Wolfson, Stacey	1	2	Pessakh, Shani	1A	
2	93	Eskeles, Robert Jan	1	3	Pessakh, Amit	1A	
2	94	Eskeles, Sally Ann	1	4	Pessakh, Ofir	1A	
2	95	Bell, Michel	6A	1	5	Pessakh, Adi	1A
2	96	Mayerfeld, Charles Andrew	6A	1	6	Weiser, Merav	1A
2	97	Hummel, Reed	5C	1	7	Weiser, Alon	1A
2	98	Hallsted, Richard	6A	1	8	Ravid, Efrat	1A
2	99	Altman, Gary	5B	1	9	Ravid, Mikhael	1A
2	100			1	10	Eshkolot, Nataly	1B
2	101			1	11	Straus, Laurie Rae	5B
2	102	Parker, Jean	7	1	12	Straus, Andrew	5B
2	103	Mc. Clain, Sandra Lee	7	1	13	Bougress Guttman, Ilan	5B
2	104	Richards, Robert Wallace	7	1	14	Bougress Guttman, Maital	5B
2	105	Tuchman, Sara Noomi	1A	1	15	Neadenthal, Leah Tobin	5B
2	106	Koch, Isabelle Irene	4	1	16	Neadenthal, Ariel	5B
2	107	Koch, Vincent Daniel Hugues	4	1	17	Appel, Benjamin David	6B
2	108	Doerr, Mary Cecile (Sally)	7	1	18	Pukach, Dorit Malka	6B
2	109	Grills, Lisa	7	1	19	Pukach, Daniel Yair	6B
2	110	Sobel, Daniel (Dooby)	1B	1	20	Levy, Joseph Mark	6B
2	111	Goldstein, Jan	5B	1	21	Levy, Marci Diane	6B
2	112	Escales, Barbara Christine	11A	1	22	Goldsmith, Astrid	9
2	113	Escales, Anne Sabine	11A	1	23	Goldsmith, Clara Emily	9
2	114	Escales, Regine Dorothee	11A	1	24	Cooper Weintraub, Aaron Paul	5C
2	115	Mehlretter, Hans Wolfgang	11A	1	25	Berg, Ora	9
2	116	Masini, Angelo Mario	11A	1	26	Berg, Sarit	9
2	117	Schroeder, Friedrich Ferdinand	11A	1	27	Liran, Narkiss	9
2	118	Probst, Christel	11A	1	28	Liran, Tal	9
2	119	Probst, Michael	11B	1	29	Blum, Meryl Elisa	6B
2	120	Escales, Eberhardt	11B	1	30	Salomon, Michelle Ann	7
2	121	Seefelder, Ferdinand	11B	1	31	Salomon, John A. Jr.	7
2	122	Nirk, Hermann	11B	1	32	Salomon, Nicholas	7
2	123	Ebert, Ingeborg	11B	1	33	Winbigler, Jessie Heather	5A
2	124	Kohler, Johannes	11C	1	34	Winbigler, Amy Leigh	5A
2	125	Kohler, Karola	11C	1	35	Smith Weintraub, Hannah Lynn	5C
2	126	Kohler, Christine	11C	1	36	Weiser, Amir	1A
2	127	Kohler, Beate	11C	1	37	Cohen, Mallery Susan	6B
2	128	Boehm, Peter	11C	1	38	Cohen, Corey Howard	6B
2	129	Kohler, Verena	11C	1	39	Growald, Adam R.	8
2	130	Rauch, Franz	11C	1	40	Louria, Joshua	8
2	131	Doyle, Richard Joseph	11C	1	41	Louria, Eriñ	8
2	132	Kohler, Monika Regina	11C	1	42	Weintraub, Arielle	5C
2	133	Kast, Bernd Rudolf	11C	1	43	Mayerfeld, Catherine Emily	6
2	134	Kohler, Eva	11C	1	44	Eshkolot Kimel, Yotam	1B
2	135	Kohler, Thomas	11C	1	45	Goldsmith, Alexander	9
2	136	Gumbel, Jennifer	9B	1	46	Bougress Guttman, Yoav	5B
2	137	Gumbel, Rosemarie	9B	1	47	Pukach, Khagit	6B
2	138	Gumbel, John	9B	1	48	Eskeles Bertrand, Tamra Renee	7
2	139	Gumbel, Peter	9B	1	49	Eskeles, Brian Jason	7
2	140	Gumbel, Andrew	9B	1	50	Richards, David Bradley	7
2	141	Farthing, Gay	9B	1	51	Richards, Matthew Allen	7
2	142	Simmonneau, Fabrice	9B	1	52	Appel, Denise Joan	6B
2	143	Goudrian, Fernanda	9B	1	53	Doyle Pitts, Kathleen	7
2	144	?????????, Riccarda	9B	1	54	Growald Speier, Daniel	8
2	145	Genevaux, Alain	9B	1	55	Altman, Matthew Alan	5B
2	146	Genevaux, Annick	9B	1	56	Altman, Jill Beth	5B
2	147	Genevaux, Olivier	9B	1	57	Blum, Andrew Robert	6B
2	148	Genevaux, Karin	9B	1	58	Eshkolot, Niv	1A
2	149	Schumacher, Rolf	11	1	59	Pukach, Alon	6B
2	150	Kenig, Jacqueline Fey	5C	1	60	Escales, Ivo	11

Gen.	No.		Line	Gen.	No.		Line
3	62	Eskeles, Dr. Miksa	12	2	27	Guttman, Gary	5B
3	63	Eskeles, Marcel	12	2	28	Bougess, Nancy	5B
3	64	Eskeles, Eugenia	12	2	29	Gabe, Tom	5B
3	65	Eskeles, Josef	12	2	30	Weintraub, Martha Sue	5C
3	66	Weintraub, Lucyna	12	2	31	Weintraub, Barbara	5C
3	67	Eskeles, Gabriel	12	2	32	Weintraub, Robert Mark	5C
3	68	Eskeles, Dunia	12	2	33	Cooper, Jonathan	5C
3	69	Eskeles, Fanka	12	2	34	Smith, Peter	5C
3	70	Eskeles, Regina	12	2	35	Foyer, Vicki	5C
3	71	Goldwasser, Wilhelm	12	2	36	Foyer, Marlene	5C
3	72	Bloch, Therese	4	2	37	Maran, Scott Brian	5C
3	73	Escales, Ernst Erich	11	2	38	Blum, David	6B
3	74	Doeffinger, Gertrud	11	2	39	Albrecht, Ann	6A
3	75	Escales, Erika	11	2	40	Mayerfeld, Russel K.	6A
3	76	Probst, Friedrich Wilhelm	11	2	41	Mayerfeld, Pamela	6A
3	77	Escales, Erna	11	2	42	Mayerfeld, Diane Becker	6A
3	78	Escales, Edith	11	2	43	Mayerfeld, Jason Matthew	6A
3	79	Escales, Eva	11	2	44	Appel, Lesley Stewart	6B
3	80	Tralli, Tom	11	2	45	Rose, Carol	6B
3	81	Escales, Else	11	2	46	Rose, Arlene Susan	6B
3	82	Kohler, Herbert	11	2	47	Pukach, Yaron	6B
3	83	Stoeber, Walter	11	2	48	Rose, Janet Gayle	6B
3	84	Stoeber, Hedwig	11	2	49	Rose, Ellen Frances	6B
3	85	Cohen, Fritz	9B	2	50	Rose, Robin	6B
3	86	Frank, Ellen	9B	2	51	Levy, David William	6B
3	87	Frank, Marion	9B	2	52	Rose, Sharon	6B
3	88	Gumbel, Hans Edward	9B	2	53	Rose, Raymond	6B
3	89	Frank, George (Guenther Max)	9B	2	54	Cohen, Jeffrey	6B
3	90	Mangin, Jean	9B	2	55	Eskeles, Maria Cynthia	7
3	91	Mangin, Jacques	9B	2	56	Wood, Jack Allen	7
3	92	Mangin, Marie-Reine	9B	2	57	Growald, Paul Jeffrey	8
3	93	Mangin, Nicole	9B	2	58	Louria, Kenneth	8
3	94	Mangin, Bernadette	9B	2	59	Louria, Marc H.	8
3	95	Mangin, Francoise	9B	2	60	Loewenberg, Wally	3
3	96	Mangin, Paul	9B	2	61	Eskeles, Jeanine	10
3	97	Genevaux, Paul	9B	2	62	Goldsmith, Peter Anthony	9
3	98	Bettenbourg, Michele	9B	2	63	Goldsmith, Roger Stephen	9
				2	64	Goldsmith, Jonathan Philip	9
2	1	Eshkolot, Rachel	1A	2	65	Goldschmidt, Lea	9
2	2	Eshkolot, Ayala	1A	2	66	Goldschmidt, Dina	9
2	3	Eshkolot, Talya	1A	2	67	Harwood-Barnes, Elizabeth Ann	9
2	4	Eshkolot, Itamar	1A	2	68	Pfeiffer, Inge	9
2	5	Eshkolot, Mikhal	1B	2	69	St. Joan Smith, Hermione	9
2	6	Wilsker, Nira	1B	2	70	Steckler, David	5A
2	7	Wilsker, Dana	1B	2	71	Winbigler, David	5A
2	8	Eshkolot, Yaron	1B	2	72	Wallace, Deborah Nan	5B
2	9	Benbenishti, Shimshon	1A	2	73	Berg, Josef	9
2	10	Pessakh, Hillel	1A	2	74	Liran, Shlomo	9
2	11	Lupovski, Narda	1B	2	75	Goldwasser, Iga	10
2	12	Weiser, Mikhael	1A	2	76	Salomon, Edward M. III	7
2	13	Ravid, Menakhem	1A	2	77	Salomon, John Adrian	7
2	14	Levinson, Sharon	5A	2	78	Doyle, Jerome Francis Jr.	7
2	15	Levinson, Debra	5A	2	79	Doyle, Sean	7
2	16	Levinson, Lee	5A	2	80	Doyle, Deidre Genevieve	7
2	17	Goldner, Arthur	5B	2	81	Doyle, Christopher Edward	7
2	18	Goldner, Cynthia	5B	2	82	Pitts, John Jeffrey	7
2	19	Goldner, Francie	5B	2	83	Kimel, Eitan	1B
2	20	Goldner, Fred-Joseph	5B	2	84	Periut, Maria	5A
2	21	Neadertal, Elise	5B	2	85	Pear, Steven Jay	5A
2	22	Neadertal, Robert	5B	2	86	Pear, David Mark	5A
2	23	Straus, James Mayer	5B	2	87	Alabaster, Arlene	5A
2	24	Greenfield, Julie	5B	2	88	Mc. Kitterick, Nancy	7
2	25	Guttman, Fred	5B	2	89	Kristy, Nancy	7
2	26	Guttman, Gail	5B	2	90	Porass, Karmen	5B

Gen. No.	Line	Gen. No.	Line
4 1	Eskeles, Otto	3 1	Eshkolot, Zeev (Wolfgang Hermann Eskeles)
4 2	Eskeles, Frieda	3 2	Eshkolot, David (Robert David Eskeles)
4 3	Eskeles, Joseph Max	3 3	Eshkolot Shoshanna
4 4	Eskeles, Alfred	3 4	Wolf, Khanna
4 5	Schoenfeld, Olga	3 5	Rachel Eshkolot born Fleischer
4 6	Kronheimer, Paula	3 6	Galperin, Manya
4 7	Goldschmidt, Alfred	3 7	Wilsker, Mark
4 8	Eskeles, Arthur Hermann	3 8	Goldschmidt, Hans Yaacov
4 9	Eskeles, Edmund	3 9	Goldschmidt, Hermann Khaim
4 10	Eskeles, Johanna	3 10	Friediger, Eva Khava
4 11	Eskeles, Selma	3 11	Eskeles, Robert Gabriel
4 12	Blumenthal, Babette	3 12	Eskeles, Max
4 13	Reis, Klara	3 13	Wittenstein, Florence
4 14	Schwartz, Adolf	3 14	Levinson, Irvin
4 15	Eskeles, Henrietta Jette	3 15	Levinson, Marcia
4 16	Eskeles, Hugo Arthur	3 16	Bergida, Helena
4 17	Marx, Bertha	3 17	Goldner, Fred Jr.
4 18	Goldner, Paula	3 18	Goldner, Henrietta Rebecca
4 19	Levinson, Saul	3 19	Goldner, Norma Louise
4 20	Niedzballa, Josefa Emma	3 20	Foyer, Louise Ann
4 21	(Niedzballa), dead born boy	3 21	Schwartz, Selma
4 22	Speier, Meta	3 22	Loewenberg Willi
4 23	Goldner, Fred	3 23	Unobskey, Martha
4 24	Weinberg, Ida	3 24	Guttman, Jerome Jack
4 25	Goldner, Hortense	3 25	Weintraub, Murray
4 26	Foyer, Murry	3 26	Gordon, Marilyn
4 27	Mayerfeld, Johanna	3 27	Pear, Charles Sanford
4 28	Mayerfeld, Arthur	3 28	Mayerfeld, Walter
4 29	Lustig, Fanny	3 29	Rosenbaum, Stephanie
4 30	Frank, Antonia (Tony)	3 30	Mayerfeld, Ernest
4 31	Cohen, Arthur	3 31	Mayerfeld, Marilyn
4 32	Rose, Leopold	3 32	Rose, Kurt
4 33	Blumenthal, Johanna	3 33	Loeb, Joan
4 34	Eskeles, Irwin Hermann	3 34	Neadenthal, William Michael
4 35	Eskeles, Adrian Joel	3 35	Joseph, Dorothy
4 36	Werner, Birdie	3 36	Rapp, Eric
4 37	Maria Maury Caroline Schulte	3 37	Rose, Paula
4 38	Blumenthal, Bernhard	3 38	Rose, Werner
4 39	Speier, Max	3 39	Helfer, Evelyn
4 40	Bacharach, Paula	3 40	Eskeles, John (Jack) Schulte
4 41	Stern, (Eskeles) Grete	3 41	Valcol, Dorothy
4 42	Tuteur, Son	3 42	Speier, Ursula
4 43	Tuteur, Son	3 43	Growald, Bert
4 44	Cruenebaum, Karla	3 44	Speier, Eva
4 45	Eskeles, Rosa	3 45	Louria, Dr. Henry
4 46	Eskeles, Emilie	3 46	Levin, Marcella
4 47	Nachmann, Rudolph	3 47	Eskeles, Lore Ilse
4 48	Forst, Isidor	3 48	Wiesenthal, Gisela
4 49	Frank, Anni	3 49	Foyer, Henry Edwin
4 50	Eskeles, Yaacov	3 50	Mayer, Mildred
4 51	Eskeles, Anna	3 51	Eskeles, Joan Adrienne
4 52	Tuteur, Emilie	3 52	Salomon, Edward M.
4 53	Loew, Mayer	3 53	Brockschmitt, Corelia Dorothy Corey Krech
4 54	Frank, Ernst Joseph	3 54	Eskeles, Joan
4 55	Tuteur, Marie Anne	3 55	Doyle, Jerome Francis
4 56	Mangin, Pierre	3 56	Simon, Irene
4 57	Tuteur, Emilie	3 57	Blumenthal, Margarete
4 58	Loew, Mayer	3 58	Koch, Guenther Gerard
4 59	Heinrich Gablenz-Eskeles	3 59	Koch, Inge
4 60	Amalie Eskeles	3 60	
4 61	Eugen Koch	3 61	
4 62	Ida Becker		
4 63	Isidor David Schoenfeld		

Gen. No.	Line	Gen. No.	Line
6 1 Eskeles, Abraham	1	5 1 Eskeles, Hermann Naftali	1
6 2 Eskeles, Gabriel	3	5 2 Eskeles, Henriette Jettchen	1-5
6 3 Eskeles, Feist	4	5 3 Eskeles, Babette Bettchen	1-8
6 4 Mannheimer, Hannche	1-7	5 4 Eskeles, Amalie	1-6
6 5 Lilienstern, Hannche	1	5 5 Eskeles, Max Meyer	1-7
6 6 Ginsberger, Eva	1	5 6 Eskeles, Moses Moritz	1
6 7 Salomon, Jettchen Johanetta	4	5 7 Frank, Mathilde	1-9
6 8 Speier, Marum	8	5 8 Frank, Jeannette	1-9
6 9 Popper, Marianne	8	5 9 Eskeles, Moses Moritz	3
6 10 Eskeles, Helene Maria Caecilie von	2	5 10 Eskeles, Frommet	3
6 11 Eskeles, Mathilde Katharina von	2	5 11 Eskeles, without name	3
6 12 Eskeles, Emilie Maria von	2	5 12 Eskeles, Malche Amalie	3
6 13 Eskeles, Malvine Henriette von	2	5 13 Eskeles, Dorothea	3
6 14 Eskeles, Bernardine Seraphine von	2	5 14 Eskeles, Leopold	3
6 15 Eskeles, Maria Flora Cecilia Augusta von	2	5 15 Eskeles, Hermann	3
6 16 Gablenz, Ludwig von	2	5 16 Eskeles, Emilie	3
6 17 Gabriac, Joseph Marquis de	2	5 17 Eskeles, Hannche	3
6 18 Raule, Theodor Baron von	2	5 18 Eskeles, Moses	4
6 19 Baertling, James Knight von	2	5 19 Eskeles, Eva	4
6 20 Canigniani, Giovanni Marchese	2	5 20 Eskeles, Emilie	4
6 21 Saracini, Wilhelm Count	2	5 21 Eskeles, Malche	4
6 22 Frank, Joseph	9	5 22 Eskeles, Hermann	4
6 23 Hellmann, Rosalie	9	5 23 Niedzballa, Johann Viktor	3
6 24 Baer, Josefine	10	5 24 Maierfeld, Leopold	6B
6 25 Heinrich, Jacob	10	5 25 Speier, Bernhard	8
6 26 Eskeles, Jacob	10	5 26 Simon, Eva Katherina Susanna	4
6 27 Mannheimer, Joel	1-7	5 27 Goldner, Lee Simon	5
6 28 Escales, Caroline	11	5 28 Rothschild, Babette Betti	3
6 29 Escales, Maurice Moritz Moses	11	5 29 Mannheimer, Dora	7
6 30 Escales, Gertrud	11	5 30	
6 31 Escales, Johanna	11	5 31 Frank, Max	9
6 32 Escales, Gustav	11	5 32 Frank, Caroline	9
6 33 Escales Gabriel	11	5 33 Frank Ernestine	9
6 34 Hatry, Moses August	11	5 34 Frank, Amalie	9
6 35 Hatry, August	11	5 35 Bluemlein, Ida Karoline	9B
6 36 Levy, Louise Bertha	11	5 36 Kahn, Max	9
6 37 Escales, Salomon	11	5 37 Tuteur, Felix	9
6 38 Mass, Rosalie	7	5 38 Gruenebaum, Max Maximilian	9B
6 39 Leopold Eskeles	?	5 39 Escales, Leopold	11
6 40 Bluemlein, Joseph	9B	5 40 Escales, Helena	11
6 41 Gruenebaum, Aaron	9B	5 41 Escales, Ernst Richard	11
6 42 Schueler, Reguna	9B	5 42 Escales, Emma	11
6 43 Baer, Bernard	9B	5 43 Escales, Otto	11
6 44 Benjamin, Laura	9B	5 44 Escales, Emil	11
6 45 Yaacov Eskeles	10	5 45 Escales, Karl Johann	11
6 46 Eskeles, Rosalie	10	5 46 Escales, Anna Wilhelmina	11
6 47 Johanetta Salomon	11	5 47 Escales, Friedrich Rudolph Moritz	11
6 48 Eskeles, Adolf	10	5 48 Escales, Tina bom Meyer	11
6 49 Wilhelm Baer	10	5 49 Escales, Ann bom Roeder	11
6 50 Eskeles, Bernhard	10	5 50 Stoeber, Franz	11
6 51 Eskeles, Maximilian	10	5 51 Meier, Tina	11
6 52 Kilian, Gabriel	10	5 52 Beer, Karoline	9B
		5 53 Kahn, Max	9B
		5 54 Tuteur, Bernard	9C
		5 55 Anne Blumstein	9C
		5 56 Heinrich Gablenz-Eskeles	2

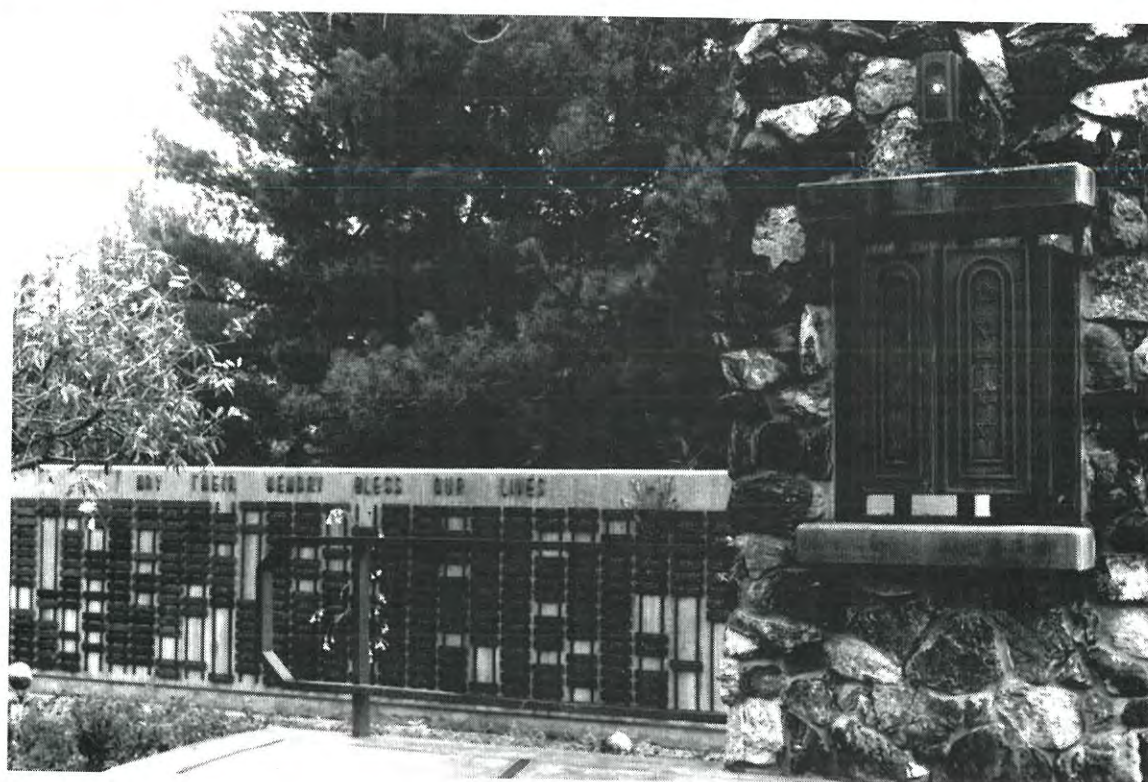
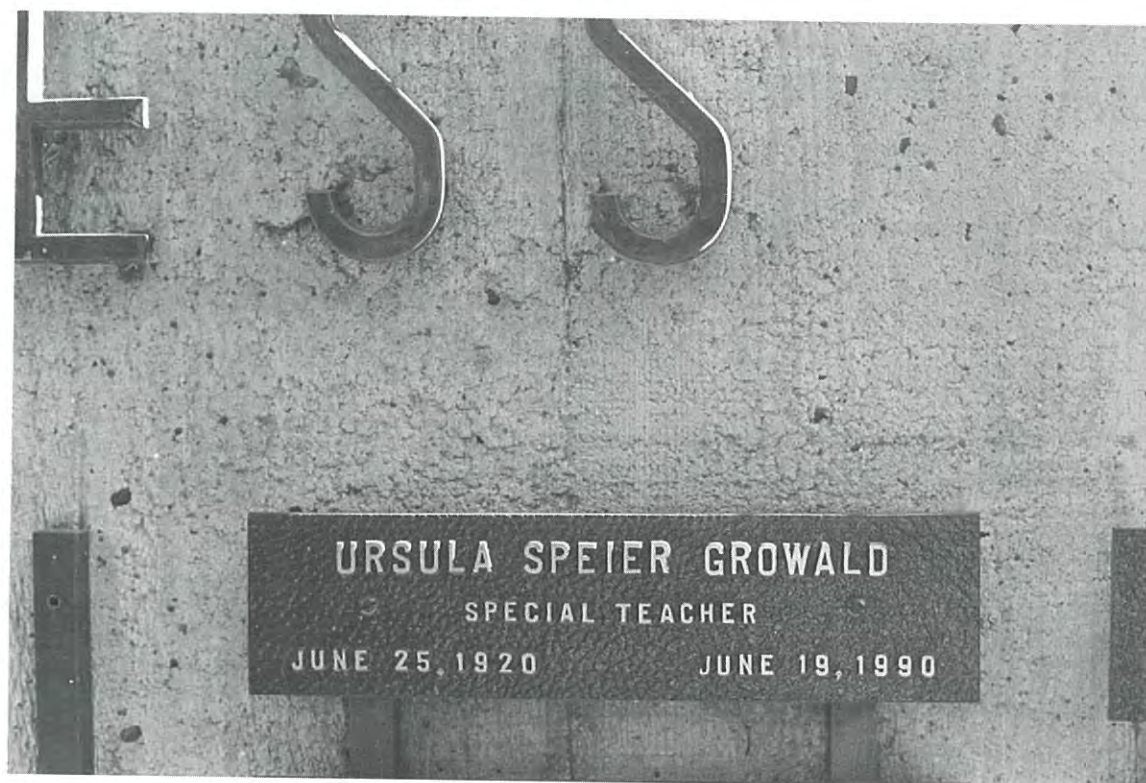
LIST OF ALL MEMBERS OF ESKELES FAMILY

Gen.	No.		Line	Gen.	No.		Line
21	1	Bezalel Ben Yaacov (Loeb)	Main	8	1	Eskeles, Gabriel	Main-1
20	1	Yehuda Loew (Liwa) Ben Bezalel	Main	8	2	Eskeles, Bonie Bondel	Main
19	1	Bezalel Ben Yehuda Loew (Liwa)	Main	8	3	Eskeles-Escales Loew, Moshe Moses	Main-11
18	1	Khaim Ben Bezalel Loeb	Main	8	4	Eskeles, Aharon	Main-12
17	1	Bezalel Ben Khaim Loeb	Main	8	5	Eskeles, Yaacov	Main-12
17	2	Bat R. Khaim Issenheimer	Main	8	6	Eskeles, Edel	Main
16	1	Sinai Ben Bezalel Loeb	Main	8	7	Eskeles, Uri Feiwelmann	Main-1
16	2	Yehuda Loew (Liwa) Ben Bezalel (MAHARAL)	Main	8	8	Eskeles, Rosa	Main
16	3	Daughter Bat Bezalel Loeb	Main	8	9	Eskeles, Hannche born Simonis	1
16	4	Khaim Ben Bezalel Loeb	Main	8	10	Hemele, Homele Clara	1
16	5	Shimshon Ben Bezalel Loeb	Main	8	11	Scheyer, Ella Rebecca	1
16	6	Wessels, Khanna Enokh Main		8	12	Turnau, Wolf Salman Shlomo	Main
16	7	Schmelkes, Perla Bat R. Shmuel	Main	8	13	Guenther-Eskeles, Son	2
16	8	Kara, Avigdor	Main	8	14	Guenther-Eskeles, Son	2
16	9	Bak, Bat Shmuel	Main	8	15	Hellmann, Mordel	9
15	1	Khaim Ben Sinai Loeb	Main	8	16	Hellmann Esther	9
15	2	Krassna Bat Gavriel	Main	8	17	Frank, Seligmann	9
14	1	Yehuda Ben Khaim Loeb	Main	8	18	Frank, Miryam	9
14	2	Hacohen, Daughter Bat Yitskhak	Main	8	19	Levy, Salomon	11
				8	20	Brentano, Philippina	11
12	1	Eskeles, Gabriel Ben Yehuda Loeb	Main	8	21	Yaacov, Besele	11
12	2	Peretz Ben Yehuda Loeb	Main	8	22	Bruell Breunle	11
12	3	Yaacov Koppel Ben Yehuda Loeb	Main	8	23	Aharon Loeb Eskeles	10
12	4	Heschel, Esther Hadassa Bat Issakhar Berush	Main	8	24	Merle Baruch	10
				8	25	Son Ben Khaim Joachim Loeb Ostrow	10
10	1	Eskeles-Fuerth, Yaacov Khaim	Main				
10	2	Eskeles, Berend Gavriel	Main-2	7	1	Eskeles, Moses	1
10	3	Eskeles, Yehuda Loeb	Main-10	7	2	Eskeles, Yehuda Loeb	1
10	4	Eskeles, Bella Rebecca	Main	7	3	Sonnenberg, Babette Braeunle	1
10	5	Eskeles, Teivele Tova	Main	7	4	Eskeles, Yaacov Wiener	1
10	6	Bat Mordekhai Hacohen	Main	7	5	Eskeles, Ella Enste Wiener	1
10	7	Lvov, Khava Khavole Bat Aharon Yekheskel	Main	7	6	Jettchen ? married Abraham Mannheimer	1-7
10	8	Hacohen, Keila Bat Naftali Hirsh	10	7	7	Eskeles, Danis Daniel Freiherr von	2
10	9	Lvov, Aharon Yekheskel Ben Moshe	Main	7	8	Brentano Cimaroli, Emilie Freifrau	2
10	10	Eisenstadt, Eliyahu Ben Avraham	Main	7	9	Eskeles, Marianne Baroness von	2
10	11	Froeschels, Isaac Ben Salomon Halevi	Main	7	10	Wimpfen, Franz Graf von	2
10	12	Wertheimer, Rivka Khava	2	7	11	Lehnhein, Sara	9
10	13	Wertheimer, Khanna	2	7	12	Frank, Markus	9
				7	13	Frankin, Kela Karoline	9
9	1	Eskeles-Fuerth, Yehuda Loeb Ben Yaacov	Main	7	14	Hellmann, Mordekhai Lazarus	9
9	2	Eskeles, Kroendel Kreindel Bat Yaacov	Main	7	15	Bluemlein, Markus	
9	3	Eskeles, Rivka Rebecca Bat Yaacov	Main	7	16	Eskeles, Nanette	10
9	4	Eskeles, Sara Alek Bat Yaacov	Main	7	17	Kulp, Yehuda Mayer	10
9	5	Eskeles, Rosa Bat Yaacov	Main	7	18	Baer, Bernhard	10
9	6	Fraenkel, Voegel Lea Bat Zekel	Main	7	19	Johann Ludwig Eskeles	10
9	7	Lichtenstadt, Hindel Rakhel Bat Moshe	Main	7	20	Escales, Leopold Loew	11
9	8	Pollak, Rosa Bat Shimon	Main	7	21	Brentano, Christina Nanette	11
9	9	Margolis, Hirshel Yaacov Nathan	Main	7	22	Escales, Rosalie	11
9	10	Bing, Moshe	Main	7	23	Escales, Bele Salomon Marianne	11
9	11	Marktbreiter Pinkhas	Main	7	24	Escales, Babette	11
9	12	Eskeles, Margarethe Bat Berend	2	7	25	Heilmann, Isaac Viktor	9B
9	13	Eskeles, Esther Bat Berend	2	7	26	Freudenberger, Jette	9B
9	14	Eskeles, Lea Eleonore Bat Berend	2	7	27	Wiesengrund, Fanny	9B
9	15	Fliess, Meir	2	7	28	Simon, Rika	9B
9	16	Eskeles, Bernhard Freiherr v.	2	7	29	Gruenebaum, Isaac	9B
9	17	Wolf, Cecilie born Itzig	2	7	30	Schueler, Moses	9B
9	18	Eskeles, Khaim Joachim Loeb Ostrw	10	7	31	Cohen, Roeschen	9B
9	19	Günther, Valentin	2	7	32	Baer, Levy	9B
				7	33	Leffmann, Sara	9B
				7	34	Baer Eskeles, Josephine	10
				7	35	Abraham Mannheimer	7

Family Name	Given Name	Address		Phone	Fax
Mayerfeld	Pam & Richard Hallsted	890, East Meadow Dr.	Palo Alto, CA.	94 306 (415)	493-6196
Mayerfeld	Russell & Ann	707, Cummings Ave.	Kenilworth, IL.	60 043 (312)	256-0292
Neadenthal	Robert & Julie	5912, Long Meadow Rd.	Nashville, TN.	37 205 (615)	356-7072
Neadenthal	Norma	4500, Post Rd. D-43	Nashville, TN.	37 205 (615)	356-6593 (615) 329 8026
Pear	David	331, S. Yates Rd.	Memphis, TN.	38 119 (407)	626 4107
Pear	Marcia	1108, Marine Way No. 82L	West Palm Beach, FL.	33 408 (407)	876-5241
Pear	Steven Jay	605, Dakdale St. P.O. Box 1049	Windermere, FL.	32 786 (407)	876-5241
Pessakh	Rachel & Hillel	Kibbutz Mishmar Haemek	Ladue, MO.	19 236 (04)	9896 746
Pitts	Jeff & Deidre	16 Burroughs Lane	Kfar Yona	63 124 (314)	432-4331
Pukach	Yaron & Arlene	12, Hahartzit St., P.O.Box 699	Chevy Chase, MD.	40 300 (053)	686 364
Rapp	Eric	2810, Spencer Rd.	Kiryat Bialik	20 815 (301)	589-5980
Ravid	Talya	15, Habroshim St.	Nashville, TN.	27 000 (04)	8733 524
Rose	Kurt	210, Old Hickory Blvd. No. 13	Nashville, TN.	37 221 (615)	646-3569 (615) 646-6385
Rose	Robin	513, Bellmore Pl.	Siver Spring, MD.	37 209 (615)	356-0618
Rose	Werner & Evelyn Raymond	1503, Ladd	Coral Gables, FL.	20 902 (301)	649-2678
Salomon	Edward M. Jr. & Adrienne Joan	700, Coral Way	Kissimmee, FL.	33 134 (305)	446-2079
Salomon	Edward III	1464, Heather Way	Miami, FL.	32 741 (407)	846-7189
Salomon	John & Nancy	7305, S.W.140th Terrace	St. Louis, MO.	33 158 (305)	233-7675
Steckler	Sharon & David	11620, Misty Moss Court	Nashville, TN.	63 146 (314)	567-6836
Straus	James & Elise	5929, Sedberry Rd.	Chicago, IL.	37 205 (615)	352-4747 (615) 329 8026
Straus	Laurie	600 W. Diversay Parkway	N.Clarendon, VT.	60 614 (312)	868 9459
Weintraub	Barbara	295, East St.	Ann Arbor, MI.	05 759 (802)	775-5363
Weintraub	Martha & Peter Smith	606, Wilton Court	Pittsburg, PA.	48 103 (313)	995-5337
Weintraub	Murray & Louise Ann	1175, Grouse Dr.	Los Angeles, CA.	15 243 (412)	279-7807
Weintraub	Robert	1804 Malcolm Ave.	Kiryat Motskin	90 025 (213)	475-2213
Weiser	Mikhael & Ayala	1, Rokakh St.	Haifa	26 376 (04)	8717 946
				050-318-129	
Wilsker	Nira & Dana	18, Margalit St.	Haifa	34 366 (04)	8241 045
Wilsker	Shoshana	9A, Mappu St.	Haifa	34 361 (04)	8242 412
Winbigler	Debra & David	4501, Long Island Lane	Arlington, TX.	76 017 (815)	4657-6421

3.42 URSULA GROWALD born SPEIER
אורסולה גרוואלד לבית שפייר

b. 25.6.1920
d. 19.6.1990



Memorial plate
Ursula Speier

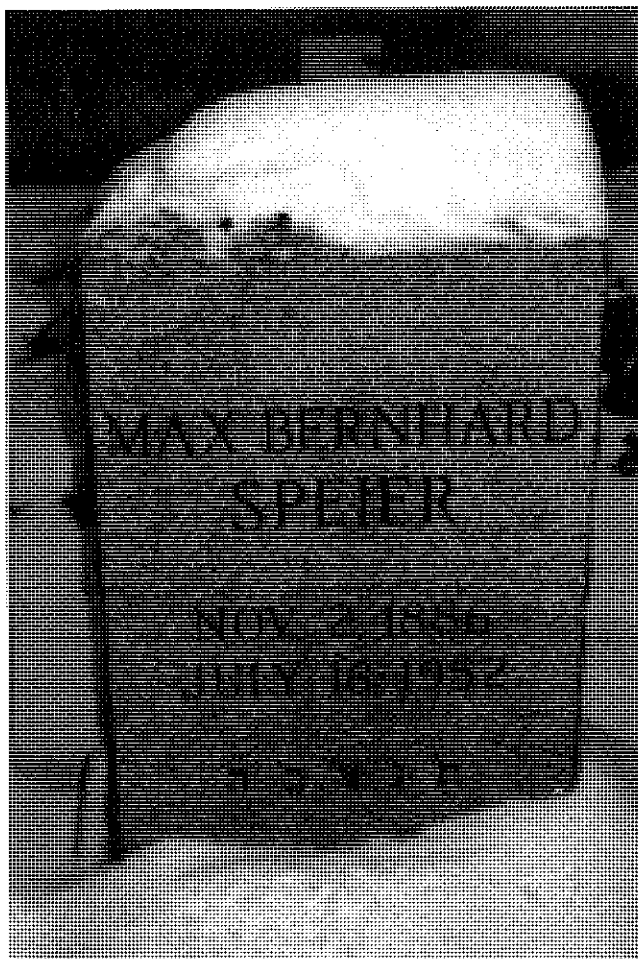
Congregation Beth Am
26790 Arastradero Road
Los Altos Hills, CA

4.39 MAX BERNHARD SPEIER

מקס ברנרד שפייר

b. 2.11.1886

d. 16.7.1952



Cedar Park Cemetery
Forest Ave., Paramus, N.J. 07652
Block No. 15, line 5, grave 3

THE CEMETERY OF ARCO, NORTHERN ITALY

Julius David Schoenfeld

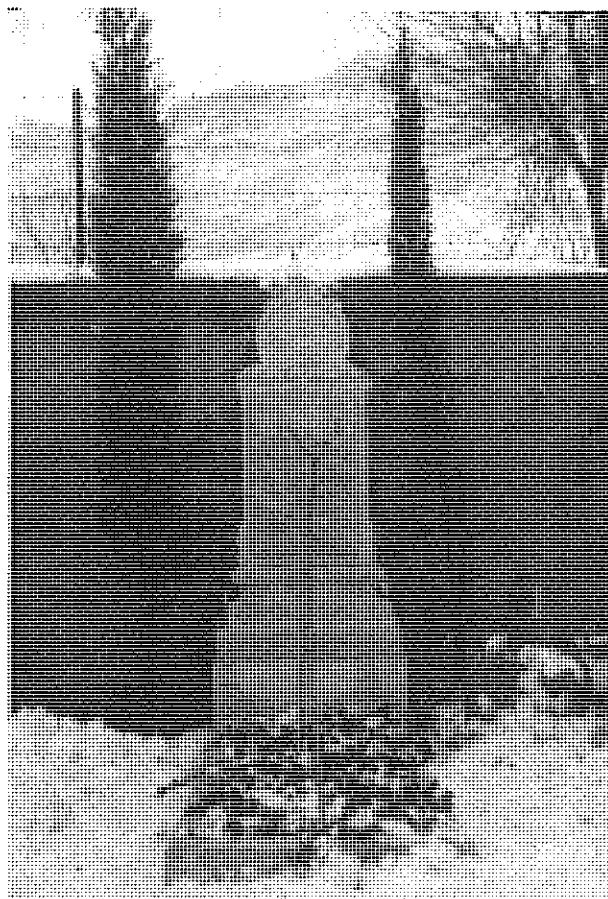
b. 8.8.1850 in Berlin, d. 4.1.1924 in Arco, Italy.

Justizrat Julius David Schoenfeld, father of my mother 4.5 Olga Eskeles born Schoenfeld went in 1924, as he did every year, to Arco in order to spent few weeks in the warm climate of Italy. He died there on January 4th, 1924 and was buried in the 'Judenecke' (the Jewish corner) of the Catholic cemetery of Arco - s. photo of the tombstone, the only evidence of his grave we had in hand.

Rachel and I went to Arco in 1989 in order to find the grave, but we did not succeed to locate it, neither in the Catholic nor in the Evangelic cemetery. After long inquiries with representatives of the Catholic and Evangelic Churches, we found the solution of the mystery:

As it is custom in Christian cemeteries, a grave is kept as a rule for 20-30 years. At the end of this period the family is notified that if they want the grave to be kept for another period, they have to pay for it.

Perhaps, the management of the cemetery - if it had any address of Julius Schoenfeld's relatives - tried to contact the family. But this was at the end of World War II and I doubt if such an attempt was made. However, no member of the family was at his old address, in order to receive such a request.



The second photo shows the place where the 'Judenecke' had been and where a burial chamber has been erected. The old graves and tombstones were destroyed.

4.6 Dr. PAULA ESKELES

ד"ר פאולה אסקלס

b. 28.3.1902

d. 11.9.1994



(Line 1A)

4.1 OTTO JOSEPH ESKELES

אוטו יוסף אסקלס

b. 27.8.1886

d. 7.8.1960



אוטו ופאולה אסקלס קבורים בבית הקברות הישן בחיפה - בית קברות 'חוף הכרמל'. חלקה ה', שורה 36, קבר מס. נכנסים בשער הראשי והולכים ישר בדרך הראשית עד לחלקה ה'; פונים שמאלה וממשיכים עד לשורה מס. 36. הקבר של אוטו אסקלס הוא הקבר השלישי משמאל, הקבר של פעולה אסקלס הוא הקבר ה-17 באותה שורה.

Otto and Paula Eskeles are buried in the old cemetery of Haifa - the 'Carmel Beach Cemetery'. Plot 5 (ה'), row 36, grave No.

Enter the cemetery and continue straight on the main path until you reach block 5 (ה); then turn left until row number 36. Otto's grave is the third grave on the left, Paula's grave is the 17th left in the same row.

THE OLD CEMETERY OF HAIFA

4.2 FRIEDA GOLDSCHMIDT b. Eskeles

פרידה גולדשמידט לבית אסקלס

(Line 9) b. 8.2.1883

d. 1943



פרידה גולדשמיד קבורה בבית הקברות הישן בחיפה - בית קברות 'חוף הכרמל'. חלקה ב', שורה 16, קבר 72. נכנסים בשער הראשי, פונים מיד שמאלה והולכים לאורך החומה עד אשר מגיעים לחלקה של הרוגי 'פטריה'. לפני החלקה פונים ימינה ואחד כך בשביל השני שמאלה עד אשר מגיעים לשורה מס. 16 (ט"ז). הקבר של פרידה הוא הקבר ה-19 מצד ימין.

Frieda Goldschmidt is buried in the old cemetery of Haifa - the 'Carmel Beach Cemetery'. Plot 2 (ב), row 16, grave No. 72.

Enter the cemetery and turn immediately left, follow the wall until you reach the 'Patria' graves; turn right and then take the second path on the left until you reach row number 16. Frieda's grave is the 19th grave on the right.

4.2 Frieda Goldschmidt born Eskeles.

THE JEWISH CEMETERY OF BERLIN - WEISSENSEE

4.5 OLGA ESKELES b. Schoenfeld

אולגה אסקלס לבית שנפלד

b. 17.10.1891, d. 22.5.1928



OLGA ESKELES
geb. Schoenfeld
geb. 17. Oktober 1891
gest. 22. Mai 1922

OLGA ESKELES
born Schoenfeld
BORN 17 OCTOBER 1891
DIED 22 MAY 1922

קבורה בבית הקברות היהודי של ברלין -
וייסנזה (Berlin - Weissensee).
מספר הקבר: 3562.
מקום הקבר: גוש B6 - ראה מפה מצורפת.

Buried in the Jewish Cemetery of
Berlin - Weissensee.
No. of the tomb: 3562
Place of the tomb: Field 6B.
See attached map.

5.45 CARL JOHANN ESCALES

b. 21.8.1855

d. 4.1.1914



5.44 EMIL ESCALES

b. 17.12.1853

d. 7.10.1929



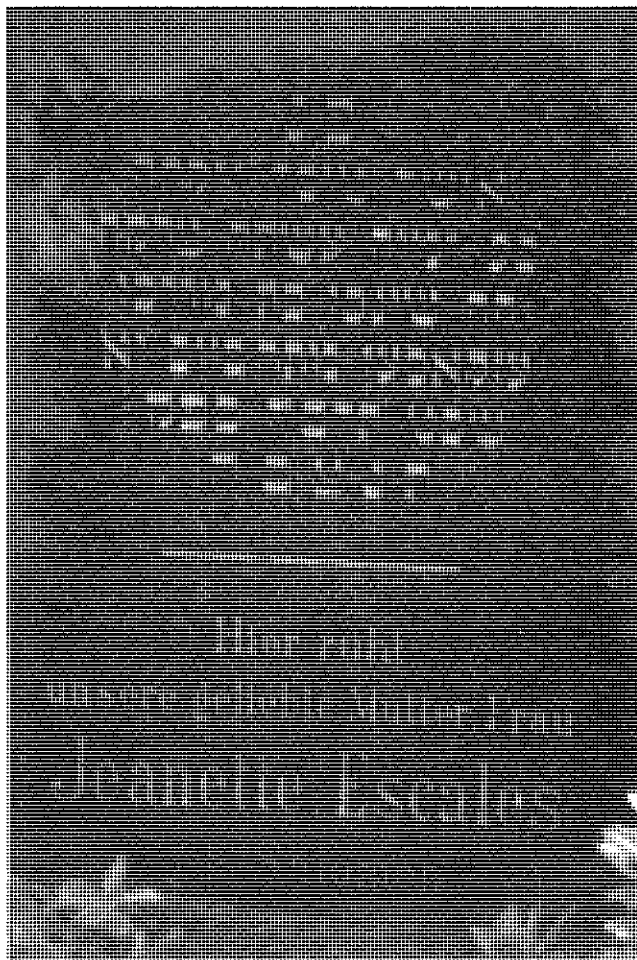
6.33 SIMON GABRIEL ESCALES

b. 9.7.1823
d. 15.8.1885



6.37 JOHANETTA ESCALES b. Salomon

b. 5.10.1821
d. 17.1.1905



THE ESCALES FAMILY - ZWEIBRÜCKEN

(Line 11)

הקברים של משפחת Escales נמצאים ב'בית הקברות הישן' של Zweibrücken. לאחר הכניסה ממשיכים כ-300 מ' ישר. כאן מחולק בית הקברות ע"י חומת אבן. עוברים דרך שער בצורת קשת ומיד לאחריו מתחילה מצד ימין חלקת הקברים היהודיים. הקברים של משפחת Escales נמצאים כשורה הימנית העליונה.

The graves of the Escales family are in the 'Old Cemetery', called also the 'Heldenfriedhof' of Zweibrücken. You enter from the main gate, after about 300 meters the cemetery is divided by a stone wall. Go through the archway and immediately in the right side is the plot of the jewish graves. The graves of the Escales family are located in the last row at the right side.

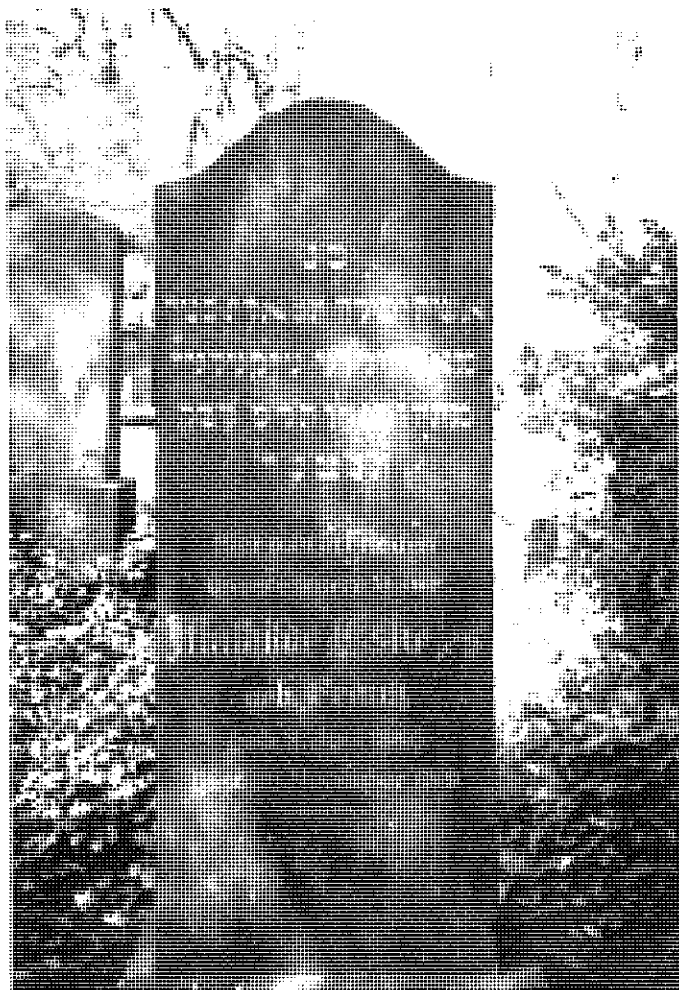


General view מראה כללי

5.7 MATHILDE ESKELES b. Frank (Line 1)

מתילדה אסקלס לבית פרנק

b. 3.6.1860, d. 28.11.1919



כ"נ

אשה ישרה תפארת בניה
מאטהילדה עזקעלז
כלתה ו' כסלו תרפ' לפק
ת' נ' צ' ב' ה'

Hier ruht in Frieden
unsere teure Mutter
MATHILDE ESKELES
geb. FRANK
geb. 3. Juni 1860
gest. 28. November 1919

HERE RESTS

THE HONEST LADY
MATHILDE ESKELES
PIRDED OF HER SONS
DIED 6 KISLEV 580
LET HER SOUL REST IN PEACE

HERE RESTS IN PEACE
OUR DEAR MOTHER
MATHILDE ESKELES
born FRANK
BORN 3 JUNE 1860
DIED 28 NOVEMBER 1919

Buried in the Jewish cemetery of Offenbach-Main.

Place of the tomb:

The entrance is through the old Christian Cemetery. Cross the Christian cemetery until you reach the Jewish block. Turn right on the path in front of the Jewish block until you see on the right a tomb of a German Christian fighter pilot named Mueller. Opposite to this tomb on the left, in the fifth row, is the tomb; it is the fifth tomb from the corner on the right.

קבורה בבית הקברות היהודי הישן של אופנבך/מיין.

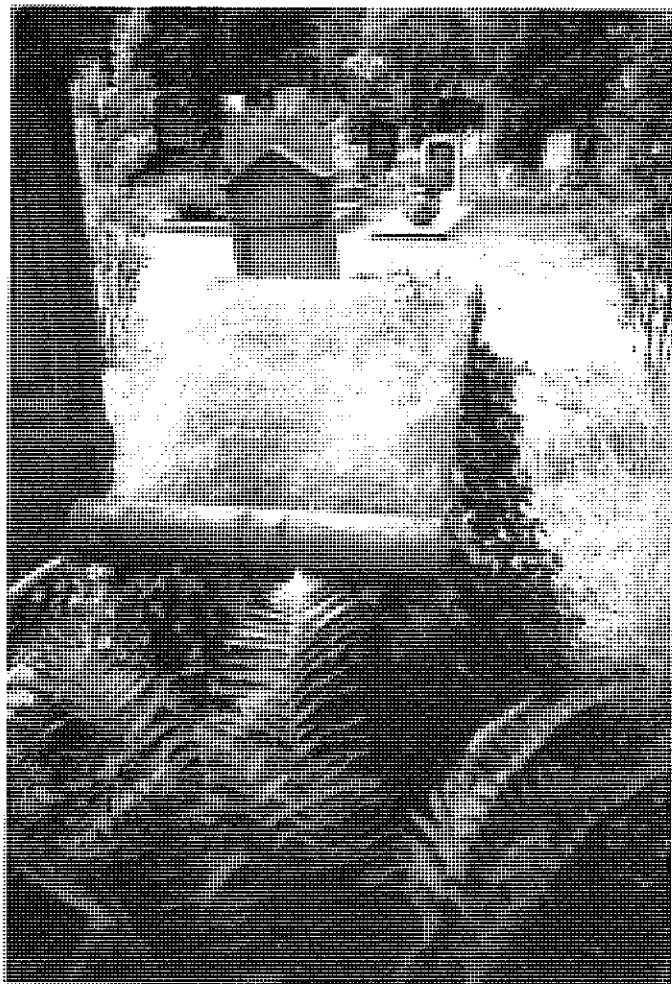
מקום הקבר:

נכנסים דרך בית הקברות הנוצרי הישן של אופנבך, חוצים את בית הקברות הנוצרי עד שמגיעים לחלקה היהודית. פונים בשביל שלפני החלקה היהודית ימינה, אחר הקברים הראשונים בשורה השניה מימין.

5.1 HERMANN N. ESKELES - Line 1

הרמן נפתלי אסקלס

b. 2.8.1855, d. 17.12.1888



נפתלי אלי- בן אברהם
מת יר טבת תרמט לפ"ק
ת נ צ ב ה

Hermann Eskeles
geb. 2. Aug. 1855
gest. 17. Dez. 1888

NAPHTALI ELI BEN AVRAHAM
DIED ON 14 TEVET YEAR 649
LET HIS SOUL REST IN PEACE
HERMANN ESKELES
BORN 2 AUGUST 1855
DIED 17 DECEMBER 1888

Buried in the Jewish cemetery of
Offenbach-Main.

Place of the tomb:

The entrance is through the old Christian
Cemetery. Cross the Christian cemetery
until you reach the Jewish block.
Turn left on the path in front of the
Jewish block, one of the first graves
in the second row on your right.

קבור בבית הקברות היהודי של אופנק-מיין.
מקום הקבר:

נכנסים דרך בית הקברות הנוצרי הישן של
אופנק, הוצים את בית הקברות הנוצרי עד
שמוגיעים לחלקה היהודית. פונים בשביל שלפני
החלקה היהודית שמאלה, אחר הקברים
הראשונים בשורה השניה מימין.

5.51 FERDINAND ESKELES

פרדיננד אסקלס

Born 1881 ?, died 22.8.1884



קבור בבית הקברות היהודי הישן ראט בייל שטראסה,
פרנקפורט/מיין.

מקום הקבר: בלוק 8, שורה 9, מס' 46.

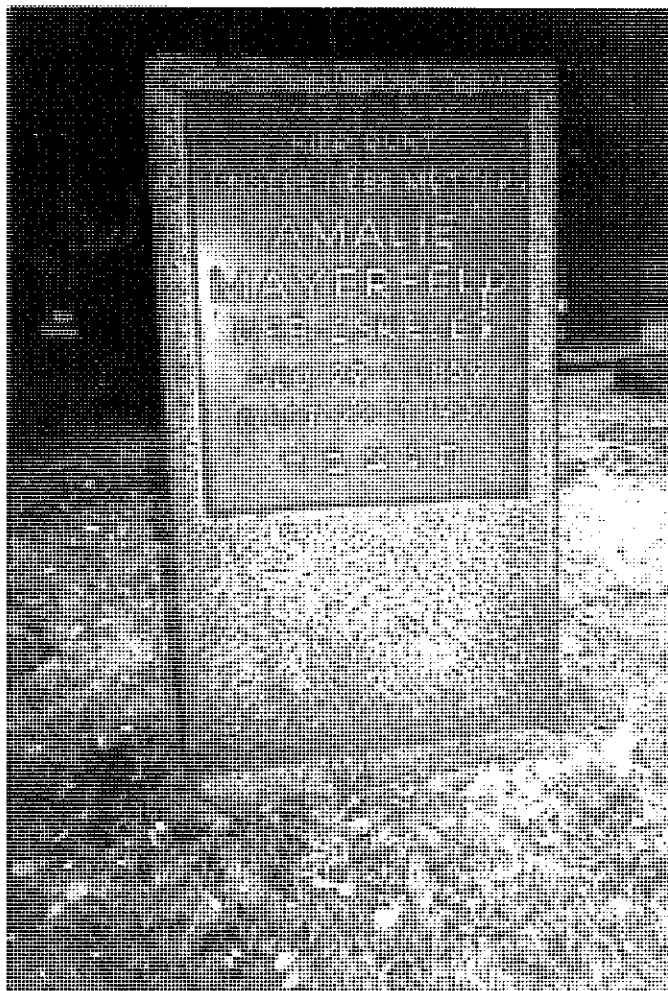
זה קבר של ילד צעיר מאוד שאין עליו מצבה וכנראה גם לא
היתה אף פעם. לא ברור לנו מי היו הוריו. אחת האפשרויות
היא שזה בנם של מוזס מוריץ אסקלס ואשתו ז'אנט לבית
פרנק, שנולד ב-1881, מת בגיל צעיר ורשום כאלפרד 4.4. לא
ידוע לנו מדוע נקבר בפרנקפורט בי משפחתו חיה באופנבך,
אך ייתכן שנפטר בבית החולים בפרנקפורט ולכן נקבר שם.

This is the a grave of a very young child
without a tombstone. There was probably
never a tombstone. We don't know who his
parents were. One possibility is that this is the
son of Moses Moritz Eskeles and his wife
Jeanette born Frank, who was born in 1881, died
young and is listed as 4.4 Alfred Eskeles. It is not
clear why he was buried in Frankfurt, since his
family lived in Offenbach, but it is possible that
he died in a hospital in Frankfurt and, therefore,
was buried there.

5.4 AMALIE MAYERFELD b. Eskeles - Line 6

עמליה מיירפלד לבית אסקלס

b. 29.7.1859, d. 22.11.1937



H i e r r u h t
Unsere Liebe Mutter
AMALIE MAYERFELD
geb. 29.7.1859
gest. 22.11.1937
. ה . ב . צ . נ . ת .

HERE RESTS
OUR DEAR MOTHER
AMALIE MAYERFELD
BORN 29.7.1859
DIED 22.11.1937
LET HER SOUL REST IN PEACE

Buried in the new Jewish cemetery
Eckenheimer Landstrasse,
Frankfurt/Main.
No. of the tomb: Block 6 ,B ,90
Place of the tomb:
Enter by the main entrance, the third
block on the right side.

קבורה בבית הקברות היהודי החדש אקנהיימר
לנדשטראסה, פרנקפורט/מיין.
מספר הקבר: גוש 6 ,B ,90
מקום הקבר:
נבנסים בשער הראשי. בגוש השלישי מימין.

5.41 OTTO ESCALES - Line 11

אוטו אסקאלס

b. 17.12.1953, d. 29.12.1939



H i e r r u h t
U n s e r g e l i e b t e r
K o m m e r z i e n r a t
O T T O E S C A L E S
g e b . 1 7 . D e z . 1 8 5 3
g e s t . 2 8 . D e z . 1 9 3 9

HERE RESTS
OUR BELOVED KOMMERZIENRAT
O T T O E S C A L E S
BORN DECEMBER 17, 1953
DIED DECEMBER 29, 1939

Buried in the new Jewish cemetery
Eckenheimer Landstrasse 238,
Frankfurt/Main.

No. of the tomb: Section 8 - B - 15

Place of the tomb:

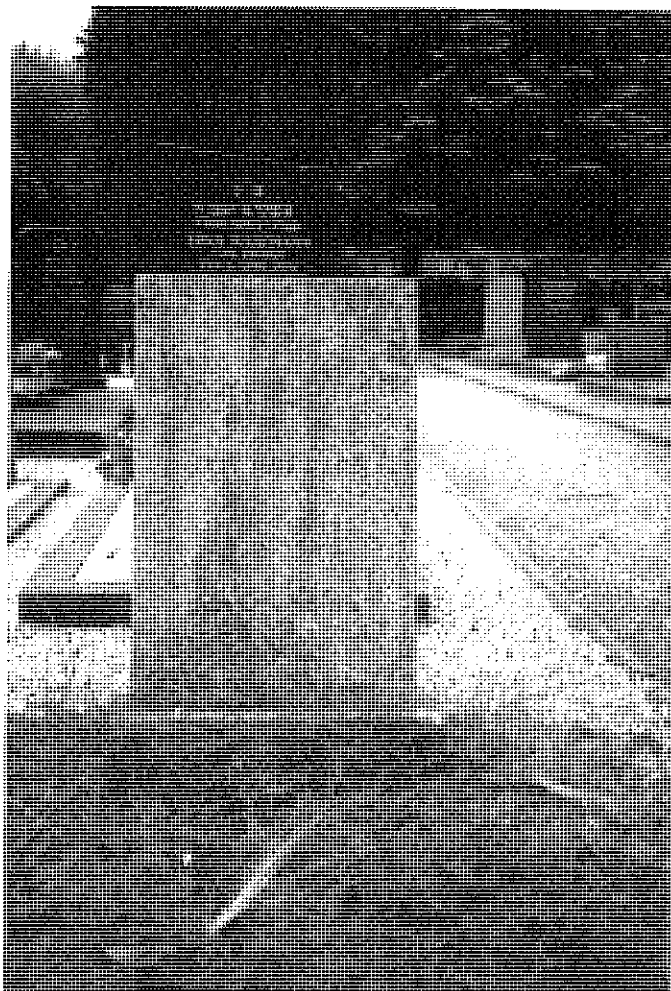
You enter at the main entrance, the fourth
block on the right side is block 8.

קבור בבית הקברות היהודי החדש אקנהיימר
לנדשטראסה, פרנקפורט/מיין.
מספר הקבר: גוש 8 - B - 15
מקום הקבר:
נכנסים בשער הראשי בבית הקברות החדש.
הגוש הרביעי מימין הוא גוש 8.

5.3 BABETTE SPEIER b. Eskeles - Line 8

בבטה שפייר לבית אסקלס

b. 12.11.1857, d. 15.3.1942



BABETTE
SPEIER
geb. ESKELES
12.11.1857
15. 3.1942

מתה על קדוש השם
תש"ז
ת . נ . צ . ב . ה .

BABETTE
SPEIER
born ESKELES
12.11.1857
15. 3.1942

DIED AS A MARTYR
LET HER SOUL REST IN PEACE

Buried in the Jewish cemetery
Eckenheimer Landstrasse,
Frankfurt/Main.

No. of the tomb: Block 7 ,A ,4

Place of the tomb: The first grave on the
right side of the block.

קבורה בבית הקברות היהודי החדש אקנהיימר
לנדישטראסה, פרנקפורט/מיין.
מספר הקבר: גוש 7 ,A ,4.
מקום הקבר: הקבר הראשון מימין בגוש.

6.7 JETTCHEN ESKELES b. Salomon - Line 4

יטשן אסקלס לבית סלומון

b. 16.8.1829, d. 12.11.1882



פ"נ

אשה צנועה בכל דרכיה
ישרה ותמימה במעשיה
דרשה טוב בעלה כל ימיה
מרת יטה בת ר' שלמה
אשת ר' שרגא עיסקילעס
נפטר ה' כ"ו יסון
תרמ"ב ל"פ ק
ת.נ.צ.ב.ה.

Hier ruht in Frieden

JETTE ESKELES geb. SALOMON

geb. 16. August 1829

gest. 12. November 1882

HERE RESTS

THE DECENT LADY IN ALL HER WAYS
STRAIGHT AND INNOCENT IN HER DEEDS
SEEKED HER HUSBANDS GOOD ALL HER LIFE
AND LED HER SONS ON THE RIGHT WAY
MRS. JETTE DAUGHTER OF RABBI SHLOMO
WIFE OF RABBI SHRAGA ESKELES
DIED ON 25 KHESHVAN 5642
LET HER SOUL REST IN PEACE

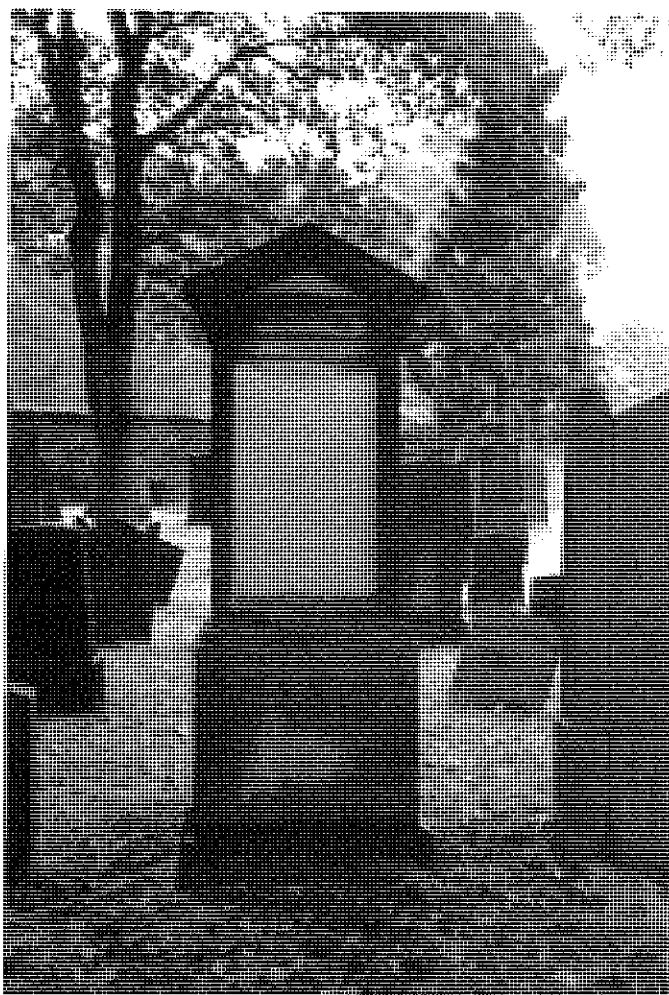
Buried in the old Jewish cemetery of
Rat Beil Str., Frankfurt-Main.
No. of the tomb: Block 11, No. 515

קבורה בבית הקברות היהודי הישן
פרנקפורט/מיין ברח' ראט בייל.
מספר הקבר: בלוק 11, קבר מס' 515.

6.3 FEIST SHRAGA ESKELES - Line 4

פייסט שרגא אסקלס

b. 1828, d. 28.12.1898



פ"נ

איש תמים בכל דרכיו
ישר בכל מעשיו
דרש טוב ביתו כל ימיו
להדריך למישרין את בניו
רבי שרגא עזקעלעס
נפטר ע"ג טבת תרנ"ט
ת . נ . צ . כ . צ . ה .

Hier ruht in Frieden

Feist Eskeles
geb . 1828
gest. 28.12.1898

HERE RESTS

A MAN OF INNOCENCE IN ALL HIS WAYS
HONEST IN ALL HIS DEEDS
SEEKED THE GOOD FOR HIS FAMILY
LED HIS SONS IN THE RIGHT WAY
RABBI SHRAGA ESKELES
DIED TEVET 657
LET HIS SOUL REST IN PEACE

HERE RESTS

FEIST ESKELES
BORN 1828
DIED 28.12.1898

Buried in the old Jewish cemetery
Rat Beil Str., Frankfurt/Main.
Place of the tomb: Block 57, Row 7

קבור בבית הקברות היהודי הישן
ראט בייל שטראסה, פרנקפורט/מייין.
מקום הקבר: בלוק 57 - שורה 7.

THE JEWISH CEMETERIES OF FRANKFURT AND OFFENBACH

The old Jewish Cemetery in Batton Strasse.

This first Jewish cemetery in Frankfurt was opened in 1270 and served the Jewish community until 1828. In 1942 the Nazis began to destroy the cemetery and to stockpile and smash the tombstones. Due only to the allies' bombardements was this destruction was stopped.

The old Cemetery in Rat-Beil Strasse.

This cemetery served the Jewish community from 1828 until 1929.

6.7 Jettchen Eskeles, born Salomon and 6.3 Feist Shraga Eskeles are buried there.

The new main cemetery in Eckenheimer Strasse.

This cemetery, adjacent to the older cemetery in Rat Beil Str., serves the Jewish community of Frankfurt since 1929.

5.3 Babette Speier bom Eskeles, 5.41 Otto Escales and 5.4 Amalie Mayerfeld, born Eskeles, are buried there.

Here are also the graves of 800 Jews who committed suicide in 1942, after they have been summoned by the Gestapo for deportation.

More interesting details about the Jewish cemeteries of Frankfurt can be found in the book of Klaus Meier-Ude - 'Die juedischen Friedhoeft in Frankfurt'.

5.1 Hermann Eslekes and 5.7 Mathilde Eskeles born Frank are buried in Offenbach.

THE JEWISH CEMETERY OF KELSTERBACH

The Jewish Cemetery of Kelsterbach was opened in 1894, adjacent to the Christian cemetery, and lasted until 1935 when, by order of Town Mayor, it was completely destroyed and leveled off; all tombstones were smashed. After the war, a court condemned the ex-mayor Busch to erect a memorial stone on the place where the Jewish cemetery had existed.

No members of the Eskeles family were buried in Kelsterbach.

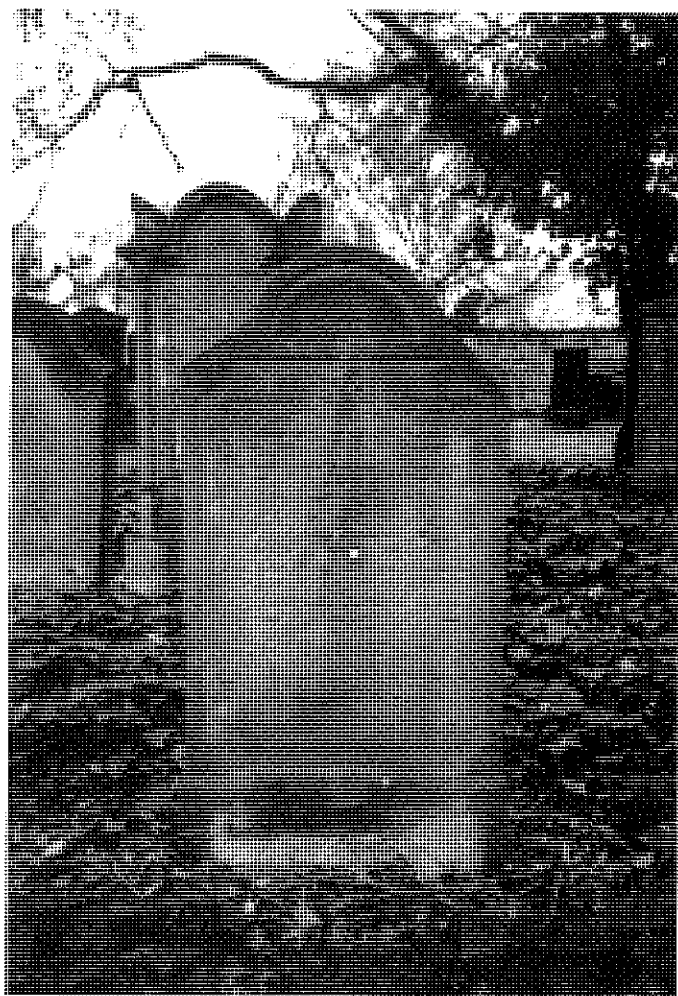


The memorial stone at the Christian cemetery of Kelsterbach.

7.3 BABETTE ESKELES b. Sonnenberg (Line 1)

בבטה אסקלס לבית זוננברג

b. 1798 - d. 10.1.1874 Kelsterbach



Buried in the Jewish cemetery of Gross-Gerau.

No. of the tomb: A5/54

Place of the tomb:

From the entrance turn to the left, then take the path to the right, theth tomb in the row on your righthand side, about in the middle of the block of graves.

פ"נ

אשה ישרה ונעימה
הלכה בדרך תמימה
עשתה צדקה כל ימיה
יראת ה' בעבטה ...
עיר
מקעלסטרבך
ביום א' ב"ז טבת
תרל"ד לפ"ק תנצבה

Babette Eskeles

HERE RESTS

THE HONOURABLE AND PLEASANT LADY
WHICH WENT AN INNOCENT WAY
DID CHARITY ALL HER LIFE
FEARED GOD, BABETTE.....

OF KELSTERBACH
(DIED ON) SUNDAY 27 TEVET
THE YEAR 624
LET HER SOUL REST IN PEACE

קבורה בבית הקברות היהודי של גרוס-גיראו
(Gross-Gerau)

מספר הקבר: A5/54

מקום הקבר:

מהכניסה פונים שמאלה, בניצב, שביל הפונה
ימינה, הקבר ה..... בשורה ה..... מימין, בערך
במחצית גוש הקברים.

6.5 HANNCHE ESKELES b. Lilienstern (Line 1)

חנה אסקלס לבית לילינסטרן

b. 1822 Ortenburg - d. 30.3.1863 Kelsterbach



פ"נ

אשה ישרה ונעימה
הלכה בדרך תמימה
עשתה צדקה כל ימיה
.....ב. האנכה אשת
ר' גבריאל עיוסקלעס
מ ק ע ל ס ט ר ב ר
ביום ג' י"ב ניסן
תרב"ג לפ"ק תנצבה

Hanna Esc(q)eles

HERE RESTS

THE HONOURABLE AND PLEASANT LADY
WHICH WENT AN INNOCENT WAY
AND DID CHARITY ALL HER LIFE
..... HANNCHE WIFE OF
RABBI GABRIEL ESKELES
FROM KELSTERBACH
(DIED ON) TUESDAY 12 NISSAN
T H E Y E A R 6 2 3
LET HER SOUL REST IN PEACE

Buried in the Jewish cemetery of Gross-Gerau.

No. of the tomb: A4/7

Place of the tomb:

From the entrance turn to the left, then take the path to the right, theth tomb in the row on your righthand side, nearly at the end of the block of graves.

קבורה בבית הקברות היהודי של גרוס-גיראו
(Gross-Gerau)

מספר הקבר: A4/7

מקום הקבר:

מהכניסה פונים שמאלה, בניצב שביל הפונה
ימינה, הקבר ה..... בשורה ה..... מימין, כמעט
בסוף (התחלה) של גוש הקברים.

6.4 HANNCHE ESKELES b. Mannheimer (Line 1)

חנה אסקלס לבית מנהיימר

b. 1.6.1821, d. 28.1.1890



פ"נ
הגבירה המהוללה והיקרה
מוכרת בבל מידה ישרה
הנכעו איסקעלעס
תק"נ לפ"ק
ת.נ.צ.ב.ה.

Hier ruht in Frieden
Hannchen Eskeles
geb. Mannheimer
aus Kelsterbach
geb. den 1. Juni 1821
gest. den 29. Januar 1890

HERE RESTS
THE PRAISED AND DEAR LADY
KNOWN BY ALL HER GOOD DEEDS
HANNCHE ESKELES
DAUGHTER OF RABBI AVRAHAM
THE YEAR 660
LET HER SOUL REST IN PEACE
HERE RESTS IN PEACE
HANNCHEN ESKELES BORN MANNHEIMER
FROM KELSTERBACH
BORN 1 JUNE 1821
DIED 29 JANUARY 1890

Buried in the Jewish cemetery of Gross-Gerau.

No. of the tomb: A6/71

Place of the tomb:

From the entrance turn to the left, then take the path to the right, the fourteenth tomb in the fifth row on your righthand side.

קבורה בבית הקברות היהודי של גרוס-גיראו
(Gross-Gerau).

מספר הקבר: A6/71

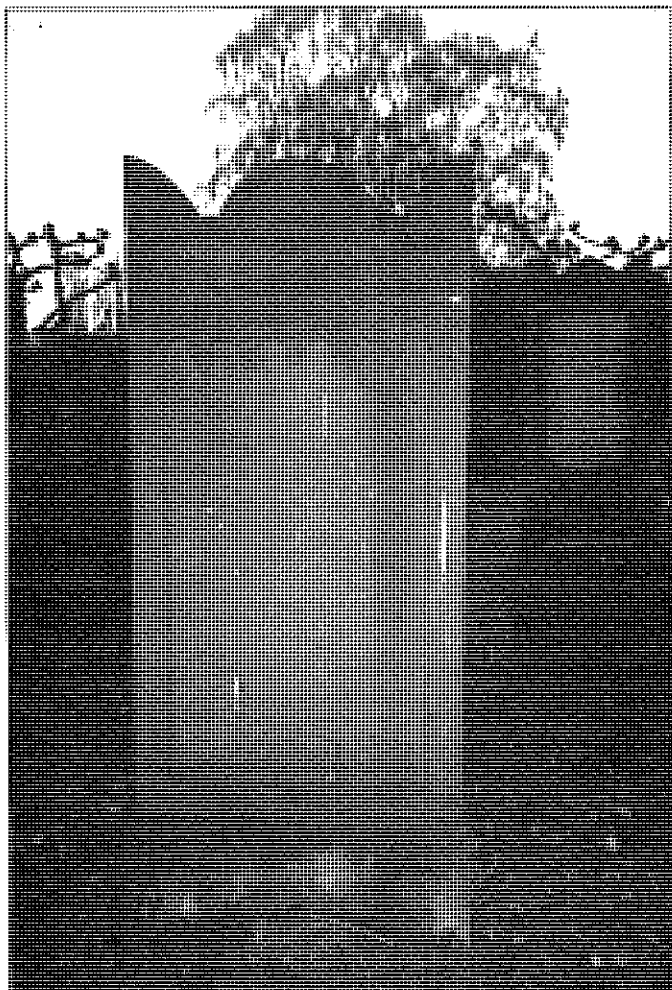
מקום הקבר:

מהכניסה פונים שמאלה, בניצב שביל הפונה
ימינה, הקבר ה-14 בשורה החמישית מימין.

6.1 ABRAHAM ESKELES - Line 1

אברהם אסקלס

b. 8.1.1819, d. 15.5.1883



פ"נ

איש אמונים הולך תמים
מעשיו היו טובים ושלמים
שמו הוא נודע לשבח ולתהלה
ה"ה אברהם בה"ר משה
מת בזקנה ביום ג' ה' אייר
ונקבר ביום ה' ב'
תקמ"ב לפ"ק
ת.נ.צ.ב.ה.

Abraham Eskeles
aus Kelsterbach
geb. 8. Januar 1819
gest. 15. Mai 1883

HERE RESTS

A MAN OF FAITH AND INNOCENCE
HIS ACTS WERE GOOD AND PERFECT
HIS NAME WAS PRAISED AND ACCLAIMED
AVRAHAM SON OF RABBI MOSHE
DIED IN OLD AGE ON TUESDAY
5 IYAR AND WAS BURIED ON
THURSDAY WHICH FOLLOWED
IN THE YEAR 643
LET HIS SOUL REST IN PEACE

ABRAHAM ESKELES
FROM KELSTERBACH
BORN 8 JANUARY 1819
DIED 15 MAY 1883

Buried in the Jewish cemetery of Gross-Gerau.

No. of the tomb: A2/71

Place of the tomb:

From the entrance turn to the left, then take the path to the right, the thirteenth tomb in second row on your righthand side.

קבור בבית הקברות היהודי של גרוס-גיראו
(Gross-Gerau)

מספר הקבר: A2/71

מקום הקבר:

מהכניסה פונים שמאלה, משמאל בניצב שביל
הפונה ימינה, הקבר השלושה-עשר בשורה
השניה שמימין לשביל זה.

THE JEWISH CEMETERY OF GROSS-GERAU

The village of Kelsterbach had no Jewish Cemetery until 1894. All Jewish deceased of Kelsterbach, as well as of the other surrounding tiny communities, were buried in the Jewish cemetery of the District Town of Gross-Gerau.

The first Jewish cemetery in Gross-Gerau dated from the 13th century and the second cemetery dated from the 17th century. In 1936, during the Nazi regime, the Jewish community was ordered to evacuate the old cemetery and this was indeed done by Moritz Goldberger and his son Ludwig, who were in charge of the cemeteries, and by mobilisation of anyone who was able to help.

During the war, many tombstones were turned over and the cemetery was in very bad shape. Due to the efforts of Ludwig Goldberger, who returned to Gross-Gerau in 1945, and the assistance of the municipality of Gross-Gerau, the cemetery was and is still taken care of and all graves can be seen.

Angelika Schleindl, who did many researches on Jewish communities of Hessen, has written the history and description of this cemetery: 'Der juedische Friedhof Gross-Gerau' - 1993 Justus von Liebig Verlag Darmstadt.





Tombstone of the MAHARAL and his wife

The Jewish Cemeteries of Frankfurt

- 6.3 Feist Shraga Eskeles
- 6.7 Jettchen Eskeles, born Salomon
- 5.3 Babette Speier born Eskeles
- 5.41 Otto Escales
- 5.4 Amalie Mayerfeld, born Eskeles
Ferdinand Eskeles

The Jewish Cemetery of Offenbach

- 5.1 Hermann Eskeles
- 5.7 Mathilde Eskeles

The Jewish Cemetery of Zweibrücken

- 6.33 Simon Gabriel Escales
- 6.37 Johanetta Escales, born Salomon
- 5.44 Emil Escales
- 5.45 Carl Johann Escales

The Jewish Cemetery Weissensee of Berlin

- 4.5 Olga Eskeles, born Schoenfeld

The Cemetery of Arco, Italy

- 4.62 Julius David Schoenfeld

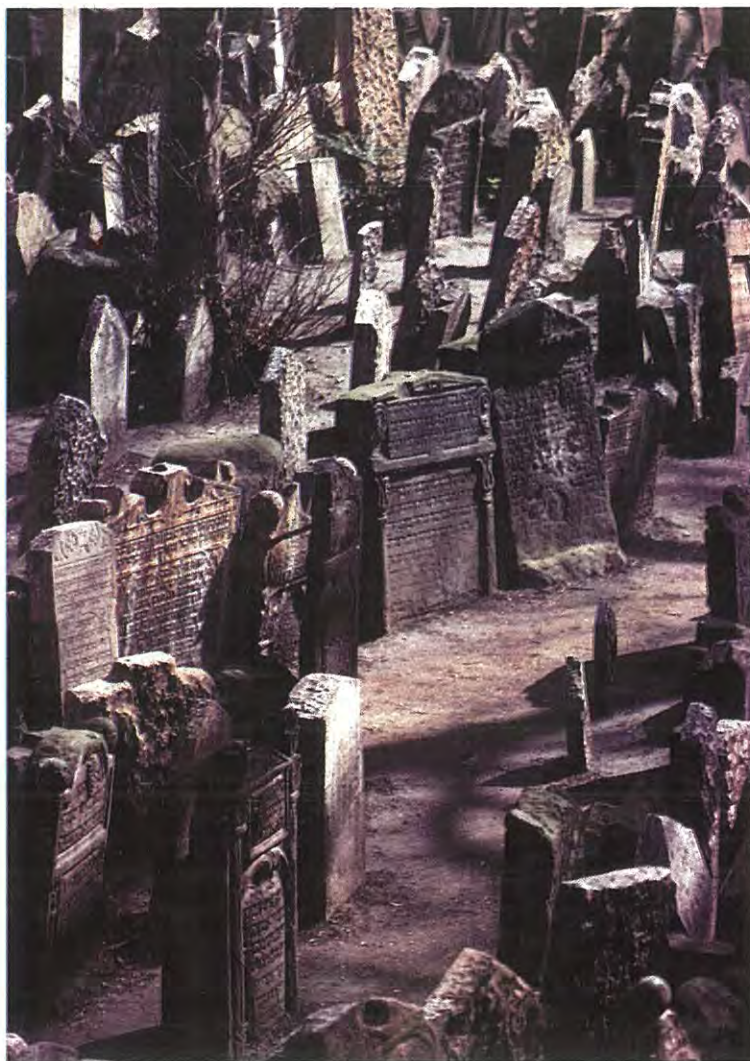
The Jewish Cemetery of Fürth

- 8.1 Gabriel Eskeles
- 8.7 Uri Feiweilman Eskeles Wiener
- 8.10 Homele Clara Eskeles Wiener, born Hemele
- 8.11 Ella Rebeca Eskeles Wiener, born Scheyer
- 7.2 Yehuda Loeb Eskeles

The old Cemetery of Haifa

- 4.1 Otto Eskeles
- 4.2 Frieda Goldschmidt, born Eskeles
- 4.5 Dr. Paula Eskeles, born Kronheimer

בית הקברות היהודי הישן בפראג THE OLD JEWISH CEMETERY IN PRAGUE



בית הקברות היהודי הישן, הנמצא בתחום הגיטו היהודי, שימש את קהילת פראג בין השנים 1430 ו-1787. כאשר בוצעו בגיטו של פראג עבודות פינוי וסניטציה בתחילת המאה העשרים, חלקו הצפוני של בית הקברות פונה ונהרס, והמצבות הועברו לחלקה שנתרה.

הקבר היחידי של משפחת ליב - לימים משפחת אסקלס - הידוע לנו, הוא של המהר"ל (מורנו הרב ליב) ושל אשתו.

The old Jewish cemetery in Prague, which is located within the boundary of the former Ghetto, has served the Jewish Community of Prague from 1430 until 1787. During the clearance carried out at the turn of the twentieth century, the more recent part of the cemetery was razed and the tombstones were transferred to the remaining ground of the cemetery.

The only grave of the Loeb family - later on the Eskeles family - which is known to us, is the grave of the Maharal and his wife.

16.2 R. Yehuda Loew Ben Bezalel,
b. 1525, d. 1609
and his wife 16.7 Perla Bat Shmuel
Shmelkes

View on the old Jewish cemetery of Prague.

THE JEWISH CEMETERY OF WORMS

This is the oldest Jewish cemetery in Germany which subsisted after all the wars and destructions. The first tombstone was set in 1076.

We are sure that our ancestors, who lived and died in Worms in the 14th and 15th centuries are buried in this cemetery, yet none of their graves could be traced.



The Jewish cemetery of Worms.



The old Jewish Cemetery of Prague

The Maharal and his wife

The Jewish Cemetery of Nikolsburg

- 12.1 Gabriel Loeb Eskeles
- 12.2 Esther Hadassa bat Issakhar Berush Heshel

The old Jewish Cemetery of Vienna

- 10.2 Berend Berush Gabriel Eskeles
- 10.12 Rivka Chava Eskeles, born Wertheimer
- 9.1 Yehuda Loeb ben Yaacov
- 9.6 Voegele Lea bat Zekel Fraenkel
- 9.13 Esther bat Berush Eskeles

The Jewish Cemetery of Gross-Gerau

- 6.1 Abraham Eskeles
- 6.4 Hannche Eskeles, born Mannheimer
- 6.5 Hannche Eskeles b. Lilienstern
- Feist, son of Abraham Eskeles
- 7.3 Babette Eskeles, born Sonnenberg



**Absolute
Generations For former generations - See Main Line**

- 11 - Skipped

- 9 - 1. R. Yehuda Ben Yaacov Esieles For wives of R. Yehuda Ben Yaacov and other brothers and sisters of this generation - See Main Line
born 1713 Wien
died 1763 in Wien
1725-1800
18. Khaim Yaacov (Joachim) Loeb Ostrow Esieles
b. 17.. Frankfurt/M.
died before 1753 in Ostrow

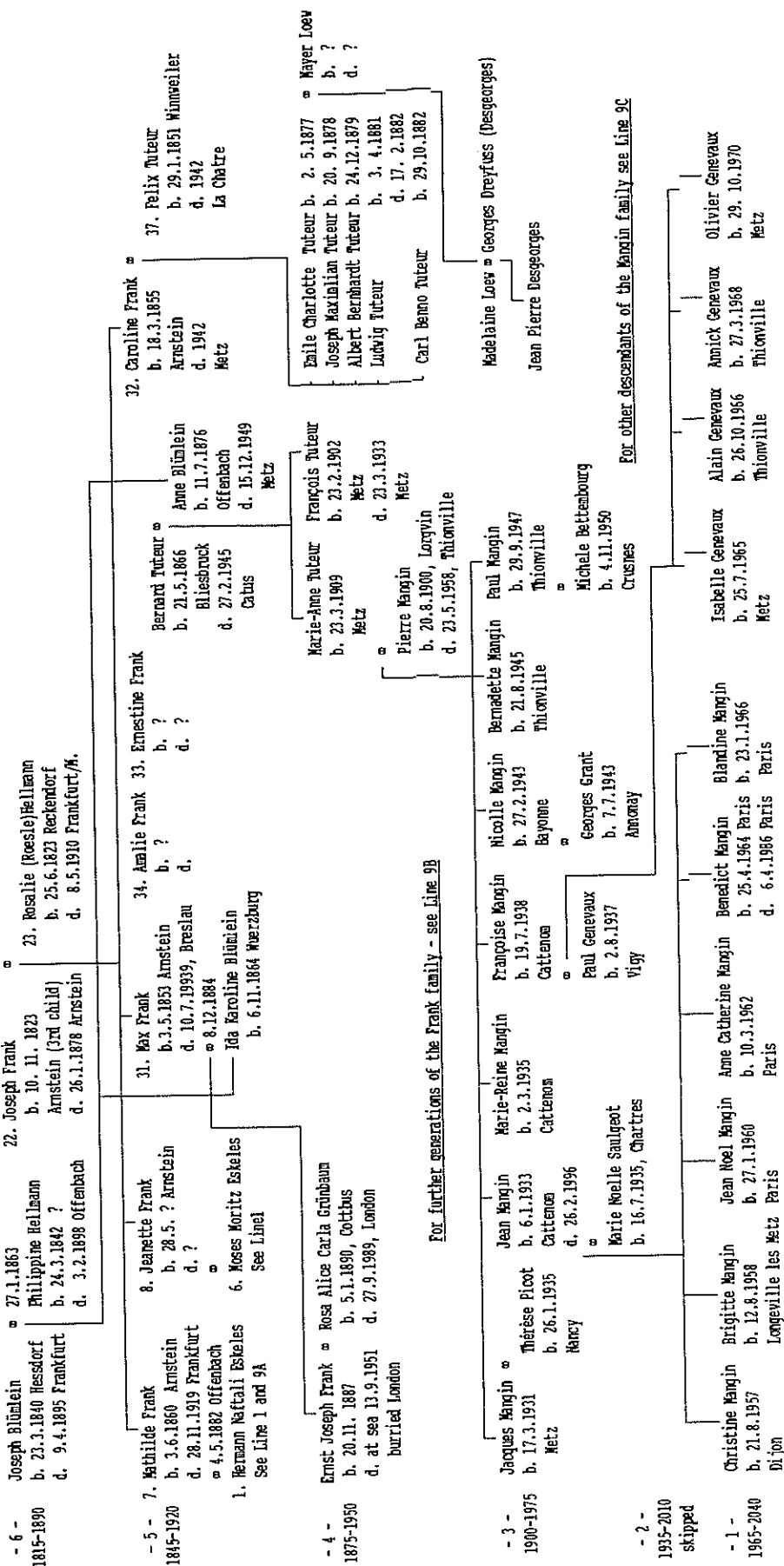
- 7 -		
185-1869		
16. Nanette Eskesles ♂(1) 1796 ♀(2) 1815 b. ? d. 30.7.1846	17. Yehuda Meyer Kulp b. 1780 b. ? d. ?	19. Johann Ludwig Eskesles b. 1779 Bonn d. 1848 Bonn

1 - 64	Eurenia tetralas	65	Tocof. Eubolus	66	...
?	?				
?	?				

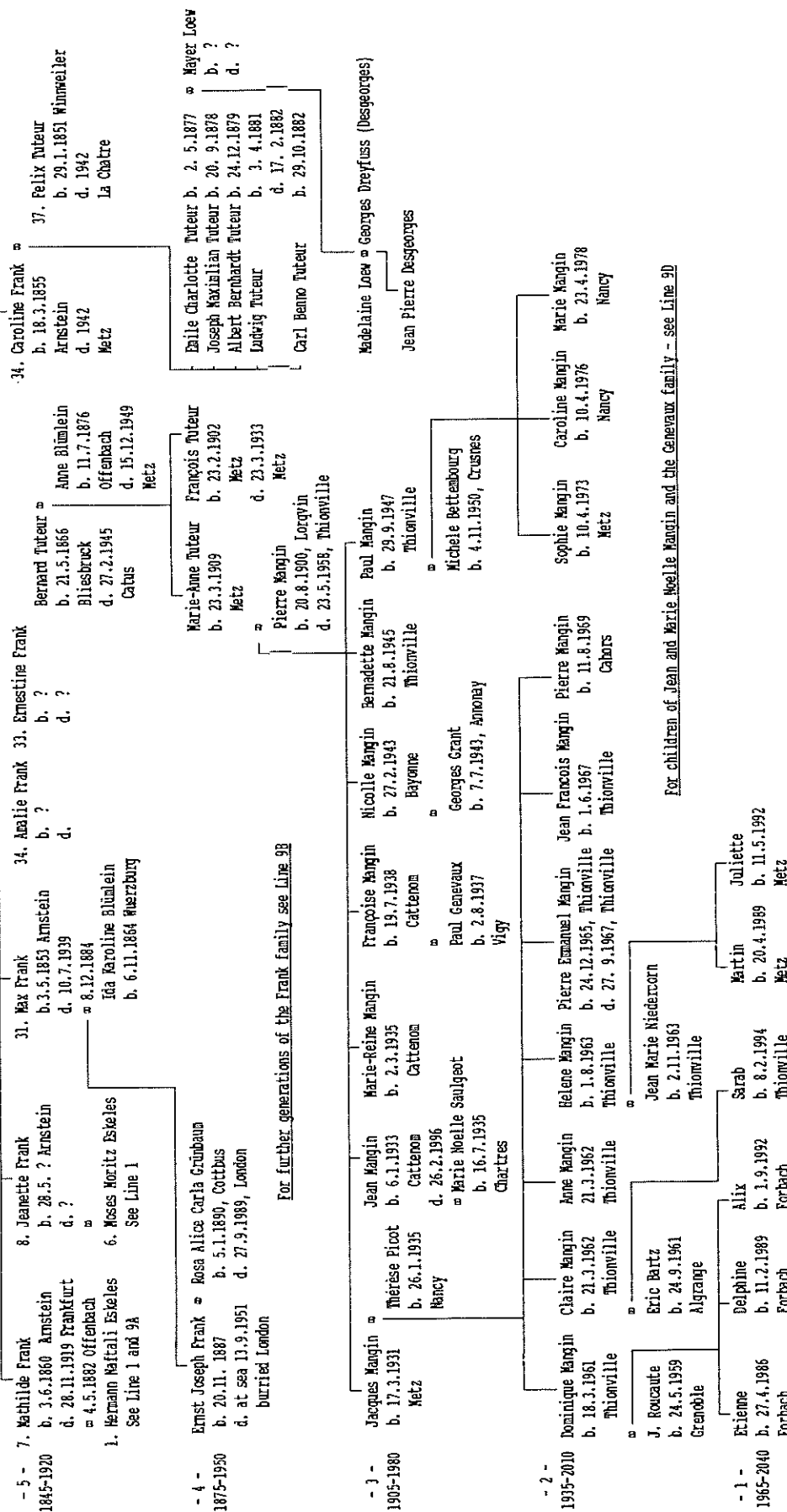
- 3 -	64. Eugenia Eskes b. 1900 Bratislav killed 3. 7. 1942 Drobovitz	65. Josef Eskes b. 1901 Bratislav killed 3. 1943 Drobovitz	66. Lucyna Weintraub b. 1906 Drobovitz killed 3.3.1943 Droh.	67. Gabriel Eskes b. 1905 Drobovitz killed 1941 Radum	68. Dunia Eskes b. 1910 Drobovitz killed 1942 Wilna	69. Fanka Eskes b. 15. 2. 1912 Drobovitz killed 3.1943 Drobovitz	70. Regina Eskes b. after 1913 Drobovitz	71. Wilhelm Goldwasser b. Besterce Hungary d. in Holocaust	75. Iga Goldwasser in Poland
- 2 -	61. Jeanine Eskes b. 1914 Drobovitz	62. Dr. Miksa Eskes b. 29.9.1917 Franc died in Holocaust	63. Marcell Eskes b. 29.9.1917 Franc died in Holocaust	64. Marcell Eskes b. 29.9.1917 Franc died in Holocaust	65. Marcell Eskes b. 29.9.1917 Franc died in Holocaust	66. Marcell Eskes b. 29.9.1917 Franc died in Holocaust	67. Marcell Eskes b. 29.9.1917 Franc died in Holocaust	68. Marcell Eskes b. 29.9.1917 Franc died in Holocaust	69. Marcell Eskes b. 29.9.1917 Franc died in Holocaust

Absolute For former generations see Main Line, Line 1 and Line 9B.

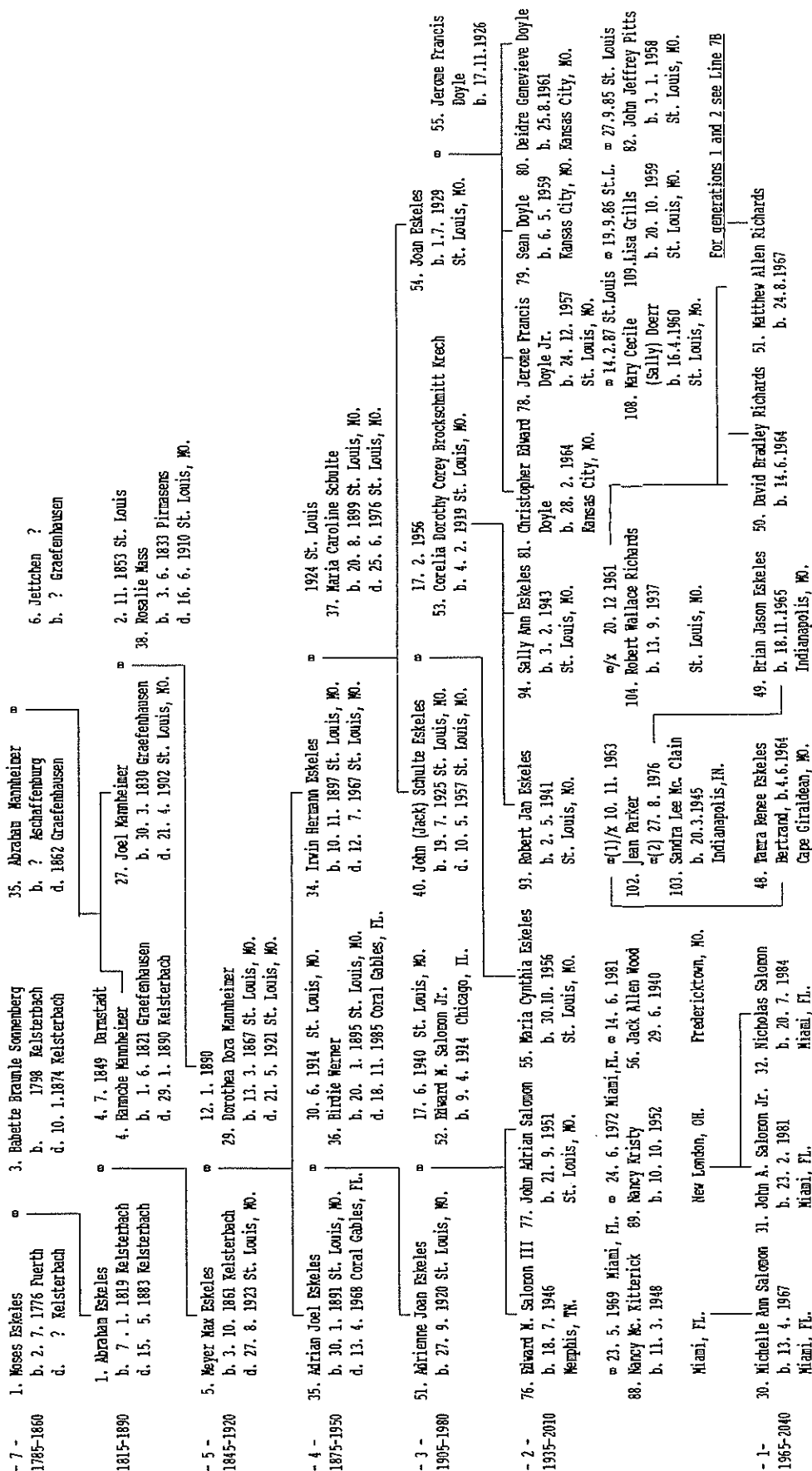
Generations



Absolute Generations For former generations see Main line, Line 1 and line 9B.



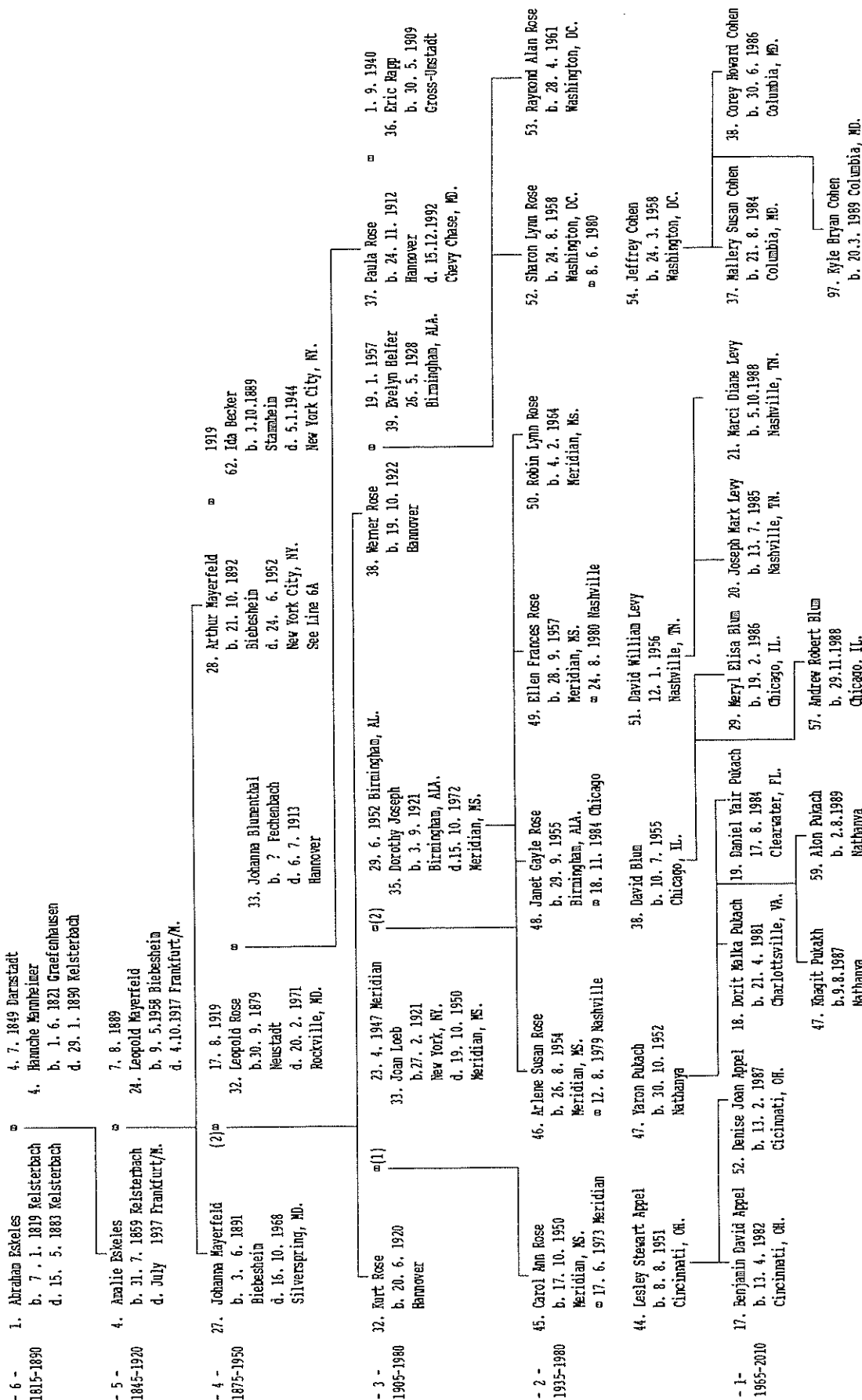
Absolute Generations For former generations - See Line 1



ESKELES GENEALOGY 1995
LINE 6B Analle Eskeles - Rose

For former generations - See Line 1

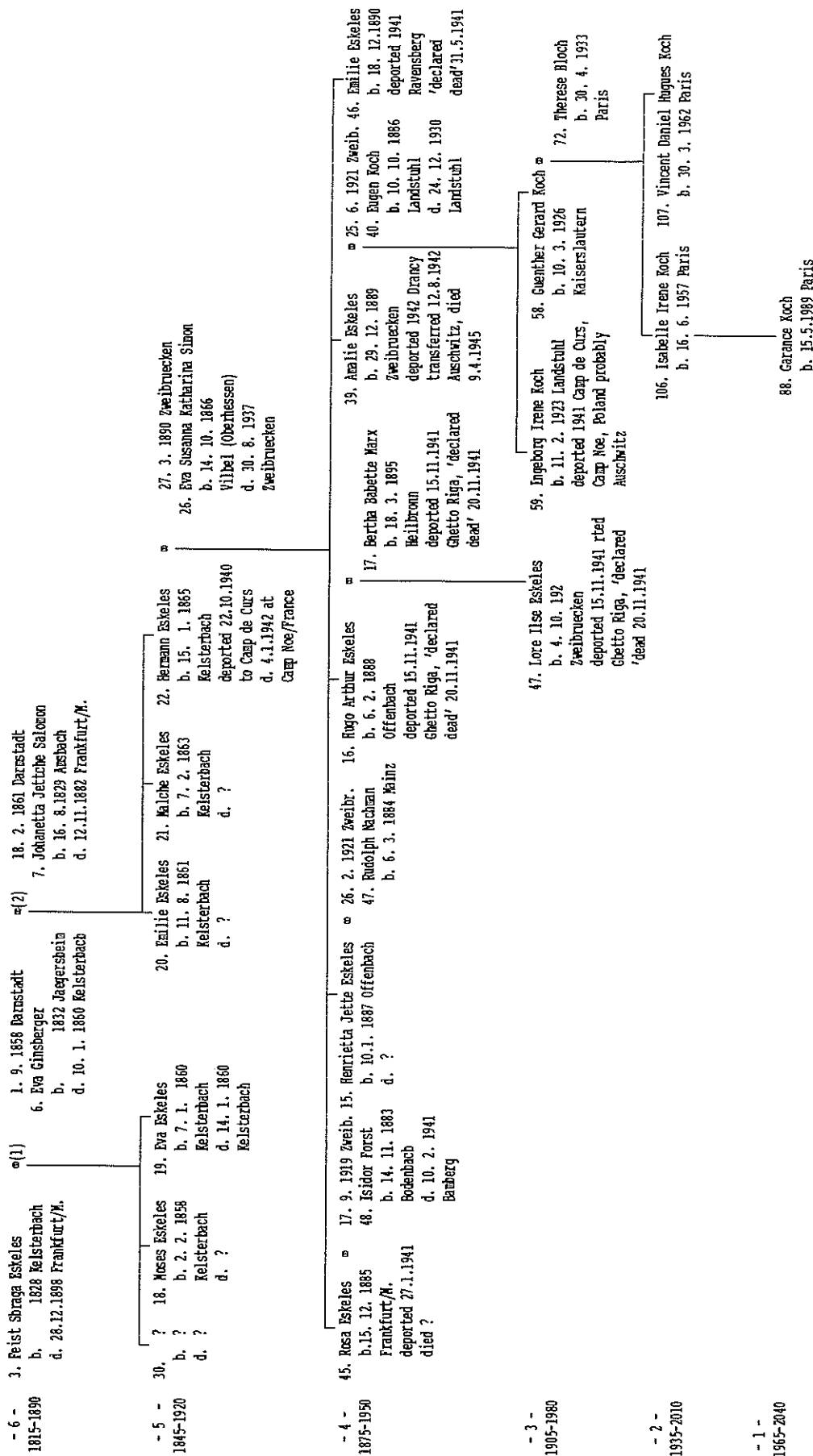
Absolute
Generations



Absolute Generations

For former generations - See Line 1

ESKELES GENEALOGY 1995
LINE 4
Peist Eskeles



Absolute Generations For former generations - See Line 1

ESKELES GENEALOGY 1995
LINE 3
Gabriel Eskeles

- 6 -
1815-1850
2. Gabriel Eskeles
b. 1817 Kelsterbach
d. 13. 2. 1896 Kelsterbach
3. 12. 1845 Darmstadt
5. Hamche Liliestern
b. 1822 Ortenburg
d. 30. 3. 1863 Kelsterbach

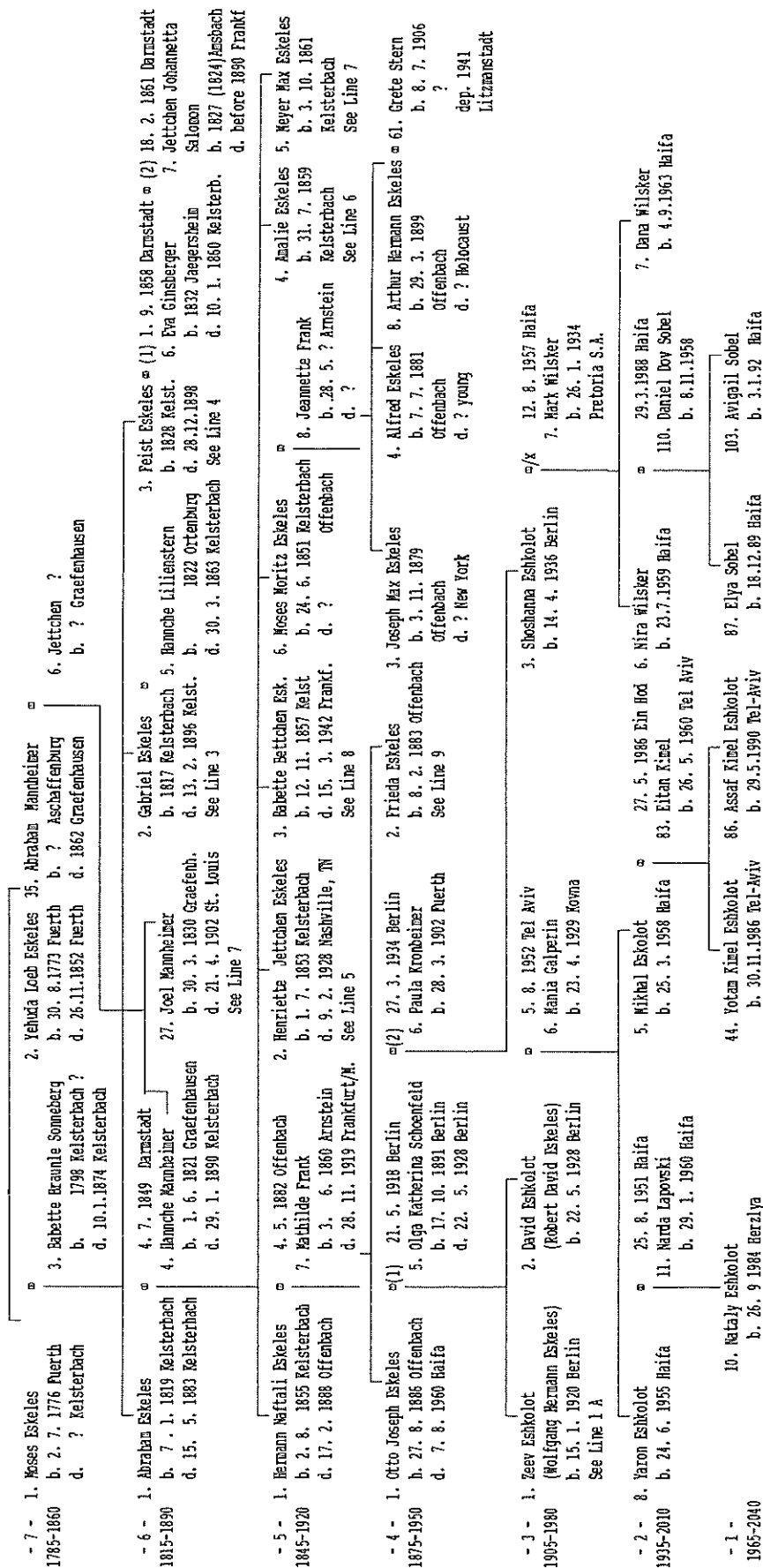
- 5 -
1845-1950
9. Moses Moritz Eskeles
b. 13. 12. 1845
d. ?
10. ? 1875 Rarau
b. 30. 3. 1848
d. ?
11. Without name
b. d. 23. 3. 1850
Kelsterbach
12. Mathe Analle E.
b. 30. 4. 1851
not married
d. 9. 10. 1918
Kelsterbach
13. Dorothea E.
b. 27. 6. 1854
d. ?
14. Leopold E.
b. 14. 5. 1856
d. 14. 6. 1867
Kelsterbach
15. Hermann Eskeles
b. 12. 10. 1858
d. 30. 4. 1860
Kelsterbach
16. Emilie Eskeles
b. 23. 2. 1861
d. 6. 7. 1923
Kelsterbach
23. Johann Viktor Niedzballa
b. 1867 Ratibor
d. ?

- 4 -
1875-1950
9. Edmund Eskeles
b. 18. 9. 1876
d. 27. 3. 1942 deported
K.Z. Trutz (Loiz)
10. Johanna Eskeles
b. 4. 3. 1879
deported to
Theresienstadt
died 4.1.1943
11. Selma Eskeles
b. 7. 11. 1886
d. 31. 1. 1887
12. Rabette Blumenthal
b. 3. 9. 1860 Markttheinfeld
d. 4. 1. 1919 Aschaffenburg
13. Klara Reis
b. 2. 9. 1876 Gelnhausen
d. 1942 deported to
Litzmanstadt
14. Adolf Schwartz
b. ? Werenberg
d. late 1920's
in Oxfittel (Main)
15. Dead born boy
b. 16. 12. 1900
Kelsterbach
20. Joseffa Emma Niedzballa
b. 1. 5. 1904
Kelsterbach
emigrated to U.S.A.
24. 10. 1925

- 3 -
1905-1940
11. Robert Gabriel Eskeles
b. 17. 4. 1910
Frankfurt/M.
12. Max Eskeles
b. 6. 1. 1917 Frankfurt/M.
d. 27. 5. 1969 Chicago, IL.
14. 12. 1942 Richmond, VA.
50. Mildred Meyer
b. 22. 7. 1910 Richmond, Va.
21. Selma Schwartz
b. ? in Oxfittel
d. ? probably in
Holocaust (Minsk)
22. Willi Loewenberg
b. ? Weilburg/Lahn
d. late 1920's in
Weilburg

- 2 -
1935-2010
60. Wally Loewenberg
b. 30. 9. 1922 Weilburg
d. ? probably in
Holocaust

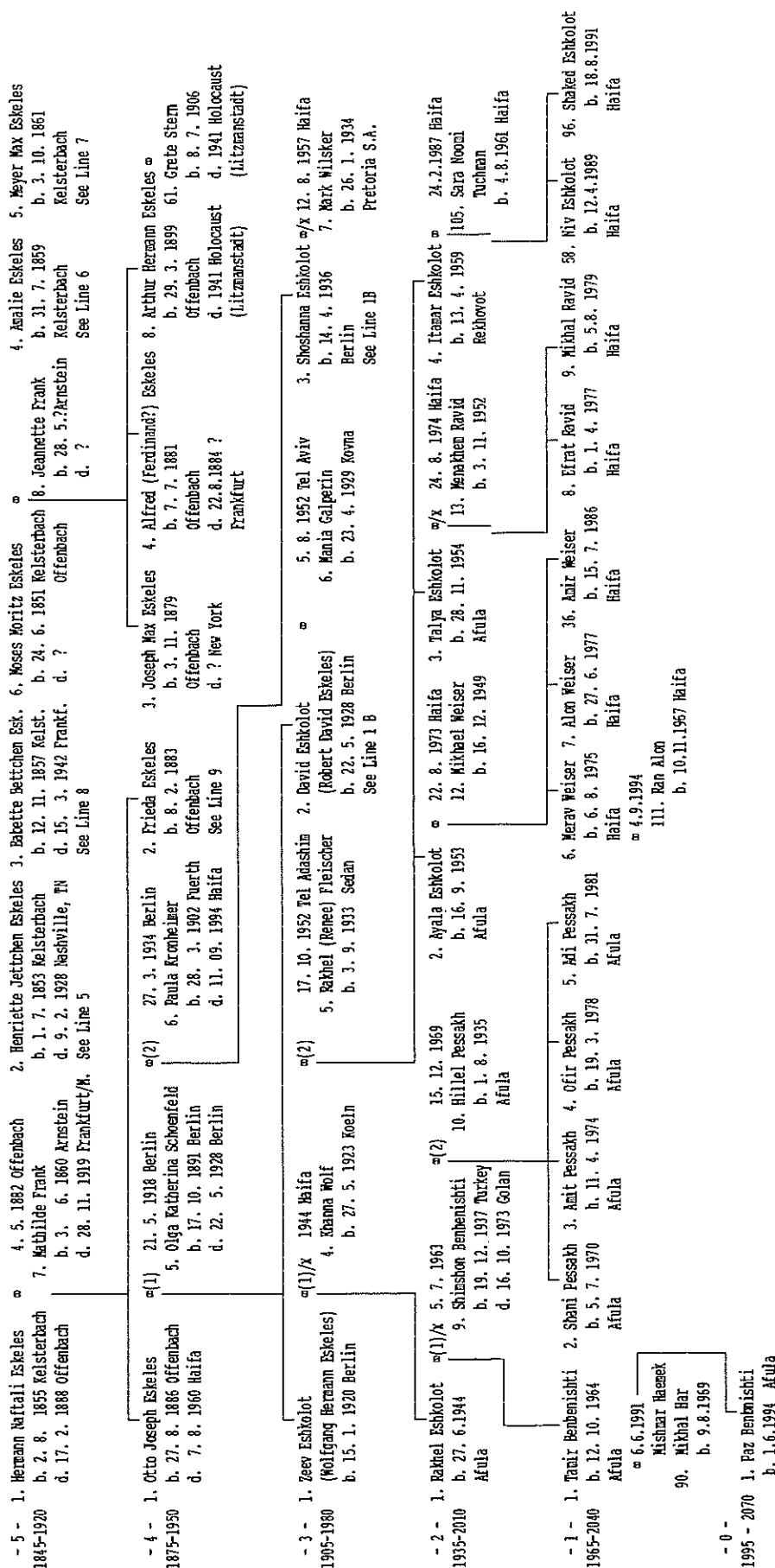
Absoluta
Generations For former generations see Main Line and Line 1



ESKELES GENEALOGY 1995

LINE 1A Eskeles- Zaev Escholot

Absolute
Generations for former generations see Main Line



Absolute

Generations For former generations see Main Line

ESKELES GENEALOGY 1995
LINE 1 Eskeles Ancestors

For other brothers and sisters see indications on bottom of page Main Line.

- 8 - 1. Gabriel Eskeles
born 1750 Wien
died 10. 5. 1783 Fuerth

9. Banchie Simonis
b. ? Rotterdam

- 7 - 1. Moses Eskeles
1785-1860
b. 2. 7. 1776 Fuerth
d. 12.12.1829
Kelsterbach

11.6.1825
3. Babette Braunle Someberg
b. 1798 ?
d. 26.11.1852 Fuerth
d. 10. 1. 1874 Kelsterbach

2. Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
b. 30. 8.1773 Fuerth
d. 26.11.1852 Fuerth

35. Abraham Mannheimer
b. ? Aschaffenburg
d. 1862 Graefenhausen

6. Jettchen ?
b. ? Graefenhausen

- 6 - 1. Abraham Eskeles
1815-1890
b. 7. 1. 1819 Kelsterbach
d. 15. 5. 1893 Kelsterbach

4. 7. 1849 Darmstadt
4. Banchie Mannheimer
b. 1. 6. 1821 Graefenhausen
d. 29. 1. 1890 Kelsterbach

27. Joel Mannheimer
b. 30. 3. 1830 Graefenh.
d. 21. 4. 1902 St. Louis
See Line 7

2. Gabriel Eskeles
b. 1817 Kelsterbach
d. 13. 2. 1896 Kelst.
See Line 3

3. Feist Eskeles = (1) 1. 9. 1858 Darmstadt = (2) 18. 2. 1861 Darmstadt
b. 1828 Kelst.
6. Eva Ginsberger (Esther) 7. Jettchen Johanna
b. 1832 Jaegersheim Salomon
d. 10. 1. 1860 Kelsterb. b. 1827(1824) Aschach
d. before 1890 Frank

- 5 - 1. Hermann Naftali Eskeles
1845-1920
b. 2. 8. 1855 Kelsterbach
d. 17. 2. 1888 Offenbach

4. 5. 1882 Offenbach
7. Mathilde Frank
b. 3. 6. 1860 Arnstein
d. 28. 11. 1919 Frankfurt/M.

2. Henriette Jettchen Eskeles
b. 1. 7. 1853 Kelsterbach
d. 9. 2. 1928 Nashville, TN

3. Babette Bettchen Fsk.
b. 12. 11. 1857 Kelst.
d. 15. 3. 1942 Frankf.

6. Moses Moritz Eskeles
b. 24. 6. 1851 Kelsterbach
d. ? Offenbach
d. ?

8. Jeannette Frank
b. 31. 7. 1859
b. 28. 5. Arnstein
Kelsterbach

5. Meyer Max Eskeles
b. 3. 10. 1861
Kelsterbach

See Line 1A - Line 1B

See Line 5

See Line 8

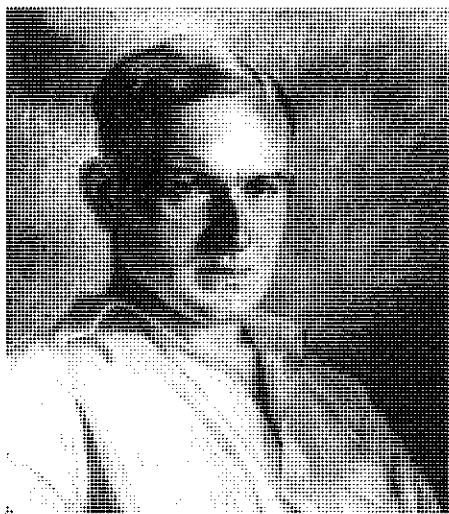
See Line 6

See Line 7

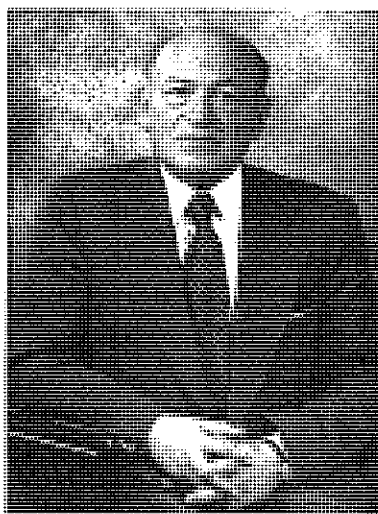
3.54 Ernst Erich Escales

Born 7.4.1907 in München

Died 6.2.1979 Achern



1927 - 3.73 Ernst Erich Escales.



1977 - 3.73 Ernst Erich Escales.

3.56 Erika Escales

Born 7.11.1908 in München

Died 14.8.1987 in München

3.58 Erna Escales

Born 9.9.1910 in München

3.59 Edith Escales

Born 9.5.1914 in München

3.60 Eva Escales.

Born 3.3.1917 in München

Died 5.6.1988 in New York

3.62 Else Escales

Born 6.8.1919 in München

Died 27.1.1985 in Achern

Ernst Erich Escales studied chemistry like his father and, at an early age, became involved in technical and scientific publications. Later on, he was very active in several industrial enterprises and in the field of chemistry. Furthermore, he founded a Plastics periodical - 'Kunststoffe'.

Trouble started in 1934, when Ernst Erich Escales wanted to marry 3.55 Gertraut Doeffinger. She was an active member of the Nazi party and her father, a physician, was colonel of the S.A. (the Nazi semi-military organization). Ernst Erich had to procure papers proving that he was an Arian. However, according to German law after 1933, which did not take into consideration religion but only bloodlines, he was considered a half-Jew. After an arduous process lasting three years, he was unable to procure official permission to marry an arian woman. Finally, Ernst and Gertraut married in England in 1937, and returned to Germany.

249. Pardevant nous Maire de la commune de —
 Gruntpost, Arrondissement de Spire Département
 du Rhin-Palatin Officiant Les Escalles
 et nous à déclarer le mariage de la femme
 mineure née à Séverbach en Bavière —
 le 25 Mars 1897 âgée de quatre vingt six ans, la
 présente de la famille et le nom de famille des
 "Escalles" et à signer avec nous le Maire
 Hermann Dippel (ent) huit. Les Escalles
Bordolff

250. Pardevant nous Maire de la commune de Gruntpost
 Arrondissement de Spire Département du Rhin-Palatin
 Officiant M. le Colonel et nous à déclarer
 le mariage pour présentement les de Marius et
 pour nom de famille les de Escalles et à —
 signer avec nous le Maire Hermann Dippel
 (ent) huit. Les Escalles
Bordolff



1919 - 5.41 Ernst Richard Escalles and his family.

Regine's grandfather, 5.41 Ernst Richard Escalles, born 1863 to a Jewish family in Zweibrücken, was brought up in a liberal, non-religious home. His father believed that the children should decide his/her religious identity. Ernst Richard studied Chemistry in München and became a successful and celebrated chemist, served as officer in the German army in World War I, and converted as a young man to Christianity. Regine's father was, of course, also Christian. The family always considered itself as being German and Christian, and the Jewish past was never mentioned.

Ernst Richard Escalles had one son and 5 daughters.

Garry Risher

LINE 11

Source: Regine Escales,
Zeev Eshkolot

The ancestor of this branch, 8.3 Moses Loew Escales, was born before 1750 in Vienna. While his brothers Gabriel (ancestor of lines 1,3,4,5,6,7,8 and 9) and Feiweilmann Escales went to Fuerth, he went to Schwabach, both towns being near Nürnberg. We do not know why he was called **Escales** and not **Eskeles** as the rest of the family. The only plausible explanation I can offer is that at this time the part of Germany - the Palatinate - where he lived and did business was under French occupation. He might have adopted a more French name without the letter 'k' which is typical to the German language. If he had changed only the 'k' to 'c', the name would have been pronounced in French "Esseles". However, a 'c' followed by an 'a' is pronounced in French as 'ka'. This is of course only a guess, any other explanation might be given and accepted. Officially he adopted this name only in 1808 at Grünstadt under the French regime.



1882 - 6.36 Louise Bertha Escales born Levy.

L'AN mil huit cent treize, le vingt deux février - à une heure du jour - pardevant nous Gustave Bordele Maire
Officier de l'état civil de la commune de Grünstadt - Canton
de Grünstadt - Département du Mont-Tonnerre; est comparu
Leopold Escales, âgé de quarante ans, célibataire,
demeurant à Grünstadt -

lequel nous a présenté un enfant du sexe masculin né le vingt février
à une heure après midi - de lui déclarant et de
Christiane de Prötzel son épouse, et auquel il a déclaré vouloir
donner le prénom de: Maurice

Lesdites déclaration et présentation faites en présence des: Samuel Escales
âgé de cinquante ans, célibataire,
et de Bernard Loeb, âgé de cinquante ans, marié,
marchand, les deux demeurant à Grünstadt,

et ont les père et témoins signé avec nous le présent acte de naissance, après qu'il
leur en a été fait lecture.

Leopold Escales Samuel Escales
Bernard Loeb

1813 - Birth registration of 6.29 Maurice Moritz Escales at Grünstadt
(in French).

From Schwabach, the family moved to Grünstadt and from there, to Zweibrücken. Unlike his brothers who lived in destitute conditions in Fürth and later in Kelsterbach, Moses Loew Escales was a prosperous businessman. His descendants in Zweibrücken also proved to be successful and prosperous in industry. They had a well known silk and plush factory. We had lost the trace of the family in the second half of the 19th century, until we received a letter from Regine Escales, living in Runkel/Lahn - Germany, who stumbled upon our name from the municipality of Schwabach. She, coincidentally, was also making inquiries about her family. We began an intensive and warm correspondence with Regine, and in April Rachel and I went to Runkel to meet her. Below follows the story of line 11 - in short.

LINE 10

Source: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi

Klaus H.S. Schulte, Die Bonner Juden und ihre Nachkommen

We have only very limited information about this, probably extinguished, line of the family. We are not entirely sure if the descendance as indicated in the genealogy chart is correct, but the indicated names and dates seem to be correct.

In 1818 Johann Ludwig Eskeles was partner in a soap factory at Bonn, named Eskeles & Cahen, his brother in law. The factory was sold in 1833. In 1821 we find their name with a third partner in a wine and vinegar factory. His grave is in Schwarzeindorf.

In 1877 the Municipality Council of Bonn confirmed unanimously the repatriation of Jacob and Bernhard (?) Eskeles. We ignore the circumstances. The fact that Bernhard Eskeles died in Paris might be somehow connected with this information.

At the present stage we don't know for sure if and how lines 3 and 4 are linked to this branch of the family (see chart Line 10).

We ignore who are the descendants of this line in generations 5 and 4. We ignore as well, who were the ancestors of generations 3 and 4 and when and how they came to Poland.

However, based on our knowledge of all other lines of the family, and after elimination of other possibilities, we may assume that such a link exists.

for these purposes became common. The guests which had to spend the night in the room or tent of a married couple, due to the shortage of accomodation, were called 'Primus', probably because they were disturbing as a 'Primus', perhaps, because their presence was believed to 'heat up' the atmosphere. - Z.E.)

I worked in almost all the branches but most of the time in a private orchard picking Citrus fruits, where we received some 'agourot' (pennies) for our 8 to 10 hours works and another 1/2 to 1 hour walk in each direction. The overseer was very tough and we did not have much time for a break. Sometimes we succeeded to steal some oranges to bring home to our group members.

The whole year we spent in Givat Khaim we dreamed to get land from the Jewish National Fund (K.K.L.), in order to build our own Kibbutz. But this did not realize so quickly as we wished. In September 1939 World War II broke out, we left Givat Khaim and went to a 'Moshava' (rural village with individual land owners) called Raananah, today a medium sized town, and tried to make our living by all sorts of work, for vegetable growers and as housemaids, as well. Some of us went to work for the Dead Sea Potash Company at Sdom, the lowest point on earth with a temperature of more than 40 degrees Celsius in summer.

As these were hard times and we never had enough money to pay the fees, sometimes our members were not accepted at the clinic belonging to the Health Institution. Even the grocer did not always give milk for the babies, because our debts were too high.

One evening a British Air Force Officer came to visit one of his former friends. I told him that the man had left the group long time ago and we began talking, talking and talking. The visitor - I was very impressed by his chic uniform - was Hermann Goldschmidt, my former 'guide' in the 'Habonim' movement in Germany, ten years ago. The next day he had to return to Egypt where he was stationed in the Army, but we started corresponding and so I 'sleed' gradually into the Eskeles family and finally married Khaim Hermann Goldschmidt in the beginning of 1946.

On March 12, 1945 our Kibbutz was founded on land belonging to the Jewish National Fund (K.K.L.), situated about 40 km east from Haifa. The funds to purchase the land were donated by a South-African millionaire named Isaac Ochberg, who years earlier had saved many Jewish orphans who were abandoned in Russia after the pogroms in the beginning of the century. A monument in his honor was erected near the Yemenite village Elyakim, on the road leading from Haifa, near to our Kibbutz.

Arthur Koestler in his novel "Thiefs in the Night" describes the first night of building-up our new Kibbutz. More details are published in Shlomo Erel's book (in German and in Hebrew) "Tagebuch eines Kibbutzsekretärs - 1945-1947".

Our Kibbutz is named in memory of the heroic youngsters Yoachim Simon (Shushu) and Kurt Hannemann who sacrificed their lives, fighting in the Dutch underground movement against the Nazi intruders, in order to save Jews from concentration camps and smuggling them through Belgium and France into Spain or Marseille from where they were illegally shipped to Palestine, as can be seen in the film 'Exodus'.

Our first work in the new Kibbutz was stone removal from the ground in order to prepare the soil for growing agricultural crops. It was a very hard work. We worked, as well, for the Jewish National Fund, planting woods. When we came here, there was not a single tree in the surroundings. A guest from overseas who came to visit the Kibbutz many years later stated with admiration: "How clever you have been to build your Kibbutz in the middle of a forest!"

Soon I started raising chicken in the poultry yard, a most important work in these times when there was a great lack of eggs and meat. Khaim Hermann worked as metal worker, a profession he had learned already in Germany. In the Sixties I became a Hebrew teacher for new 'Olim', later on I worked in the Kibbutz Archives and Khaim became a beekeeper.

Our Arab neighbors did not accept our existence immediately in spite of the fact that the land was purchased from them or the landowners against full payment of an exorbitant price. But later on we lived in good terms with them.

In December 1946 our first daughter Lea was born and in May 1951 our second girl Dina. At this time the children lived together in 'children homes' and the parents spent with them only a couple of hours after work. This habit has changed, since in most of the Kibbutzim and nowadays children, up to a certain age, sleep at home with their parents.

In 1934 I joined the 'Habonim', a Zionist movement and in 1936 I left school in order to go to Palestine and 'build the country'. All my efforts to persuade my parents to emigrate were in vain. My father was convinced the 'evil regime' can not last and, so he said, at his age he did not have the strength anymore to start a new life in a new country with a new language.

So I went to a Jewish 'Hakhshara Center' (preparation farm) for Palestine in Ellgut near the Polish border. All the youngsters were working in the vegetable garden, in the fields and milking cows. I was milking with our 'Madrikh' (leader) named Georg Josephtal, later a minister in the Government of Israel. He passed away in 1961 and his wife, Senta (82), a former member of the Knesset (parliament) is member of our Kibbutz. She still works in our factory besides other various activities.

But back to the Hakhshara Center. before and after work, sometimes at 05.00 in the morning, we had lessons in Hebrew, economics, biology, music (lectures on compositions), Jewish history, Eretz Israel (Palestine), and geography. Among our teachers were the Josephtal couple and Joachim Simon, member of the Dutch underground movement in World War II., who was killed by the Nazis during his activities to save Jews. Many of our Kibbutz members owe him their lives.

A wood in his and other Dutch underground members was planted near to our Kibbutz under the name of 'Westerwill Wood' in memory of the non-Jewish leader of the movement.

On the evening of November 11, 1938, known as 'Crystal Night', our farm was surrounded by gangs of peasants from the neighbor villages, who stated that in revenge of the murder of the German Ambassador in France, von Rath, we had to leave the farm and Germany, as well. They gathered us in the courtyard of the farm and started to beat us with sticks and other instruments, they had brought with them. On this occasion I lost a piece of my front tooth when a young fell upon me shouting "You dirty pig, you!".

Most of them were drunk and after they had finished their cruel treatment, we were allowed to return to our rooms. They gave us 5 minutes to take some clothes and then pushed us in a train which was waiting for us and started moving eastward. None of us had the slightest idea where we are going until the train stopped at the Polish border. But as the Polish were not keen to accept us since they were already overcrowded by refugees, we spent the night at the station, hungry and in great suspense about our future fate.

In the morning they packed us in another train and we were sent to Breslau, a big town which was conquered by the Poles in World War II. Today the town is called Wroclaw and there is not a remnant left of the former German population.

In Breslau we were sent to the town prison and had to stand still in the courtyard for about three hours with our faces toward the wall, and then the boys were separated from the girls. All the boys were sent to the Buchenwald concentration camp (they called it 'protective arrest') and some of them never came back. The girls were sent to their parents who lived in different parts of Germany. I went to Munich to my mother who told me that on the previous day, the day of the big pogrom in Germany when hundreds of synagogues were burnt down, my father was taken to the Dachau concentration camp, "in order to protect him from the wrath of the masses".

The first thing I asked my mother, was to take a bath. When my mother saw me in the bathtub she almost fainted because my whole body was covered with blue spots. During the whole journey I had not been conscious of the pain.

Several weeks later my father was released from the concentration camp and I began to work in the Jewish Hospital until I received, with the assistance of the Joseftal family, a Certificate from the British Mandate Government for immigration to Palestine. I said good-bye to my parents and never saw them again. I was told that they were shot in 1942, on their way to the concentration camp Minsk.

I came to Palestine as 'Khalutz' (pioneer) and agricultural worker and joined our group which was in Kibbutz Givat Khaim. In the beginning we lived in an old chicken shed, which was not used anymore, and afterwards in tents. As I was not married, I was sent every night to sleep with another family as 'Primus'.

('Primus' is a noisy cooker, operating on a mix of kerosene and air, pumped with a handle under pressure into the cooker, which was in repanded use in Palestine for cooking and boiling of laundry before the use of gaz and electricity

I was again the guest of Otto and Paula in 1952, on my return from India to Rhodesia, and again in 1955, together with my wife, on our return from Europe. In my eyes, uncle Otto never changed, never altered - benevolent and understanding."

3.9 Hermann Khaim Goldschmidt

Born 1914 München.

Memories of Khaim Goldschmidt

"I was born in Munich in May 1914. My only brother Hans was 4 years older. My father died in 1923 when I was 9 years old. My mother tried very hard to continue his business, but tablecloth as we produced, grew out of fashion and the inflation in 1923 left us without any resources. My uncle Otto Eskeles provided for us, so we could live comfortably.

I finished highschool in 1933, the year Hitler came to power and Jews were not allowed anymore to study in Universities. I could only work in a Jewish business or a Jewish factory. So for one year I worked in several departments of a Jewish textile factory, but I realized very soon that a commercial career would not suit me at all. As I felt that antisemitism grew worse from month to month, I joined the Zionist movement and decided to go to 'Palestine'. In order to obtain at that time, under the British mandate, an immigration certificate, you had to work for two years in agriculture or to learn a manual trade. I decided to become a metal worker and with some difficulties I was accepted in a factory for washing machinery.

In 1937 I got the possibility to leave Germany and go to Palestine. During the years 1937 - 1940 I lived in Kibbutz Ein-Kharod. Early 1940 was a call for volunteers for the British Forces, so I joined the British Air Force ground crews as metal worker and stayed there more than five years, most of the time in the Egyptian desert, but also in Lybia and Greece.

In 1946, after the war, I left Ein-Kharod and joined a new Kibbutz, Gal-Ed, with comrades I knew from the youth movement in Munich. In the same year I married Khava Friediger. At first I worked mostly as metal worker but in 1956 I started to work with bees, a work I like very much and continue till now."

3.10 Khava Eva Goldschmidt born Friediger

Born 11.12.1919 München

"I was born on 11.12.1919 in Munich, a beautiful and interesting town in Bavaria, South Germany, as Eva Friediger, daughter of Dr. Adolf Friediger, physician and Leonore born Schwarz. My father was born in Beuthen, today Poland, and my mother came from Innsbruck, a wonderful place in the Austrian Alps, in Tirol. My father studied medicine at Jena University and was a friend of the famous painter Franz Marc, who belonged together with Kandinsky and others to the revolutionary artists group who called themselves 'The Blue Rider'. He painted a picture of my father which was brought to me after my Aliya and is the only souvenir that was left after World War II. My only brother was killed in an accident at the age of 7 and my mother never overcame her sorrow.

Like many doctors, my father was an enthusiastic musician. He played the piano and viola, and once a week there was a meeting in our apartment where he played classical music with friends, while my mother was busy baking her extraordinary, good tasting cakes.

Before I was born, my father served as soldier in World War I, got some medals and felt himself as faithful German citizen of 'mosaic faith', as it was called in those days. Since his parents were Polish, we received German citizenship only in 1919, and this was the reason why we were deprived of a German passport at the beginning of the Nazi regime and became 'stateless', a fact that, maybe, later saved my life. Like most German people, my parents lost all their money in the inflation after World War I. and had to start from the beginning.

I went to the Primary School and later to the 'Realgymnasium' for girls. Many of our teachers were Anti-Nazis and treated the Jewish pupils excellently. Some of them were Nazis and the pupils gave them hell. I studied Latin, French and only one year English and this is the reason I never mastered English properly.

Mr. 100.

Offenbach, am 19. Februar 1883.

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der

Persönlichkeit und Er kennt,

der Kaufmann Hermann Eskeles

wohnhaft zu Offenbach in der Luisenstraße 1692

israelitischer Religion, und zeigte an, daß von der

Frieda Eskeles, geboren Stark, f. m. 1883

geboren, israelitischer Religion,

wohnhaft bei ihm

zu Offenbach in seiner Wohnung

am 19. Feb. im Februar des Jahres

tausend acht hundert acht, zig und drei, Hundert, und

acht Uhr ein Kind sartlich

Geblüts geboren worden sei, welches in Vornamen

Frieda Rosa

erhalten habe.

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterzeichnet

Hermann Eskeles

Der Standesbeamte

Dr. P. P. P.

Dr. P. P. P.

1883 - Birth registration of 4.2 Frieda Eskeles.

I remember having a great time with my grandmother. Although she had a one-woman business - 'M.C. Kirschbaum Nachfolger'; dowry/bridal linen - to look after, she took me around to see sights a little boy would be interested in. Thus I remember a trip to the 'Forsthaus' - a holiday spot nearby, where I enjoyed a ride in a little carriage drawn by goats.

A second visit to my grandmother took place in 1919 - a few months before her death. She had problems with her heart over a long period and went to Bad Nauheim every year, but died eventually of cancer of the breast - as did her daughter forty years later. Tante Jeannette - widow of Moritz Eskeles, a brother of my grandfather Hermann - I knew very well. She lived in Offenbach, Biberstrasse 24, in the same house the Gebrueder Eskeles - Hermann & Moritz had an outfitting business. She lived in a two-storied house on the first floor - in the center of town near the market - and had a little garden with a summerhouse, a wooden shack with a bench, where aunt Jeannette spent the afternoons and evenings. I remember her well, because when I stayed with relations of my late father in Offenbach, I had a jour fixe for lunch on Saturdays with her. Her oldest son, Joseph, - unmarried - lived with her, and on occasions her youngest son Arthur joined us. On occasions only, for he was a great motorcycle fan and, on

weekends, roamed the countryside with another cousin of mine - Alfred Goldschmidt. You will have noticed in the genealogy, that amongst German Jews at the turn of the century Hermann (Khaim) and Alfred (Avraham) were great fashion.

My father died in 1923, when I was 13 years old. I shall always remember this year 1923 - in summer I was stricken with polio, in November Hitler putsched in Munich and got defeated, inflation was stopped an overnight 1,000,000 Mark became one Rentenmark, and my father died after an illness lasting two months. During the last week of his illness my mother called in a professor for consultation, and two weeks after my father's death the professor presented his bill: 30 Gold Mark. I was sent to his surgery to pay in three 10 Goldmarks - where they came from, I do not know.

My father had his own business and staff, and also had the most fantastic and solid investments, such as shares in Moscow and Vladivostock Railways, Austro-Hungarian Papers, Belgian, French and English Obligations - all completely and utterly useless: the Russians had turned communist, and the others would not look at a German shareholder on account of the lost war. Although my mother - Frieda, born Eskeles - tried her utmost to continue the business to keep us going - she had to travel a lot - it was her brother Otto who stood by her with advice and help.

Otto and Paula (4.6 Paula Eskeles born Kronheimer, Otto's second wife he married in 1932, after the death of Olga in 1928) saw me off to Africa in Belgium in 1936; a month later I left Paris, after a domicile there lasting for four years.

LINE 9

For previous generations see Line 1.

Line 9 starts with 4.2 Frieda Goldschmidt born Eskeles, who married 4.7 Alfred Goldschmidt.

Generally I did not include in the family genealogy the wives who married into the Eskeles family. I am aware of the injustice I am doing to our mothers and wives, but I had to limit myself into a certain framework. The only exception I made is the Frank family, which gave two of its daughters in marriage to the Eskeles family, my grandmother Mathilde and her sister 5.8 Jeanette Frank, who married my grandfather Hermann's brother 5.6 Moses Moritz Eskeles.

The reason is that I have the feeling that the Frank' heredity had a great influence on the further development of our line (1) of the Eskeles family. Doubtless Mathilde Eskeles had strong personality and character and her good influence on her children was determining for their future. Mathilde's biography is included in Line 1; for genealogy of the Frank family, see genealogy charts Line 9.

4.2 Frieda Goldschmidt born Eskeles

Born 1883 Offenbach, died 1943 Haifa.

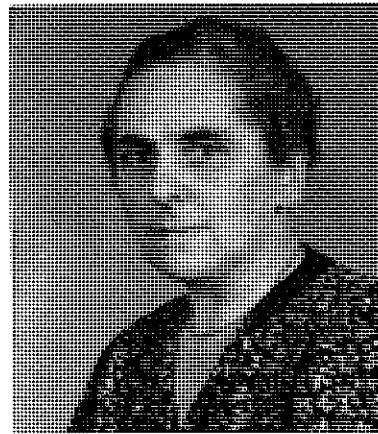
4.7 Alfred Goldschmidt

Born 1866 Offenbach, died 1923 München.

3.8 Hans Jacob Goldschmidt

Born 1910 München.

Married ??? in Bulawayo 3.48 Gisela Wiesenthal.



4.2 Frieda Goldschmidt born Eskeles.

Memories of Hans Goldschmidt

The full memories of Hans Goldschmidt are printed in Line 1 because they concern also other Lines of the family. In the following Lines the parts concerning Line 9 are reprinted.

"I was born in Munich - Bavaria, Southern Germany - and the first member of the Eskeles family I got to know was my mother [4.2 Frieda Goldschmidt born Eskeles - Z.E.]. Her stature was small, her eyes gray/blue with an occasional greenish tinge, her intellect sharp with many interests. In her pre-marital days she taught German in some institute or other to Jewish immigrant youngsters from tsarist Russia -last century's last refugees from the East, last waves before the floods of our times.

My grandmother [5.7 Mathilde Eskeles born Frank] - my mother's mother - lived in Frankfurt/Main - some 500 kilometers away - and travelling in the first quarter of the century was somewhat more difficult and unusual than in our modern times. The train took 8 to 10 hours, and even those people who owned a car in the late Twenties or early Thirties could not do it much faster, as the roads were just not made for it.

The other Eskeleses lived around Frankfurt - in Offenbach, Kelsterbach and in Koeln and Hannover. Thus my early memory of the "others" started with a visit to my grandmother in 1916, in the middle of the first world war. Shortly before this journey took place, a lonely French aircraft had placed a bomb in the center of Frankfurt and completely destroyed a small waiting room at the Hauptwache, a tramline crossing. The moral effect was not devastating, but nevertheless, impressive. Of course, it did not affect - weeks after - a six year old boy, but after all these years it seems to me, that it showed courage on the part of my parents to send one of their two children into a possible war zone.

Self Portrait

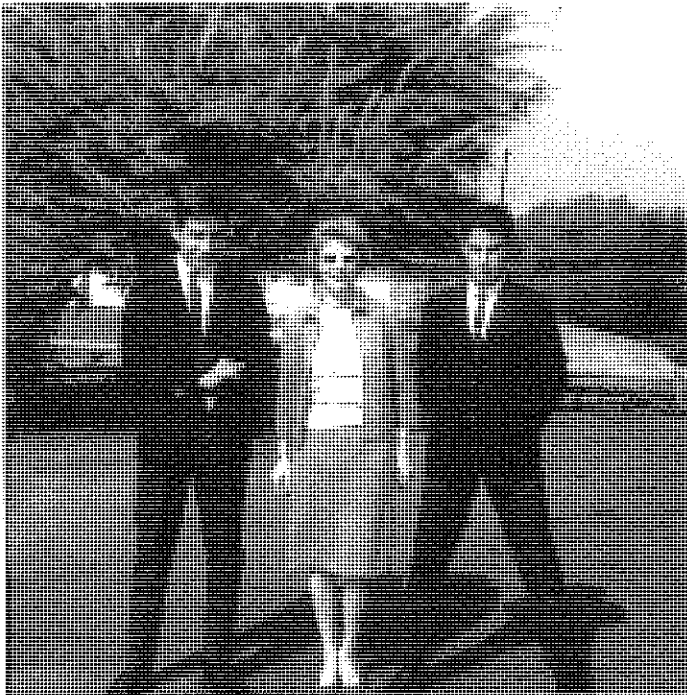
There stands the old olive tree
Her trunk a gnarled witness to the years.
A thing not of beauty but of strength - - -
Of integrity.
The scars tell a story.

She has grown her share of fruit over the years
Which yields oil for light and nourishment
Rewarding labor
But olives are bitter:
"You have to develop a taste for them"
Many don't. "Why bother?"

Creatures are hiding
in the shelter of her branches - - -
Many, many.
The tree loves them all.
She is still growing, that old tree - - -
More slowly much more slowly.
It hurts to grow - - - it takes so much effort.
But grow she must.

How deep do the roots go?
How wide?
There is no telling.
Some inevitable day when she falls, dying,
Perhaps the hidden sources will be seen,
Briefly,
Before her essence rejoins the earth
That gave her birth.

Ursula Speier Growald, 1989

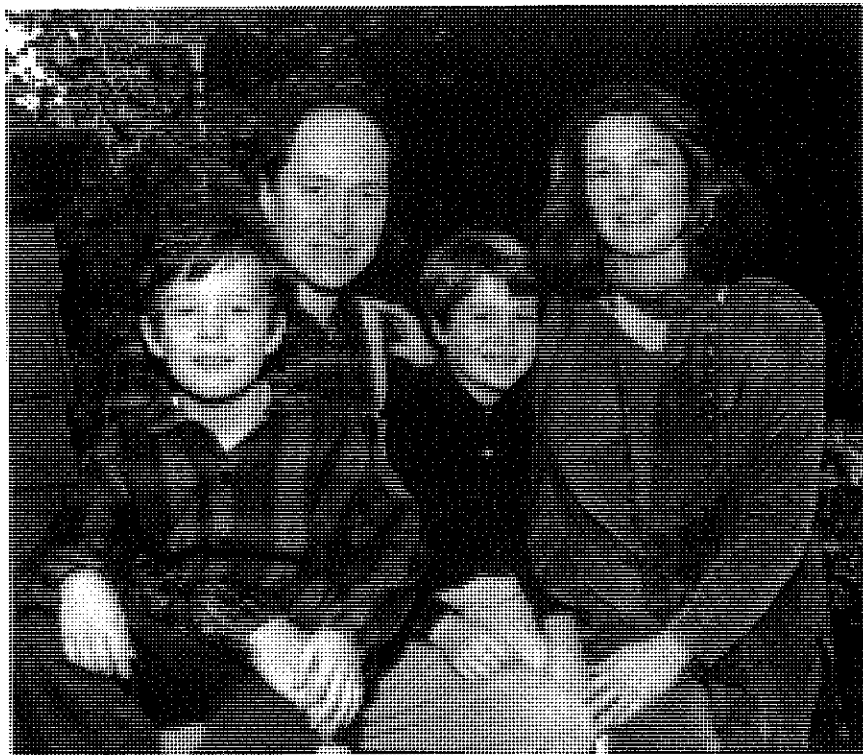


1967 - Ken, Eva and Marc Louria

University, was Executive Editor of a feature news service and a part-time Special Correspondent to the **Washington Post**. In 1974 he founded the Second Harvest Food Bank in San Jose, which became a model for others nationwide.

Paul was later appointed by Governor Jerry Brown to the California State Board of Food and Agriculture. In 1978 he joined a Task Force appointed by the Dean of Agricultural Sciences at the University of California preparing a report on the future of the state's agriculture. He briefly studied in a PhD program at U.C. Davis in Human Ecology.

Before the 1980 New Hampshire Presidential Primary Election Paul spent some time in New England near where we took vacations when he was a child. While in Vermont he visited Shelburne Farms, an environmental education center. His guide that day was Eileen Rockefeller, the Farm's Communications Director. It was love at first sight. They were engaged that summer and married in Maine in August, 1981.



1995 - 2.57 Paul Growald, 2.92 Eileen Growald born Rockefeller, 1.39 Adam and 1.54 Daniel Growald.

They now are the proud parents of two sons, Adam and Daniel, born in 1985 and 1988. We say jokingly that Adam is really not Eileen and Paul's first baby because in 1983 Eileen founded the Institute for the Advancement of Health. It grew to be a prestigious and highly-regarded organization whose aim was to promote research and education about the connections of the mind and body to health and illness. In 1995 she is a Director of North Country School where she attended, at the Nueva School where Adam and Danny are enrolled, and is the founder of the Collaborative for Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL), a national project at Yale University.

In 1981 Paul made a transition to the communications business. In 1985 he started and still manages Small Cities Cable Television, an operator of cable systems in Vermont where the family owns a home on Shelburne Farms. In 1995 Paul became Chairman of the California League of Conservation Voters and began a transition to a greater focus on environmental advocacy and education.

Paul, Eileen, Danny and Adam are living happily in a nice house in San Francisco.

Prepared in Palo Alto, California, 1988.
Expanded by Eva Louria, edited and updated
in 1995 by Paul Growald, with additions.

Ursula died at home in Palo Alto in 1990, six days short of her seventieth birthday, following two years of brave, difficult struggle with metastatic bone cancer. We all miss her.

In 1989 she wrote the following poem, which was published in **Wounded Healers**, Wounded Healer Press, Bolinas, CA. 94924, 1994



1948 - 4.39 Max Speier.

From there we moved to Kew Gardens Hills in Queens, New York where we lived when Paul, our only child, was born in 1948. At this time Bert went to night school at City College of New York, where he received his B.S. degree after ten years of part-time study. Not long after Paul was born we moved to Staten Island, New York. Four months later Daddy had a slight stroke, stopped working and came to live with us for two years. He then moved to a board and care facility on the Upper West Side of Manhattan near Eva where his cousin Joseph Eskeles, lived. Daddy died in July 1952.

Our little family moved frequently. From Queens we moved to Staten Island, another borough of New York, and then Maywood and Hackensack, New Jersey, Park Forest, Illinois, and to Kalamazoo, Michigan before California.

In New Jersey Ursula and Bert had both become leaders in B'nai B'rith, she as a chapter President and as an Anti-Defamation League officer and a volunteer Dolls for Democracy program leader.

Park Forest, where we lived between 1957 and 1959, was one of the first planned communities in the U.S. It was a new town built in the early 1950s on farmland 35 miles South of Chicago, and was later made famous by William Whyte in his sociological study, **The Organization Man**.

While in Park Forest, Ursula became Chairman of a League of Women Voters study on Chicago area water pollution in 1957 which received wide attention. Then when they moved away, Ursula and Bert Growald wrote their own chapter in the town's history by selling their house to a black college professor and his wife, the first African-American to live there in a time of wide-spread de-facto housing segregation. The introduction to Professor Wilson came because Bert was active in the Park Forest Human Relations Commission, which had discussed what actions to take if something like this happened. The Growald's purely economic decision brought telephone threats and even an attempt to get Bert fired from his job in Michigan.

Shortly after we arrived in Kalamazoo I was offered a fellowship for a M.A. in Special Education at Western Michigan University. After receiving my degree I started working as a special education teacher in the Portage Public Schools, just South of Kalamazoo. We felt settled there for the first time, living in the area for eight years while Paul grew up. The Upjohn family and Company were very generous and helped support new art, music and nature centers of which we often took advantage. Bert worked in a research job at the Allied Paper Corporation, and became a leader in efforts to oppose extreme right wing elements who controlled of the Kalamazoo City Council.

We were warmly welcomed by the small Jewish community in Kalamazoo. Paul became Bar Mitzvah in the Conservative Congregation of Moses and finished High School in the Portage schools. The day we drove him to Evanston, Illinois to attend Northwestern University, Bert received an appointment in the research division of Varian Associates, an electronics company in Palo Alto, California.

When we later moved to Northern California the family repeated a pattern when Bert went ahead to start a new job while Ursula stayed behind in order to sell the family home, just as they had in the Illinois-Michigan move, and as her father had done several times thirty years earlier.

I went to work as a Diagnostician and certified Master Teacher for Learning Handicapped children in the Palo Alto Unified School District. I held that post for 20 years until my retirement in 1987. Ursula was active in school district affairs as a representative of the California Teachers Association, and in the early 1970's was a pioneer in the use of Apple microcomputers to help children learn to read.

After graduation from college, Paul became a Coro Foundation fellow in San Francisco and received his M.A. from Occidental College, in Los Angeles. He then worked as Executive Assistant to Professor Paul R. Ehrlich at Stanford

Despite the promotion, Daddy still had to sell and deliver merchandise. Because he had few mechanical skills, it was difficult for him to learn to drive a car at age 50, an absolute necessity in his business. But he never complained, even when forced to carry heavy samples cases in the Baltimore heat.

When my mother, sister and I arrived in Baltimore we were shocked in our search for an apartment by the advertisements in the newspaper stating "No Jews". We moved to an apartment in an area called Forest Park, one of Baltimore's little 'ghettoes' where predominantly middle and upper-class Jews lived. When she first arrived, Ursula was asked to give talks about life in the Netherlands to students at her school and others. In order to avoid animosity against Germans and to help being accepted, she did not mention that she was, in fact, German. Although the family only arrived from Holland during the spring of Ursula's junior year in high school, speaking little English, she graduated fourth in her Class of 1938 at Forest Park High School.

After graduation I entered the evening "College for Teachers" at Johns Hopkins University. Women were not admitted to day-time undergraduate programs there at that time. After graduation from John Hopkins (Magna Cum Laude), I received my B.A. and teaching credentials. Germany had revoked the family's citizenship, making the Speiers Stateless Persons. Although I had applied for citizenship and met all the qualifications, hatred of Germans ran so high that I was initially denied citizenship because the judge considered me an "enemy alien."

This made me ineligible to teach in the public schools. So I accepted a position at Dr. Phelps' school for cerebral palsied children, in Towson, MD, a long and arduous trip from my house. The last 15 miles each way we rode in the back of a panel truck with some makeshift benches inside.

After Eva's graduation from High School she was accepted into the School for Occupational Therapy at Columbia University in New York City. In 1947, at the beginning of Eva's second year of OT training, mother died suddenly of what we suspected as a reaction to a prescription drug. She was only 59. We packed up everything and put it in storage and Daddy went to live with friends.

Eva graduated from Columbia in 1947 and started working as a Registered Occupational Therapist. She met Henry W. (Hank) Louria, Jr. who was a first year medical student at Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center in New York City. They were married in 1950. Two years later Kenneth Morgan Louria was born, followed twelve months later by his brother Marc. We were living in New Jersey at the time so Eva and I and the boys were able to spend a lot of time together. We all felt very close after that.

After Hank finished his medical residency in 1958, the Lourias moved to Los Angeles and later to Orange County, where he opened a general surgery practice. Unfortunately, they divorced in 1970 after 23 years of marriage. Ken and Marc both graduated from the University of California. Ken married Stacey Woolfson whom he had met while attending Berkeley. After graduation they both worked for 'Tree People', a Los Angeles conservation group. Their son Joshua was born in 1971 and daughter Erin 18 months later. The marriage ended in divorce.

In 1977 Eva received a Kellogg Foundation grant which allowed her to enroll in an MS Degree program in Continuing Education in Health Sciences at the University of British Columbia, in Vancouver, Canada. On returning to Los Angeles she resumed work at Kaiser Permanente Hospitals, where she stayed until retirement in 1994. Marc continues as a screen writer in San Francisco while Ken lives in Santa Monica with his children. Since 1981 he has been chief engineer for several large commercial office and retail complexes and also is active in his synagogue. In 1995 Ken began studying for a Master's Degree in Counseling. The same year he met Meredith Bilson, to whom he is engaged to be married.

I met Bert Growald during the war in January, 1942 in a volunteer First Aid class at the Red Cross Emergency Field Unit. We were married after a brief courtship. At that time Bert was working as a civilian chemist for the U.S. Government, a job which deferred him from military service. After the War we moved to Morristown, New Jersey where Bert worked for a company making the first masking tape and other pressure sensitive tapes. I used to joke that he was making red tape for the Army.

My father was a good skier and hiker. We often went for long walks on weekends in the woods not far from Cologne. We had a comfortable life, taking trips every summer and winter to the Hartz Mountains near my mother's family home in Nordhausen or to Switzerland.

Every February there was a "Carnival" in Cologne like the one held now in New Orleans. Most people wore costumes and danced and paraded through the streets. The route went by my Daddy's office, which was located across from the Archbishop's residence where the Mardi Gras parade passed. One year my parents gave a party with many friends including their children, and they all came in costume. We watched the parade together and enjoyed the delicious food. Eva and I had costumes depicting the famous 4711 Eau de Cologne, with original corkscrews and labels from the factory.

The four of us lived in a large, 3-story house across from a red-stone Catholic church. The kitchen and wine cellar were in the basement. A dumbwaiter went up and down to the dining room on the first floor, something we children thought was great fun, particularly for playing tricks on the staff. We had a cook and a maid and later a man who drove our Belgian Minerva touring car, one of the first in Cologne. My father was proud of the Minerva, but never learned to drive it.

After Hitler came to power in 1933 our life changed a great deal. The bank was confiscated. We lost our house, moved to a smaller home, and were compelled to attend a 'Jewish School' established by the government. Prior to that we attended a Catholic school. Jews were officially excluded from participating in outside activities.

I particularly remember one example of life under the Nazis before we changed schools. In the spring of 1933 a big rally was to take place in Cologne, including many dignitaries, perhaps Adolph Hitler among them. In one event, school children were to present an exhibition where they performed exercises in unison. Our school was invited and we were all very excited. Soon after we began what were to be many rehearsals, a teacher announced in front of the whole school that Jewish children would not be allowed to take part. Then she asked us to leave. I remember feeling very humiliated to be singled out.

By late 1933, less than a year after Hitler took power, - against my mother's wishes -, my father decided the family must leave Germany. My mother's brother, George Bachman, urged us to join him in the United States. However, since his mother and sister still lived in Kelsterbach, and his father-in-law in Nordhausen, my father was not prepared to leave Europe. So in November we moved to Amsterdam, Holland where he went into a commodities business.

After about a year he discovered that his partner, Mr. Lichtenstein, was embezzling funds from the company. They dissolved the partnership. After unsuccessfully attempting to establish himself in Belgium, my father decided in 1935 to join his brother-in-law in Baltimore, Maryland. Uncle George then sent us visas enabling us to leave Amsterdam in May, 1937.

My Uncle George owned men's haberdasheries in Norfolk, Virginia and Baltimore. After Daddy arrived from Holland, George provided him with neckties which he sold by going from office to office in the Baltimore business district.

Before we arrived my father travelled to Nashville, Tennessee to see if his distant cousin, Fred Goldner Sr., could help bring his sister, brother-in-law, and mother out of Germany. Fred Goldner, had been successful helping a great number of Jews reach the States. But by this time the number had been limited and he was powerless to help.

When World War II broke out we lost touch with our family in Germany. Not until after the war was over did we learn that Meta and Bernhard had been transported to Poland and both perished. My grandmother, who had been placed in an old-age home in Frankfurt, committed suicide along with several hundred other residents when they learned that they were to be taken to a concentration camp.

Later, Max joined the Fuller Brush company and sold brushes to housewives, again door-to-door, in districts assigned by the company. As a reserved, intellectual man, he was never comfortable with the rah-rah singing and salesmen's meetings at Fuller Brush. But he was a very successful salesman, developing a following of loyal clients, and was soon promoted to Area Manager.

Nr. 55

Kelsterbach am 4. November 1886

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der
Persönlichkeit nach, _____

_____ bekannt,
der Kaufmann Max Speier

wohnhaft zu Kelsterbach

evangelischer Religion, und zeigte an, daß von der
Rabekha Speier geborenen Catharina
Speier

evangelischer Religion,
wohnhaft bei ihm

zu Kelsterbach in seiner Wohnung

am 3. November des Jahres

tausend acht hundert achtzig und fünf

um 7 Uhr ein Kind männlichen

Geschlechts geboren worden sei, welches

im Vornamen

Max

erhalten habe.

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Max Speier

Der Standesbeamte

Schmitt

My father, Max, was born in Kelsterbach, which had no high school at the time. In order to receive a secondary school education, as soon as he reached the proper age, he went to live with his Aunt and Uncle Meyerfeld and their son Arthur in Biebesheim until he graduated.

1886 - Birth registration of 4.39 Marx (Max) Speier.

Anmerkung:

Ein Verfügen des R. d. d. J. vom
11. 1. 1887, betreffend die
des Städt. Kirchen- und
Hochschulverwaltung vom 13. 1. 1887, die
des Städt. Kirchen- und
Hochschulverwaltung abhandelt.

I believe my father then apprenticed as a bookkeeper. When World War I broke out, he was drafted into the German Army. After a few months of service he contracted pneumonia and was discharged. This possibly saved his life, since the mortality rate for German soldiers in the Great War was very high.

Daddy then went to work in Düsseldorf as a clerk with Siegfried Falk and Company, a private bank. He eventually rose through the ranks to become a partner. My mother, Paula Bacharach, and my Daddy met at the bank and were married in 1919. I was born one year later. When I was three the firm sent my father to open an office in Cologne and appointed him the branch President. Shortly after our arrival in 1923, my sister Eva was born. My father was very active in the Jewish community. We used to complain about his many board meetings at night. He was also an intellectual, and a self-taught Goethe scholar.

My Aunt Meta and Uncle Bernhard Blumenthal lived nearby in Frankfurt. He was a German national distributor for a Swiss watch company and travelled a great deal. Tanta Meta and Uncle Bernhard were married more than nine years before succeeding in having a child. Their daughter Margret was very bright, having taught herself to read at the age of four.

Nr. 39.

Kelsterbach, am 10. Juli 1888.

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der

Personlichkeit nach _____

_____ bekannt,

Frankfurt, den 27. Januar 1889

Der Erbengutbesitzer des Erbengutes Bernhard Speier

hat zeitweilig den Erbengutbesitzer _____

„Wwe“ _____

_____ wohnhaft zu Frankfurt

_____ Religion, und zeigte an, daß von der

_____ geborenen Tochter _____

_____ Religion,

_____ wohnhaft bei _____

zu Frankfurt am Main geboren _____

am _____ im Juli _____ des Jahres

tausend acht hundert _____ achtzig und acht _____

um _____ Uhr ein Kind _____

_____ Geschlechts geboren worden sei, welches _____

_____ erhalten habe.

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und _____

Der Standesbeamte

1888 - Birth registration of 4.22 Meta Speier.

Margret and her mother visited us in Amsterdam in 1936, where my family emigrated after Hitler came to power. We tried to persuade my aunt to leave Margret with us for safety from the increasingly threatening environment in Germany. But Tanta Meta could not face a separation. The trip was the last time I saw my only cousin in Germany. They returned to Kelsterbach and shortly thereafter Margret contracted measles-meningitis and died. She was only 8 years old.

See Ursula's story below.

3.44 Eva Louria born Speier

Born 23.11.1923 Cologne

Graduated 1948 from Columbia University, NY City in Occupational Therapy. Graduated 1971 from Fullerton State University, B.S in Speed Path. Graduated 1975 from University of British Columbia in Vancouver, MEd. in Continuing Education of Health Sciences.

Family Memoir

by

Ursula Speier Growald

(with additions by her sister Eva Speier Louria and son Paul Growald)



1988 - 3.42 Ursula Growald born Speier.

My grandparents, Bernhard and Babette Speier, lived in a little house at Neue Kelsterbacher Strasse 13 in Kelsterbach, near Frankfurt, Germany. Their children were Max, my father, and (Tante) Meta, his younger sister. My recollections of my grandfather, Opa, who died in 1926 when I was only six years old, are vague. However, I remember my grandmother vividly as a tiny (under 5 feet), kind and determined woman.

(Kelsterbach is today the closest community to the Frankfurt International Airport, only one train stop from the airport station.)

The house where my grandparents lived had two-stories, with a shop on the first floor and living quarters upstairs. Although it was located in the 'new' part of Kelsterbach, all the houses in the neighborhood stood wall-to-wall, right by the sidewalk. So, when you left my Grandparents' home you stepped right onto the street. In 1988 when my husband Bert, my son Paul and I visited, it was still the same, with display windows in front for the shoe store which now is housed there.

In the 1920's when I was a child the home had no indoor plumbing. It seemed strange to a little girl, used to all the amenities in a big city to have only cold water, pumped from a well into the kitchen sink, and to have to go outside for other purposes. The house had a large back yard where my grandmother grew vegetables. One of my most precious memories is going out there, picking tomatoes, and eating them still warm from the sun.

Another vivid memory is the baking Aunt Meta and Oma did. They made special apple and plum cake, sometimes with plums from Oma's tree. When we visited, Eva and I were allowed to lick the spoon and scrape out the baking dish, something which did not happen at our home. Plum cake is still one of my very favorites, particularly when the plums are fresh at Pesach.

The Kelsterbach synagogue, a small building which had been converted from a house, was located right next door to my grandmother's home. To have the schul so close was convenient for both my grandparents, and my aunt and uncle and their daughter, all of whom were very Orthodox. When visiting our house, I remember that my cousin Margret would not drink the milk until she was convinced it was strictly Kosher.

I particularly remember one summer when my sister and I visited Kelsterbach without our parents. Tanta Meta took us to a village fair and gave us some money to play ring toss, pitch-a-penny and other games. We had never done anything like that before.

Nr. 9.

Frankfurt am Main
März tausend neunhundert Zwanzig

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschienen heute zum Zwecke der
Eheschließung:

1. der Herr Bernhard Blumenthal

der Persönlichkeit nach _____

_____ bekannt,

religiöser Bekenntnis, geboren am _____

_____ des Jahres tausend _____

_____ und _____ zu _____

_____ wohnhaft in _____

Sohn des Herrn Max Blumenthal

und seiner Ehefrau Marie

geborenen Eskeles

_____ wohnhaft

in _____

2. die Frau Meta Speier, geb. Eskeles

der Persönlichkeit nach _____

_____ bekannt,

religiöser Bekenntnis, geboren am _____

_____ des Jahres tausend _____

_____ und _____ zu _____

_____ wohnhaft in _____

Tochter des Herrn Bernhard Speier

und seiner Ehefrau Ursula

geborenen Eskeles

_____ wohnhaft

in _____

Als Zeugen waren zugezogen und erschienen:

3. der Herr Bernhard Blumenthal
Speier

der Persönlichkeit nach _____

_____ bekannt,

61 Jahre alt, wohnhaft in _____

4. der Herr Bernhard Blumenthal
Speier

der Persönlichkeit nach _____

_____ bekannt,

67 Jahre alt, wohnhaft in _____

Der Standesbeamte richtete an die Verlobten einzeln und nach

einander die Frage:

ob sie die Ehe mit einander eingehen wollen.

Die Verlobten bejahten diese Frage und der Standesbeamte

sprach hierauf aus,

dass sie kraft des bürgerlichen Gesetzbuchs nunmehr recht-

mäßig verbundene Eheleute seien.

1913 - Marriage registration of 4.38 Bernhardt Blumenthal and 4.22 Meta Speier.

We know that at the beginning of the World War II she lived with her daughter 4.37 Meta Blumenthal born Speier and her son-in-law 4.38 Bernhard Blumenthal. When her daughter and son-in-law were deported in 1939, she moved to an old aged person's residence. Upon being informed that she was to be deported, she committed suicide in 15.3.1942.

According to the book 'Jewish Cemeteries in Frankfurt', (in German), written by Klaus Meier-Ude, which is a most interesting and reliable source, 800 Jews committed suicide in order to avoid deportation. All of these tombstones including that of Babette Speier born Eskeles have the same shape and the same inscription in Hebrew saying:

"Died as a Martyr,
Let her soul rest in peace".

5.25 Bernhard Speier

Born 17.3.1853 in Burghaun

Died 6.11.1926 in ? (near Frankfurt/M)

3.42 Ursula Growald born Speier

Born 25.6.1920 Düsseldorf

Died 19.6.1990 Palo Alto

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LINE 8

For biographies of previous generations and the Eskeles family in Kelsterbach - see Line 1.

5.3 Babette Speier born Eskeles

Born 12.11.1857 in Kelsterbach

Died 15.3.1942 in Frankfurt/Main

Babette Bettchen Eskeles was born in Kelsterbach near Frankfurt/Main in 1857 as the fourth child of Abraham and Hannche Eskeles. Later, another sister and brother were born.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert hundert fünfzig am 1. May
um 5 Uhr des Mittags ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde
Reichsburg im Kreis Gießen
Abraham Schödel erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am 12.
April d. J. um 5 Uhr des Morgens, sein
Heinrich geb. Mannheimer
ein knabe Kind geboren Geschlecht geboren habe, welchem der Vorname
Heinrich gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause No. 8 geboren worden
sei.
Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen Heinrich Schödel geb. Mannheimer
Marie Schödel und der Hebamme Marie Schödel geschehen, geb. Mannheimer
und haben Heinrich Schödel und die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsakt
nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

Abraham Schödel
Marie Schödel
Heinrich Schödel

Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister
Heinrich Schödel

Hebamme.
Marie Schödel

Zeugen.
Marie Schödel
Heinrich Schödel

1857 - Birth registration of
5.3 Babette Bettchen Eskeles.

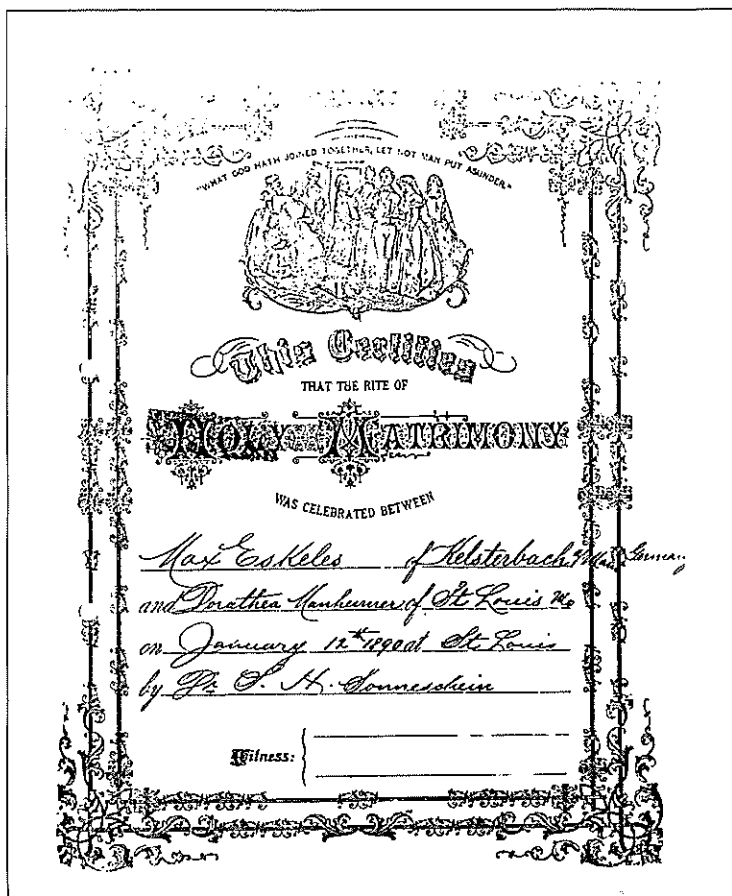
3.40 John (Jack) Schulte

Born 19.7.1925 in St. Louis, MO.

Died 10.5.1957 in St. Louis, MO.

Source: Adrienne Solomon, John Doyle

Jack when he was still a young child had a serious accident falling down the staircase which left him crippled and sick for the rest of his short life. He became a lawyer and dealt mainly with criminal litigation. At this time he met Cornelia Dorothy Corey Brockschmitt Krech, who worked with the local police department. Corey, who was the first woman to be employed by the St. Louis police, was divorced and had 2 children from her first marriage: Robert Jan and Sally Ann. Jack married Corey in 1956 and adopted Corey's children. They are the only ones in the United States bearing the name Eskeles. Jack and Corey had 1 child 2.55 Maria Cynthia Eskeles born 30.10.1956 in St. Louis, MO. Jack died in 1957, 15 months after his marriage.



1890 - Cover page from the family book of 5.5 Max and 5.29 Dorothea Eskeles.

4.34 Irwin Herman Eskeles

Born 10.11.1897 in St. Louis, MO.

Died 12.7.1967 in St. Louis, MO.

Source: Adrienne Solomon

"Irwin attended Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis and graduated as an M.D. He went to work in another doctor's office and met Maria (Maury) Schulte, who also worked there. They were married ca 1924 despite the difference in religion - Maury was Catholic. They had two children, Jack born in 1925 and Joan, born in 1929.

Irwin did convert to Catholicism approximately 10 years after his marriage to Maury. In no way did that estrange him from the family. We respected his decision.

Irwin went into private practice of medicine and was a most successful, well-thought-of doctor. He did much charity work and never turned a patient away because he was unable to pay. In later years, he had to give up his private practice due to a severe heart condition. He was unable to continue his strenuous routine and long hours-making house calls day and night.

At one point he did return to school to study dermatology, and subsequently opened another office as a dermatologist.

Irwin was a wonderful husband and father. The heartbreak of his life was the unfortunate physical condition of his son, Jack. It was undoubtedly very hard for a father, who was also a physician, seeing his beloved son failing more each year. Jack died in 1957 at the age of 32. Irwin, died in 1967 at the age of 70."



1912 - 4.34 Irwin Eskeles

4.35 Adrian Joel Eskeles

Born 30.1.1891 in St. Louis MO.

Died 13.4..1968 in Coral Gables, FL.

Source: Adrienne Solomon

"He attended an exclusive school for boys, Smith Academy. Immediately after graduating from high school. He went to work for his uncle Abe Manheimer, who owned a manufacturing business of some sort. He met Birdie Werner in 1910 (he was 19, she was 15) and they were married in St. Louis in 1914. At about that time he opened a small retail store selling hosiery and gloves, known as "The Glove Shop". He remained in that business until Max died, at which time he took over Max's lines and was quite successful. He was a hard, conscientious worker. Upon his retirement he moved to Florida.



1913 - 4.35 Adrian J. Eskeles.



During World War II, to do his part, he took a second job in a war plant, McQuay Norris, where he was an Inspector, overseeing the making of bullet casings. He was a quiet conservative man, not interested in an active social life. His main goal in life was to be a good husband, father and grandfather.

1913 - 4.36 Birdie Eskeles born Werner.

He was the complete family man, being also a caring brother, uncle, and cousin. Birdie and Adrian moved to Florida when I did, because to be apart from his family was unthinkable. He went to work for Edward in the mattress business. Originally he planned to work short hours just to pass the time, but he became so interested and enthused about what he was doing that he worked all day, every day, and became an important cog in the business - taking charge of all inventories. He was forced to retire at the age of 77, due to poor health and died about 6 months later of a massive stroke.



1938 - Adrian and Birdie Eskeles.

It is hard to write objectively about my father. He was such a good, gentle man, but I guess not very colorful. He was so adored by his grandsons who thought their "Papaw" was the greatest. I do know that he worked 6 days a week until they were born and then stopped working on Saturday to spend that day with them - that was a ritual he continued until his death. It was through his efforts that they learned of the zoo, the museums, the botanical gardens, etc. He was the one to take them to the railroad switching yards and to the place where the firemen trained. He was the one who bought and set up

the electric train set and saw that they had the latest and best trucks. He attended all of their baseball and fastball games and cheered them on. I suppose he was a typical grandfather, but I do believe that he gave more of himself than most and had a wonderful time doing it. This was his pleasure and joy and it was really what he was all about."

LINE 7

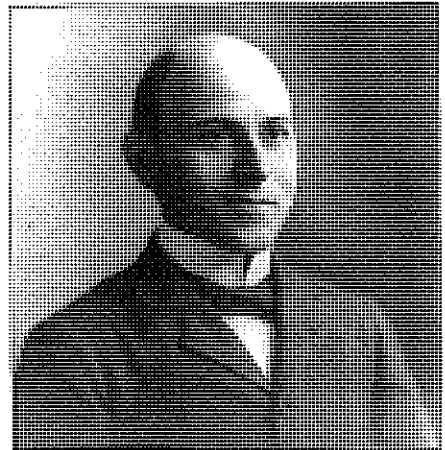
5.5 Max Mayer Eskeles

Born 3.10.1861 in Kelsterbach

Died 27.8.1923 in St. Louis, Mo.

Source: Adrienne Solomon

"Max Eskeles came to the United States sometime in the 1880's. He was told to contact the Joel Manheimer family (Joel was the brother of his mother, Hannah). Joel was married to Rosalia who came to the U.S. as a young girl (I have an embroidered 'sampler' that she made and it is dated 1848 in America). Joel and Rosalia had 9 children - the sixth born was Dorothea. Max married Dorothea Manheimer in 1890 and had two sons: Adrian Joel born in 1891 and Irwin Herman born in 1897, both in St. Louis MO.



5.5 Max Meyer Eskeles.



6.17 Joel Mannheimer, father of
5.29 Dorothea Mannheimer.



6.38 Rosalie Mannheimer born Mass.



5.29 Dorothea Dora Mannheimer.

I have no idea how my grandfather became involved in his business. He was a manufacturer's representative for factories that made decorations and findings for hat and shoe manufacturers. I believe it was a most lucrative business in his day. The women's hats were decorated with flowing feathers and plumes, and the shoes were embellished with cut steel buckles - all expensive items. I have also been told that my grandparents lived very well. They had a lovely, large home in a most desirable neighborhood. They had many servants, and entertained lavishly and extensively. They were quite social, had many friends and attended concerts and theater. Also, they were quite religious and attended synagogue regularly. They were members of Temple Israel, a reform temple that Joel Manheimer had joined when it was first formed.

Unfortunately, Dora took sick at a very young age with what was called "creeping paralysis" (probably Parkinson's Disease). Max saw that she was well taken care of and had nurses in the house at all times. She died in 1921, at the age of 54. At that time, my grandfather and uncle Irwin moved in with us and lived with us until Max died in 1923 (of a ruptured appendix). He was 62 years old when he died.

I wish I had known him better. My mother always spoke so highly of him. She really considered him not just a father-in-law, but a good friend. Believe it or not, he was the one who taught her how to play bridge and introduced her to smoking cigarettes! He was a most liberal man for his time."

2.48 Janet Gayle Rose

Born 29.9.1955 in Birmingham, ALA.

Janet is the third daughter of Kurt and Dorothy Rose. She graduated from Meridian, SR. high school in 1973. Received her bachelors degree in psychology from the University of Florida, moved to Nashville, TN. where she met Dave Blum. Married Dave on 18.11.1984 in Chicago, IL. Dave and Janet now reside in Wilmette, IL., a suburb of Chicago, where they have 2 children, Meryl, born 19.2.1986 and Andrew, born 29.22.1988. Janet is now president of ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training) chapter in Wilmette and is an avid tennis player.



1989 - 2.38 David Blum, 2.48 Janet Blum born Rose,
1.29 Meryl and 1.57 Andrew Blum.

2.47 Yaron Pukach

Born 30.10.1952 in Hadera, Israel

Source: Kurt Rose

1971-74 I.D.F.

1978 B.Sc. in electronics & electrical engineering, Memphis, TN.

1979-80 Engineer, Prestone Tire & Rubber.

1980-83 Software engineering course, General Electric Co.

1983-86 Senior software engineer, Tadiran, USA.

1986 Network product development manager, Tadiran, Israel.

Sharon received her education at Public Schools in Maryland, graduating from High School. She attended the University of Maryland where she received her B.A. degree in Business Administration, graduating in January 1981. She worked in private employment until her first child was born.

Sharon and Jeffrey have three children, 1.37 Mallery Susan, 1.38 Corey Howard and 1.97 Kyle Bryan.

2.54 Jeffrey Cohen

Born 24.3.1958 in Washington, D.C.

Source: Werner Rose

Jeffrey, son of Ruth and Herbert Cohen attended Public Schools in Maryland, graduating from High School in 1976. He started to work for a local grocery food chain - Giant Food. After two years with Giant Food, he entered their apprentice program in the meat department from which he graduated after two years. He has since been employed in their meat department.

2.53 Raymond Alan Rose

Born 28.4.1961 in Washington, D.C.

Source: Werner Rose

Raymond attended Public Schools in Montgomery County, MD., graduating from Northwood High School in 1979. He then attended the Montgomery County College and the University of Maryland for two years, majoring in Theatre. Since then he has been working for a bookstore, which specializes in Science Fiction and Comic books.

2.45 Carol Ann Rose Appel

Born 17.10.195 in Meridian, MS

Source: Kurt Rose

Carol was educated in public schools in Meridian, MS. and graduated from high school there. She received her bachelors in social work from the University of Cincinnati in 1973. Married Les Appel on 17.6.1973 in Meridian, MS. Moved to Cleveland, Ohio and worked as social worker for childrens services, a private agency, for three years after which time became a sales associate for a wholesale record distributor. Upon Les' graduation from podiatry school, moved to Cincinnati, Ohio where she became a manager of a record store. Carol then became a sales representative for a private telephone company for 2 years. Carol and Les have two children, Ben, born 13.4.1982 and Denise, born 13.2.1987. Carol and Les continue to reside in Cincinnati, Ohio where Les operates a podiatry practise. Les and Carol also operate a separate business called 'Stable Step' that distributes shoe soles called 'Power Step'. Both are very involved in their conservative synagogue and Carol continues to be an avid collector of Rock N'Roll records.

2.46 Arlene Susan Rose

Born 26.8.1954 in Meridian, Mississippi

Source: Kurt Rose

- 1972 Graduated from Meridian High School.
- University of Georgia, Athens, GA.
- 1976 BSW - Bachelor degree in social work.
- 1978 World Union of Jewish students, Arad, Israel.
- Orientation course for social workers,
- 1978-79 Ministry of Labour & Social Welfare, Israel.
- 1976-78 Counselor, Atlanta Center for reproductive health.
- 1979-80 Jewish Community Center, Nashville
- 1982-83 Community worker Monticelli area, Charlottesville, VA.
- 1985-86 Director social services, Betany Gardens, Clearwater, FL.
- 1990 Social worker Geriatric Medical Center, Natanya, Israel.

Married Yaron Pukach 12.8.1979.

After moving back to Nashville: Chairman of Jewish Singles and the President of the B'nai Brith Lodge.

3.38 Werner Ludwig Rose

Born 19.10.1922 in Hannover, Germany

Parents: 4.30 Johanna Mayerfeld and 4.32 Leopold Rose

Source: Werner Rose

Werner attended Grammar School for 4 years and the High School for 3 years in Hannover until he had to leave school because he was a Jew. He then started apprenticeship with a company that manufactured uniforms and also had a retail store. He worked there for one year and a half until the business was destroyed in the 'Kristall Nacht' in 1938. In January 1939 he emigrated with his parents to the U.S. and settled in Nashville, TN., where his brother Kurt Rose was living with Fred Goldner Sr.'s family since July 1937.

Werner attended night school in Nashville, worked in a wholesale house and then in a photo finishing plant, until he entered the U.S. Army in July 1943, being assigned to the U.S. Army Engineers. He served in the China - Burma - India theatre of war, working at both ends of the Burma road, first in India and then at Kunming, China, while attached to the Burma Road Engineers. He was discharged in January 1946 with the rank of Sergeant.

Werner attended Photography School and worked for two years as portrait photographer in Washington, DC. He then entered the retail trade working for a local department store, becoming department manager. Joined a men's clothing store as buyer, rejoined the department store as merchandise manager and then worked for 17 years, until his retirement in 1990, as manager in several local stores of a chain of men's clothing stores. He is now affiliated with another local department store, working on a part time basis.

Married on 19.1.1957 in Washington, DC. 3.39 Evelyn Helfer. They have two children, 2.52 Sharon Lynn, born 24.9.1958 and 2.53 Raymond Alan, born 28.4.1961.

3.39 Evelyn Helfer

Born 26.5.1928 in Birmingham, ALA.

Married Werner L. Rose on 19.1.1957

Source: Werner Rose

Evelyn was educated in the Public Schools of Birmingham, ALA, where she received her high school education. She worked there for an insurance company, then moving to Washington, D.C., took a job as legal secretary in the Government Accounting Office and later with the Bureau of Customs. She left the Government employment in 1958 after her daughter Sharon was born. She later returned to work for the US Government, working for the Agency for International Development, a branch of the US Department of State, from which she retired after 20 years of service in 1990.

2.50 Robin Lynn Rose

Born 4.2.1964, Meridian MS

Source : Kurt Rose

Attended and graduated from Wharton Elementary, Bellevue Middle and Hillwood High School in Nashville, TN.

Attended University of Tennessee, Knoxville for one year, then Nashville Technical Institute for two years with a degree in computer accounting.

Active member of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Board member.

Chairman of 1992 Pre-Clinic Bowl Theatre Party.

2.52 Sharon Lynn Rose

Born 24.8.1958 in Washington, D.C.

Married on 8.6.1980 to 2.54 Jeffrey Cohen

Source: Werner Rose

3.37 Paula Rose

Born 24.12.1912 in Hannover

Died 15.12.1992 in Washington, DC

Source: Werner Rose

Paula was educated in Hannover, attending Lyceum I and the Hedwig High School. She also attended a home economics school in Detmold. She served her apprenticeship with a large ladies speciality store, Gebrüder Hirschfeld. She worked for this store for several years before coming associated with a speciality store handling ladies ready to wear made of wool only. She worked for this store until her emigration to the United States in 1938. A friend of hers, Margot Green, a lawyer who worked for the National Labor Relations Board, provided her with the affidavit which was necessary for the entry to the U.S.A. She worked for this family as a live-in-nanny for its two children for about two years until her marriage to 3.36 Eric Rapp. She then went to work for a speciality store until she retired, having worked there for about 20 years.

3.36 Eric Rapp

Born 30.5.1909 in Gross-Umstadt

Source: Werner Rose

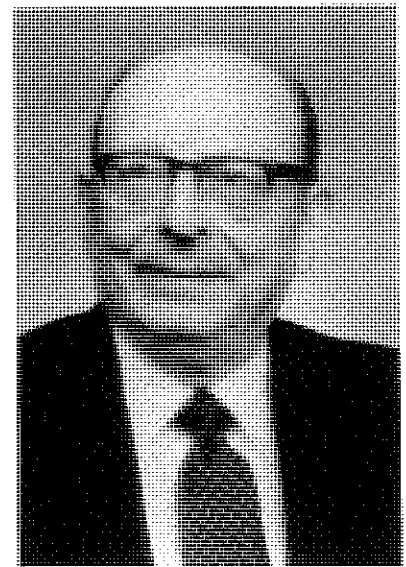
Eric attended High School until 'Obersekunda', then went to work as apprentice in a Export-Import business of Eballo AG. In 1931 he moved to Köln (Cologne) and worked in a men's clothing shop of which he became manager until 1933 when he was forced to leave due to Nazi persecution. He then went to work in a shop in Frankfurt/M. until leaving for the United States in 1936. He had received the affidavit from a friend of his father, President of Philip Bros. in New York City. In 1936 he joined Lansburgh's Department Store in Washington, DC. as salesman in the men's wear department. After successfully working as buyer, merchandise manager and branchstore manager, he retired from this company in 1973. He then worked as store manager for a fine men's speciality store until his retirement in 1983.

3.32 Kurt Rose

Born 20.6.1920 in Hannover, Germany

Parents: 4.30 Johanna Mayerfeld and 4.32 Leopold Rose

Source: Kurt Rose



1990 - 3.32 Kurt Arthur Rose.

Absolved Elementary and High School in Hannover (1936).

1936-37 Trade School as apprentice butcher and worked in father's butcher shop and sausage factory.

Emigrated to U.S. in 1937, went to Nashville, TN. and lived with Fred Goldner Sr. and family. Fred Goldner also brought Kurt's parents, Leo & Hanna Rose and brother Werner to the States.

Attended Watkins Institute Night School in Nashville and took courses in bookkeeping and public speaking.

From 1937 to 1941 worked as stock clerk for Sam Levy & Co., Wholesale Shoe Co. From 1941 to 1968 for Bijou Amusement Co., a chain of theatres. In 1945

transferred to Meridian, MS., to manage a theatre. He then went into food business until his return to Nashville, TN. where he worked in a delicatessen, sold automobiles, was manager of an auto parts store, a frozen yoghurt store and worked for a bakery.

Married to Joan Loeb in Meridian, MS. in 1947. Joan died in October 1950 after giving birth to Carol. Married Dorothy Joseph of Birmingham, AL. in June 1952. Had four more daughters. Arlene, Janet, Ellen and Robin. Dorothy died in October 1972. There were two brief marriages in 1973 and 1982, both ending in divorce.

Vice President of Nashville Temple Youth. In Meridian: MS. Chapter Chairman, American Red Cross; President of Temple; President of Junior Chambre of Commerce, President of B'nai Brith Lodge.

slaughter and sell kosher meat, but there was evidently a surplus of kosher butchers in Neustadt, and it was decided to move to Hannover, where there was more opportunity. Leopold purchased a building in downtown Hannover and established a retail meat business called 'G'. Rose Wurstfabrik, Hannover', the 'G' standing for Golda, a very unusual matter in these days.



1959 - 4.32 Leopold Rose and 4.33 Johanna Rose born Blumenthal.

In 1901-1902 he received training in the German Army in the field artillery, joined the reserves and then was called to active duty in 1914. He served both in France and on the eastern front until the end of the war in 1919. His first wife Johanna Blumenthal died on 6.7.1913. They had one daughter, 3.37 Paula.

After the end of the war, 5.25 Bernhard and 4.22 Meta Speier introduced Leo Rose to Meta's first cousin, 4.30 Johanna Mayerfeld, and they were married in Biebesheim on 19.8.1919. Their first son, 3.32 Kurt Arthur was born 20.6.1920, their second son 3.38 Werner Ludwig was born 19.10.1922.

With exception of four years, when the business was closed while he served in the German Army during World War I, the business flourished until 1933, when the Nazis came to power. It was finally closed down in 1938, because as a Jew, he was denied access to the local cattle market. In January 1939 he emigrated to the USA. with his wife and son Werner, due to the efforts of Fred Goldner Sr.

Leo, Hanna, Kurt and Werner Rose then lived together in Nashville for a few years. Leo briefly worked for a meat packing company and also had for a while the meat department in a small grocery store.

In 1949 Leo and Hanna moved to Hyattsville, MD. to live with Werner and later moved to an apartment in Silver Spring. Hanna died on 16.10.1968 and Leo died on 20.2.1971 in the Hebrew Home for the Aged of Greater Washington in Rockville, MD.

4.27 Johanna Mayerfeld

Born 3.6.1891 in Biebesheim

Died 16.10.1968 in Silverspring, MD

Source: Werner Rose

Daughter of 5.4 Amalie Mayerfeld born Eskeles and 5.24 Leopold Mayerfeld. Attended school in Biebesheim and High School in Gross-Gerau. After the death of her father she lived and worked briefly in Frankfurt/M., until her marriage in 1919 to 4.32 Leopold Rose. They had two children, 3.32 Kurt Arthur and 3.38 Werner Ludwig.

She emigrated in January 1939 with her husband and son Werner to the U.S.A. after having received the necessary affidavit from her 1st cousin Fred Goldner Sr. To a large degree it was through her continued correspondence with Hortense Foyer, her first cousin and Fred Goldner Sr.'s youngest sister, that led to Fred Goldner Sr.'s contacts with a large number of his relatives in Germany and to his initiative to provide them with the necessary papers in order to help them to escape the Nazi persecution of Jews in Germany. Johanna, or Hanna as she was usually called, started this correspondence during the first World War, even while Germany and the U.S. were at war. She managed to send mail to the U.S. through a girlfriend who took it to mail from Holland, a country which was neutral at that time. I always remember her telling us of receiving packages from Hortense Foyer after the war, with items of clothing and food, such as canned milk. She continued this correspondence until her emigration to the United States.

Both Leopold Rose and Johanna Rose are buried in the Achduth Chevrah Section of Mount Lebanon Cemetary in Hyattsville, MD, a suburb of Washington, DC.

2.42 Diane Becker Mayerfeld

Born 14.10.1956 in Wilrijk, Belgium

Source: Ernest Mayerfeld

She attended private and public schools in Maryland, Frankfurt, Zurich, and Helsinki. Diane received her BA from Harvard University in 1977. She worked as an environmentalist for the United States Government from 1977 until 1980, when she resumed her studies and obtained a Masters Degree in Environmental Science from Yale University in 1982.

Since 1982, until the present time, Diane has been employed as a senior environmentalist for the State of Connecticut. From 1987 until 1988, Diane was an environmental consultant for the County Council of Surrey, England, while her husband was in England on a Fulbright Scholarship.

Diane married Michael Bell, an author and environmentalist on May 1, 1983, in Connecticut. At the time of the compilation of this history, he was a Ph.D. candidate at Yale University. Diane and Michael have one son, Samuel Wade Bell, born on July 7, 1989.



1995 - 2.95 Michael Bell, 2.42 Diane Bell born Becker Mayerfeld and 1.88 Samuel Wade Bell.

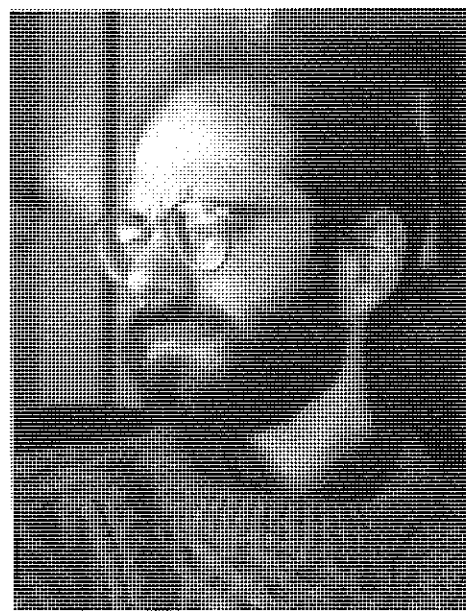
2.43 Jason Matthew Mayerfeld

Born 4.10.1963 in New York, NY

Source: Ernest Mayerfeld

Jason (Jamie) attended public and private schools in Maryland, Zürich and Helsinki. He earned his BA from Oberlin College in 1985. From 1985-86 he was a Fulbright Scholar in Bogota, Colombia. At the time of the compilation of this history he was a Ph.D. candidate in Political Theory at Princeton University.

Jason is now (1992) Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington, in Seattle, Washington, USA.



1995 - 2.43 Jamie Mayerfeld.

4.32 Leopold Rose

Born 30.9.1879 in Neustadt am Rübenberge near Hannover.

Died 20.2.1971 in Rockville, MD

Source: Kurt and Werner Rose

Son of Abraham Rose, a cattle dealer and butcher, and Golda born Bloch. Attended school in Neustadt until 1895 when the family moved to Hannover after his father passed away. He then helped his mother start a meat business and helped support his family. Possibly he attempted, prior to his father Abraham's death, to obtain a license to

2.41 Pamela Mayerfeld

Born 10.7.1958 in Chicago, IL

Source: Ernest Mayerfeld

Pamela Mayerfeld attended public schools in Evanston, Illinois, and received her BS and MS degrees from Stanford University. She worked for years as an electronical engineer and at the time of the compilation of this history she was working in marketing in Palo Alto, California.

She is married to Richard Hallsted and they have two daughters, Kristin, born in 1990 and Kimberley born in 1993.

3.30 Ernest Mayerfeld

Born: 10.10.1925 in Frankfurt/M

Source: Ernest Mayerfeld

After a brief period in public school, he was expelled because he was Jewish and entered the Philantropin where he remained until he emigrated to England in December 1938. After staying with family friends in London for one week, he was fortunately reunited with his parents who succeeded to obtain the necessary German exit permits and were able to emigrate to England, bribing some anonymous Nazi official. Ernest remained in London with his parents until April 1939 when they emigrated to the United States. He graduated from high school in Brooklyn, NY and then worked as a clerk in a law firm until he was drafted into the US Army in March 1944.



1975 - 3.30 Ernest Mayerfeld.

Ernest served as a private in the Infantry and was slightly wounded near Bastogne during the "Battle of the Bulge" on January 1945. In June 1945, Ernest re-claimed the family house in Frankfurt. He served out his military service with the US Army of Occupation in Berlin until he was discharged in April 1946.

After he left the Service, he attended Brooklyn College from 1946-47, where he met a brilliant fellow-student, Marilyn Ehrlich, the daughter of a pharmacist. Ernest then attended the University of Michigan, where he received his BA in 1950 and a JD in 1951.

From 1951-71, Ernest worked for the Foreign Service of the United States, serving in Washington, Munich, Brussels, Istanbul, Frankfurt, Zurich, and Helsinki. From 1975 until his retirement from government service in 1986, he worked as a lawyer for the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington. Ernest is currently engaged in private law practice in Washington, D.C.



On November 7, 1954, Ernest married Marilyn Ehrlich in New York. Marilyn received her BA from Brooklyn College and has done graduate work in sociology at Columbia University. Marilyn has worked periodically in Washington, DC and abroad, conducting social research for government and private institutions. Marilyn and Ernest have two children: Diane Becker and Jason Matthew.

1965 - 3.31 Marilyn Mayerfeld born Ehrlich.

and almost immediately received severe shrapnel wounds. After his second convalescence he remained in garrison duty until the war ended. In 1919 he married 4.62 Ida Becker.

Ida Becker was born in Stammheim, Oberhessen, Kreis Friedberg. She was the youngest of four children of Leopold and Käthe Becker. Leopold Becker was a wholesale dealer in dry goods and also ran a general store in Stammheim. Before she married Arthur, Ida Becker worked as a secretary in Kaiserslautern. Arthur and Ida were married on December 19, 1919 and moved to Frankfurt/M, where they had two children, Walter and Ernest.

Arthur remained in the leather trade and established his own leather wholesale business in Offenbach in 1927. The business prospered until Kristallnacht (1938), when the premises were demolished and looted. Soon afterwards Arthur and Ida left Germany for England, where they remained until April 1939 when they emigrated to the United States. Their immigration was sponsored by 4.23 Fred Goldner of Nashville, Tenn., the son of Henrietta (Jettchen) Goldner. Ida died in New York in 1944.

In 1945 Arthur remarried to Fanny Mayer. He continued to work in the leather business in New York until his death in 1952. Fanny died in 1978 in New York.

3.28 Walter Mayerfeld

Born 3.1.1921 Frankfurt/M

Died 26.12.1983 Evanston Il.

Source: Ernest Mayerfeld

Walter Mayerfeld attended primary school in the Philantropin (the school of the Jewish congregation in Frankfurt). He started high school in the Adolf Hitler Schule, from which he was soon expelled because he was Jewish, and returned to the Philantropin. In 1936, his family sent him to London to attend the Leather Sellers Technical College to learn the tanning trade. Walter emigrated to the United States in 1938, also sponsored by 4.23 Fred Goldner. Walter worked in tanneries in Maine and New Jersey until he entered the US Army in 1942. During World War II, Walter served as a Military Police non-commissioned officer in various military installations throughout the United States until his discharge in March 1946.



1961 - 3.28 Walter Mayerfeld.

In 1950 Walter married Steffi Roberts (name was anglicized from Rosenbaum). They had two children, Russell and Pamela. Walter moved from New York to the Chicago area in 1951 where he established a successful business as a sales representative for various leather goods manufacturers.

Walter's marriage to Steffi ended in divorce. He then married Dorothy Valko which in 1967 also ended in a divorce, and in 1972 he married Irene Simon of Chicago, Il. He died on December 26, 1983. Like his grandfather Leopold, he died of complications from abdominal surgery.

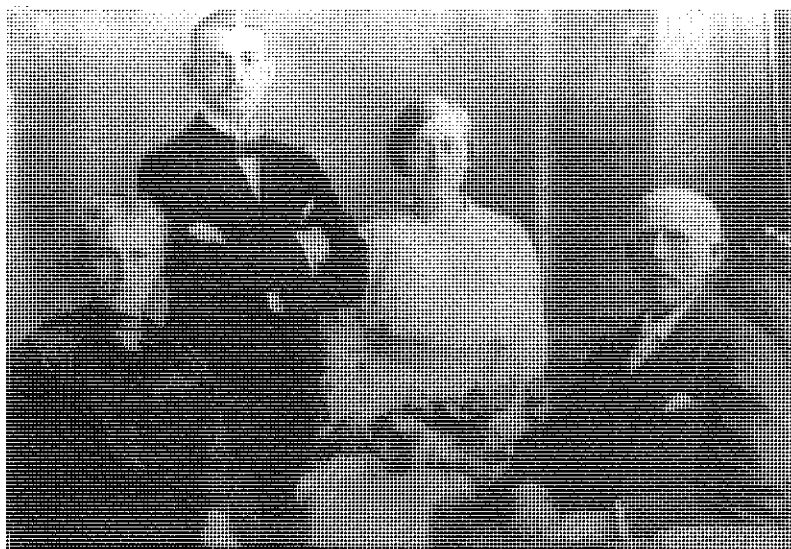
2.40 Russell K. Mayerfeld

Born 25.5.1952 in Chicago, IL

Source: Ernest Mayerfeld

Russell attended public schools in Evanston, Illinois where he was a varsity swimmer. He received his BA from the University of Illinois. After working for several years as a certified public accountant for one of the largest accounting firms in the United States, he resumed his studies and earned an MBA from Harvard University in 1980. Thereafter, he worked for various banks and other financial institutions in Chicago, Paris and London at the time of the compilation of this history he was living in Kenilworth, Illinois.

He married Anne Albrecht in 1980. Russell and Anne have two children: Catherine, born 1986 and Christopher, born in 1989.



Left to right:
Amalie Mayerfeld, Arthur Mayerfeld,
Johanna Rose born Mayerfeld, Leopold Mayerfeld



Left to right:
Max Speier, Babette Speir born Eskeles,
Paula Speier born Bacharach, Bernhard Speier,
Bernhard Blumenthal, Meta Blumenthal born Speier



Ida Mayerfeld born Becker, Arthur Mayerfeld

- butchery - I am not quite sure. I do remember that during the war (W.W.I) she sent us a food parcel of duck's eggs. Perhaps she sent several, I do not know. I have not seen or tasted ducks' eggs since, but I remember that they are about twice the size of chicken eggs. In those days everyone baked for themselves, making noodles, cakes and omelettes; thus such additional items were more than welcome".



1919 - standing from left to right:

4.38 Bernhard Blumenthal, 4.22 Meta Blumenthal born Speier, ?, 4.62 Ida Mayerfeld born Becker, 4.28 Arthur Mayerfeld, ?.

Sitting from left to right:

5.25 Bernhardt Speier, 4.27 Johanna Rose born Mayerfeld, 4.32 Leopold Rose, 5.4 Amalie Mayerfeld born Eskeles,

5.3 Babette Speier born Eskeles.

5.24 Leopold Mayerfeld

Born 1858 in Biebesheim

Died 1917 in Frankfurt/M.

Source: Werner Rose

Leopold Mayerfeld was a grain trader and also a livestock dealer. He died in Frankfurt/M. in 1917 after having been operated for a stomach ailment.

4.28 Arthur Mayerfeld

Born 21.10.1892 in Biebesheim

Died 24.6.1952 in New York, N.Y.

Source: Ernest Mayerfeld

Arthur attended the Gymnasium in Gross Gerau and completed his 'Einjährige' (six years of academic high school which reduced his military service obligation to one year) ca. 1910. He became an apprentice in the leather trade in Offenbach that year. He performed his compulsory military service from 1912 to 1913 and returned to Offenbach where he worked in the leather trade until the outbreak of World War I.

He entered the German army in 1914 and was soon promoted to sergeant. He was shot in the elbow on the Western Front shortly after the outbreak of the war and after a long convalescence was posted to garrison duty in Friedberg, Oberhessen. It was there that he met Ida Becker, whom he married in 1919. He returned to the Western Front in 1917

LINE 6

5.4 Amalie Eskeles

Born 31.7.1859 in Kelsterbach

Died July 1937 Frankfurt/M

Source: Ernest Mayerfeld,
Werner Rose, Hans Goldschmidt

On 7.8.1889 Amalie Eskeles married in Kelsterbach Leopold Mayerfeld. They settled in Biebesheim where Leopold was a cattle dealer. Their first child was stillborn or lived only for a few days. Then they had two children, Johanna (Hannah born in 1891), and Arthur (born in 1892). After the death of her husband she sold her house in Biebesheim and went to live with her son Arthur in Frankfurt/M. She periodically visited her daughter Hanna for an extended visit in Hannover, but her home basically was with her son in Frankfurt. In 1937 she took ill and passed away.



1916 - 5.24 Leopold Mayerfeld and 5.4 Amalie Mayerfeld born Eskeles.

Unfortunately, we have very little information about Amalie Mayerfeld born Eskeles from her grandchildren:

Werner Rose remembers her as "a disciplinarian, but with a lot of warmth and a good sense of humor". He also mentions that after having sold her house in Biebesheim, "some papers were found in her attic, establishing some connection with a Baron von Eskeles in Vienne. Unfortunately, no record or papers were saved". This is the only indication that, eventually, some connection might have existed with the Austrian line (Line 2) of the family.

Ernest Mayerfeld writes: "My memories of my grandmother Amalie are very sketchy. She lived in our home in Frankfurt/M., i.e. the home of Arthur and Ida Mayerfeld, from the time of Arthur's marriage in 1919 until her death in 1937. For approximately two months every year Amalie stayed with her daughter Hannah Rose in Hannover. My memory of her begins when she must have been 70 years old, but already very frail. I remember her as a strong-willed woman despite her physical frailty. She was very eager to participate in the management of the household which, at least as I recall it, primarily consisted of her making certain that my mother, Ida, did not violate the rules of Kashrut. She always suspected my mother of keeping a 'Traife Messer' (treyfa knife) hidden in the house.

Amalie also had firm notions about teaching certain virtues to her grandchildren; and the virtue which, as I recall, was primary, was frugality. Thus, it was my grandmother, Amalie, who taught me that one must not eat butter and jam on bread; and that it is good to save the money for the tram and walk to one's destination. Therefore, one of my strongest memories of Amalie is of her telling me, a very tired small boy, that it is virtuous to walk to Tante Meta's house, to save the tram money. (Tante Meta Blumenthal was daughter of Babette Eskeles Speier, who lived in Frankfurt briefly during the late 20's and early 30's).

Another member of the family who knew her and wrote down his memory is Hans Goldschmidt from whom we quote here the following:

"I must make mention here of another daughter of Abraham Eskeles - Amalie Mayerfeld - I have vague memories of her; I must have met her in Frankfurt. I do remember her features - an impressive face with a nose of intelligent and strong character. She lived in Hannover and her, or rather her son in law's business had to do with alimentation

2.20 Fredjoseph Goldner

Born 20.5.67 Nashville, TN

Source: Fredjoseph Goldner

Fredjoseph graduated from the University of Washington in St. Louis in 1989 with a B.A. in History. Since graduating he has worked in Puerto Rico, Costa Rica, and Spain for the 1992 Olympics. Married 2.90 Karmen Porass in 1994.

General Information about the Goldner family:

Following their parents' example, Norma, Fred, and Reta have been active volunteers in the Nashville, Jewish Community. Norma and Reta each served as President of the Temple Sisterhood and Fred is a Past President of the Temple. All have served on the Temple Board of Directors.

In June, 1988, after much correspondence and planning, an Eskeles Family Gathering was held in Nashville, TN. Sixty-five people attended traveling from Israel, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Maryland, California, Florida, Texas, Illinois, and Ohio for an extended weekend of fun and information. We had an opportunity to learn how Fred Sr. had touched so many of our loves prior to World War II by his assistance in bringing so many of the family to the United States.

2.27 Gary Guttman

Born 22.6.1961 in Nashville, TN

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Gary Guttman graduated from the Wharton Business School of the University of Pennsylvania. He is married to Jan Goldstein and they live in Rockville, Maryland. Gary is a certified public accountant, and Jan teaches school. They have two children: Joel Alexander and Naomi Hadass.

3.17 Fred Goldner Jr.

Born 21.5.25 in Nashville, TN

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Fred Jr. graduated Vanderbilt University and Vanderbilt Medical School. After serving internships and residencies in Atlanta and Boston, specializing in nephrology and cardiology, he volunteered for the Army serving at Brook Army Hospital in San Antonio, Texas. He did early pioneering research in kidney transplantation, and set up the first dialysis unit for the Army in San Antonio. He married Martha Helen Unobskey of Calais, Maine and is currently a Clinical Associate Professor of Medicine at Vanderbilt University and as well conducts a private practice in Nashville. Martha went back to school in 1990 and graduated in 1992 with a Masters in Education.

Martha and Fred's children: Arthur, Cynthia, Francie, and Fredjoseph were all born in Nashville, TN. They first lived at 3906 Kimpalong Rd. until moving to 213 Lynwood Terrace.

2.17 Arthur Lee Goldner

Born 2.1.1956 in Nashville, TN.

Died 8.8.1988 in Nashville, TN.

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Arthur graduated from Washington University and Vanderbilt University Medical School, after which he served in medical residencies in Internal Medicine and Nephrology. Arthur married Dr. Debby Wallace of Syracuse, NY. They completed residencies in Cleveland, Ohio and Seattle, Washington. After finishing his residency in Seattle, Washington he moved to Nashville with his wife planning to join the practice of his Father (Fred Jr.).

He had been diagnosed with melanoma during his residency in Cleveland. That summer, having recently moved to Nashville, he died from complications due to skin cancer. He and Debby had no children.

2.18 Cynthia Goldner

Born 30.5.1958 in Nashville, TN

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Cynthia graduated from the University of Indiana and received a masters degree from American University in Washington, D.C. in Health Fitness Management. She lives in Washington, D.C. where she worked as the Health director at the Rockville Jewish Community Center. She also worked for many years in Computer Sales.

2.19 Francie Goldner

Born 25.5.63 Nashville, TN

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Francie graduated Boston University from the School of Nursing. She worked as a research coordinator at Vanderbilt Medical Center directing projects related to Parkinson's disease. In 1992 she moved to Chicago and at the time of the compilation of this history she was working at Rush Presbyterian St. Lukes Medical Center. She is a long distance runner and has competed in the Grandma's marathon as well as the Huntsville Marathon.

Married Michael Niederman in Februar, 1995.

3.18 Henrietta Rebecca Goldner

Born 2.1.1929 Nashville, TN

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Henrietta (Reta) graduated from Vanderbilt University and married Jack Guttman while still attending college. They lived in Nashville, and had three children: Fred, Gail, and Gary. Reta and Jack owned and operated a furniture store until 1971. At that time Jack started working for Goldner Associates in advertising specialties. Reta began her own bookkeeping business, serving many small businesses and physicians in Nashville. They were divorced in 1981.



1990 - The Guttman family

2.25 Fred Guttman

Born 16.1.1952 in Nashville, Tn.

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Fred Guttman graduated from Vanderbilt and then from Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion. He married Nancy Bougess of Boston, Massachusetts. They lived in Hod Hasharon, Israel for 12 years, where Fred was (first) teacher, later principal and director of the Alexander Muss High School in Israel. In december 1990, they moved to Jacksonville, Florida, where he became associate Rabbi of the reform congregation. They have 3 children: Ilan Bougess, Maital Bougess and Yoav Bougess.

2.26 Gail Guttman

Born 6.3.1954 in Nashville, Tn.

Source: Gail Guttman

Gail graduated from Ohio State University, and received a Masters in Jewish Communal Work from Hebrew Union College, and a masters in Social Work from Washington University (St. Louis). She lives in Silver Springs, Maryland with her husband Gary Altman, where she is in private practice as a marriage counsellor. Her husband is an attorney. They have two children: Matthew Alan and Jill Beth.

where Louise worked for the Veterans Administration and Murray was a research engineer with the Department of Energy and subsequently with the University of Pittsburgh. They had three children, Barbara, Martha and Robert.

2.21 Elise Ann Neadertal

Born 26.10.1944, Nashville, TN.

Source: Norma Neadertal

Elise Ann graduated from Stephens college and then George Peabody Teachers College. She moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where she taught in a high school. She met James Mayer Straus and soon they were married. Jim began working for Goldner Associates, opening an office in Cincinnati. Laurie Rae, their daughter, was born September, 1969, and Andrew Ira was born June 1972. In 1978 they moved to Nashville, and Jim helped Bill build enlarge the business.



1988 - The Weintraub family.

2.30 Martha Sue Weintraub

Born 6.7.1954, Pittsburgh, PA.

Martha attended the University of Michigan from which she received a B.A. degree and a Master of Social Work. Martha, her husband Peter Smith of Livonia, MI., and their daughters Hannah and Rachel live in Ann Arbor, MI. Martha is a social worker in a school district near Ann Arbor and Peter teaches in the same district.

2.31 Barbara Lynn Weintraub

Born 10.1.1949, Pittsburgh, PA.

Barbara graduated from the University of Michigan, then, after teaching in Arizona and California, she earned a Masters degree in Special Education from Lesley College, Cambridge, MA. She now lives in Vermont and is a project developer and coordinator for the Rutland Mental Health Organization. She is divorced from Jonathan Cooper and has two children, Aaron and Arielle.

2.32 Robert Mark Weintraub

Born 5.4.1957 Pittsburgh, PA.

Robert graduated in 1978 with a degree in Sociology from the University of Michigan. After five years with the Census Bureau in Washington, D.C. he entered the University of California Berkeley and earned a MBA. He is currently manager of land development for the Raleigh, N.C. division of a large home development corporation. He lives in Raleigh with his wife Jacqueline (Jackie) who is a commercial artist.

1.11 Laurie Rae Straus

Born 29.9.1969 Cincinnati, OH

Source: Norma Neaderthal

From highschool Laurie went to The University School of Nashville and later graduated from Washington University in 1991 with a B.A. in psychology. At the time of this publication she was working in Chicago Illinois.

1.12 Andrew Ira Straus

Born 14.6.1972 Cincinnati, OH

Source: Norma Neaderthal

After graduating highschool at the University School of Nashville he entered Tulane University where at the time of publication of this family history he was currently studying. He worked with the construction company charged with building the new offices of Goldner Associates in Metro Center.

2.22 Robert Neaderthal

Born 14.3.1947 in Nashville, TN

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Robert Lee (Bob) graduated from Washington University in St. Louis in 1969, and from Georgetown University Medical School (Washington D.C.) in 1973. After internships and residency training in Worcester, Massachusetts, and Ann Arbor, Michigan, he moved to Massachusetts to practice internal medicine. Just prior to this, he met and married Elise Ann Greenfield of Dickson, TN. After a year of practice in Massachusetts, they moved to Nashville, where Bob joined a medical group. After two years, Bob started his own private practice. Bob and Julie have two daughters, Leah Tobin and Ariel Goldner. Julie returned to school in 1988, and graduated in 1992 as a physiotherapist.



2.22 Robert, 2.24 Julie, 1.15 Leah Tobin and 1.16 Ariel Goldner.

3.19 Norma Louise Goldner

Born 27.10.1920 in Nashville, TN.

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Norma attended the University of Illinois, and on June 9, 1941 married Michael William Neaderthal, of New York City. Bill entered the jewelry business with Fred Sr., but shortly thereafter, he volunteered for the U.S. Navy and became a photographer stationed in Pearl Harbor. Following the end of World War II, he returned to Nashville, and rejoined the business. He and Norma had two children, Elise Ann and Robert Lee (Bob).



1990 - The Neaderthal family.

In September 1951 Bill and Fred Sr. decided to begin a second business in addition to the jewelry stores. They formed Goldner Associates to make and sell medals for Masonic Lodges. A month later Fred died, but Bill continued to expand the business. Goldner Associates began making custom medals for sports events (swimming meets, volksmarches, track, etc.). As this business grew, the jewelry business deteriorated and in December, 1968, Bill closed Goldner's Jewelers. Norma and Bill developed Goldner Associates from a one room office in an upstairs Arcade into a large business on Charlotte Rd. In 1992 construction on a new and more sophisticated building commenced. Bill participated in the original planning. However, In 1989 Bill developed an inoperable lung cancer and died October 1991. He did not live to see the inauguration of the new building. Norma, Elise and her husband Jim continue Goldner Associates, Inc.

3.20 Louise Ann Foyer

Born 4.2.1923, Tallahassee, FL.

Louise married Murray Weintraub of New York City, who had come to Alabama to work as chemical engineer at the Huntsville Arsenal during world war II. Louise also worked at the arsenal. After the war they moved to Pittsburgh, PA.,



1988 - Eskeles family gathering at Nahsvile, TN.



1988 - Eskeles family gathering at Nashville, TN.

LINE 5

5.2 Henrietta Jettchen Eskeles

Born 1.7.1853 in Kesterbach

Died 9.2.1928 in Nashville, TN

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Not much is known concerning the early life of Henrietta. In 1880, she married Lee Simon Goldner (from Frankfurt/Main, born 8.9.1852). Not much is known concerning the early life of Henrietta. In 1880, she married Lee Simon Goldner from Frankfurt/Main, born 8.9.1852. (His first name in Germany was probably not Lee, but we don't know anything about his youth, since all archives in Frankfurt/M. were destroyed in World War II - Z. E.). One son, born 10 months later, died at the age of 4. In 1883 Paula was born, and Fred followed in 1886. Lee was a butcher. He came to the United States before Henrietta, and settled in New York. When his two brothers moved to the South, Lee moved too, settling in Manchester, TN. and engaged in buying and selling cows. He later sent for Henrietta and the two children. Soon after the move, the family relocated to Nashville, TN., and lived on Jackson St. Lee continued to trade cattle after the move. Hortense was born in 1895, when the family still lived on Jackson St. The following year (Monday Nov., 1896), Lee was naturalized as an American citizen.

1853.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert ~~achtundfünfzig~~ am 11. Juli
um 11 Uhr des Abends ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde
Kesterbach im Kreis Eschwege
Abraham Goldner erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am
1. Juli um 12 Uhr des Nachmittags
seiner Frau geb. Ma. Goldner
ein männl. Kind männl. Geschlechts geboren habe, welchem der Vorname
Paula gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause Nr. 9 geboren worden.
Dieser Geburt ist beigewohnt worden.
Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen
Friedr. Goldner und der Hebamme
und haben diese Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsact,
nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

Hebamme.
Christine Töschel

Zeugen.
Abraham Goldner I

Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister
J. Goldner

1853 - Birth registration of 5.2 Henrietta Eskeles.

All three children attended public school and religious school, and Hortense was confirmed at the only reform temple, the Vine Street Temple. The family moved to Mt. Pleasant, Tennessee for two years, while Lee managed the store owned by his brother. When the moved back to Nashville, they moved to 5th Ave. South. Fred and Hortense attended Howard School and then Hume Fogg High.

4.18 Paula Goldner

Born 6.11.1883 in Frankfurt/Main

Died 24.11.1961 in Nashville, TN

Source: Norma Neaderthal

Paula married Sol Levinson, and they moved to Florence, Alabama, where they owned and operated a dry goods store. They adopted their niece and nephew, Marcia and Irwin, when Sol's brother died. The family lived in Florence until 1944 when they moved to Nashville.

We know that the family arrived in München on 7.3.1940. They came probably from Zweibrücken but we don't know for sure. No information has been uncovered concerning the reasons and circumstances why they left Zweibrücken. In München he was registered as a 'Hilfsarbeiter' which means unskilled labourer, and we may assume that between their arrival at München until their deportation, they had a very hard time. They had three addresses in the 8 months they spent in München. The last address is the St. Michael convent, which served as an assembly and departure station for Jews to be deported. The date of deportation of Hugo Arthur, Bertha Babette and Lore Ilse Eskeles is 15.11.1940, by decision of the Munich Court dated 30.11.1940 all the three were 'declared dead'.

Bertha Eskeles (maiden name Marx) had family living in England and Israel after the war, but all attempts to trace them failed.

4.39 Amalie Eskeles

Born 29.12.1889, married 25.6.1921 4.40 Eugen Koch from Landstuhl

Deported 9.4.1945 to Drancy and from there to Auschwitz, where she perished.

We know that the Koch family lived in Landstuhl until 1930, when Eugen Koch died. Then Amalie Koch born Eskeles moved to her parents' house in Zweibrücken. Amalie and Eugen had two children, 4.59 Ingeborg Irene Koch and 4.58 Günther Gerard Koch, who is the only one who survived the holocaust.

4.45 Rosa Eskeles

Born 15.12.1885 Frankfurt/Main, deported 27.1.1941

Married 17.9.1919 4.48 Isidor Forst in Zweibruecken.

4.46 Emilie Eskeles

Born 18.12.189. Zweibrücken, deported 1941 to Ravensberg. "Declared dead" 31.5.1941.

3.59 Ingeborg Irene Koch

Born 11.2.1923 Landstuhl

Deported 1941 Camp de Curs, then Camp de Noe

Probably perished at Auschwitz.

3.58 Gerard Guenther Koch

Born 10.3.1926 Kaiserslautern

Gerard Koch left Germany in 1938 and came to Paris where he studied wood carving and sculpture. In 1944 he joined the 'Toulouse' or otherwise known as the 'Jewish Brigade' of the British Army. Later, via Spain, he arrives in Palestine. In 1948 he joins the Israeli Army, and is badly wounded at the battle of Negba. In 1950 he returned to Paris where he has lived ever since working as a wood sculpturer.

3.72 Therese Françoise Bloch married Koch

Born 20.4.1933 in Paris

Lived in the south of France, then in Mexico. Came back to Paris in 1959, studied sculpture. Works together with her husband Gerard Koch. They have two children.

2.106 Isabelle Irene Koch

Born 16.6.1957 in Paris

High School in Paris. Studies dance with Maurice Bejart. Married a New Zeelander, divorced, one child.

2.107 Vincent Daniel Hugues Koch

Born 30.3.1962 in Paris

High School, Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts, studies photography, works now as painter.

1.88 Garance Koch

Born 15.5.1989

Born 6.2.1888 Offenbach, deported 15.11.1941 to Ghetto Riga, Died 20.11.1941.
Married 4.17 Bertha Babette Marx

1888 - Birth registration of 4.16 Hugo Arthur Eskeles. On the right margin declaration made by 5.12 Hermann Eskeles, recognizing his fathership.

1891 - Remark that 5.12 Hermann Eskeles and 5.26 Eva Katharina Simon were married in Zweibrücken.

4.15 Henriette Jette Eskeles

Born 10.1.1887 Offenbach, died ?

Married 26.2.1921 4.47 Rudolph Nachman in Zweibruecken.

Pr. 46.

Offenberg, am 14. Januar 1884

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der
 Persönlichkeit nach

die Gebieterin Louise Klaryszen Pöschel,
geborene Brackfuser,
wohnhaft zu Offenbach, gegen Alex. Brackfuser, als

Religion, und zeigte an, daß von der
 menschlichen (na) Natur der Menschen, von der Natur der Menschen, von der
 zu Michel, von der Natur der Menschen, von der Natur der Menschen, von der
 Joseph Robert Müller, von der Natur der Menschen, von der Natur der Menschen, von der
 wohnhaft zu Frankfurt am Main, für

zu Offenseuf im sprachw. Biergrün Nr. 12.
am 24ten Jänner des Jahres
tausend acht hundert 24. 25 und sieben, Vermittlung
um 24. Uhr ein Kind weiblichen
Geschlechts geboren worden sei, welches Jan. Vornamen

erhalten habe. Als mein Hilfer antwortete, daß für
bei der Rückkunft der unangefangenen Lamp
Angewandte Kassen eine Probe ganz neue gemacht für

Vorgelesen; genehmigt und unterschieden

Maryson for Deputy Governor.
Snothglaw.

Der Standesbeamte

$\lambda_{\pi} 14.6$

Offenburg, am 24. November 1883.
 Der dem unterzeichneten Handelsbe-
 rathen offene Briefe, der Persönlichkeit
 nach hiesig anerkannte Geburtsurkunde,
 gültigstellte, hiesig anerkannte Heiraths-
 am 29. Januar 1885. bekannt, der
 hiesige Herrmann Hebel, ausgestellt
 zu Frankfurt am Main, hiesig anerkannte
 Nr. 6. und zeigte an, daß er sich
 von der unterzeichneten geschieden,
 hiesig hiesig, der hiesig
 hiesig hiesig hiesig in Offenburg am
 10. Januar 1884, geboren, und
 hiesig hiesig, und von der
 hiesig hiesig hiesig.
 Der hiesig hiesig und hiesig hiesig.

F. Hermann Götze.
 1. v. Kantabrosen
 als Parteinärr: Bürgernarr!

Offenbach, am 22. März 1890.
Auf Ausfertigung Grafsprengelischen Amtsgewirts
Offenbach vom 29. November 1889. wird für
für Kornoth, Kauf im Jahre 20. und Jahre
15. und Kornoth durch die Oberst. Jettin
die Oberst. Kornoth zu laien für.

Der Herrst. Oberster
Der Verwaltung: Herrmann
Nr. 46.

Offenbach und 2. März 1891.
Auf Antrag des Hrn. Johann Jacobson
am 2. März 1890. wird festgestellt, daß
der Herrmann Elkel, Geschäftswesen, mit
die Frau Johanna Sophieine Dörner, Bräun
zugehört zu Jacobson, Kupferst. am
2. März 1890. Die Hrn. Kupferst. haben
den Handelsnamen

In Vorbereitung: Büchmann.
1. P. G. 1891. Nr. 4. /

1887 - Birth registration of 4.15 Henrietta Eskeles. On the right margin declaration made by 5.12 Hermann Eskeles, recognizing his fathership.

1891 - Remark that 5.12 Hermann Eskeles and 5.26 Eva Katharina Simon were married in Zweibrücken.

There is no doubt that in spite of their young age - their first child was born when Hermann was 20 and Eva Susanna 19 years old - there was a true and enduring love between them. Hermann came from a religious orthodox Jewish family although, like other members of his family, his ties with the religion were not so close and orthodox anymore as in Kelsterbach. He lived and considered himself a religious Jew and was part of the Jewish, probably non-orthodox, community. We might assume that these social and religious barriers did not permit a marriage between them in Frankfurt, and finally the couple decided to move to Zweibrücken and to marry there.

We have no evidence when Eva Susanna Simon-Eskeles converted to the Jewish faith. A document mentioning her Jewish religion (after her marriage), is an extract from the police registers in Zweibrücken, dated 1961. All her children were brought up as Jews, and later deported and murdered as Jews. According to Jewish religious laws, nurturing and educating children as Jews would have been impossible if their mother was a Christian. On the other hand, in the marriage certificate established on 27.3.1890, her religion is mentioned as Protestant, but she probably converted after she was married.

In Frankfurt, Hermann was a merchant or businessman, but the nature of his business activity is unknown. In Zweibrücken he is mentioned as a wool-merchant or a general merchant. According to information received from the municipality of Zweibrücken, he conducted an oil and fat trade in 29 Bubenhauser Strasse in Zweibrücken from 1.1.1921 until 25.8.1939. In the last year before his deportation in 1940, Hermann lived in Ludwigshafen. His wife, Eva Katharina Eskeles (maiden name Simon) died in 1937. Hermann Eskeles was deported to Camp de Curs on 22.10.1940, and died 4.1.1942 at Camp Noe/France.

1858.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert fünf- und fünfzig am 2. Februar
um fünf Uhr des Morgens ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde.
Abraham Eskeles erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am 25.
November d. J. um fünf Uhr des Morgens als einzige
geborene Tochter des Abraham Eskeles und der Eva Katharina Eskeles
ein männliches Kind männlichen Geschlechts geboren habe, welchem der Vorname
Moses gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause No. 8 geboren worden.
+ und getauft worden sei.

Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen Abraham Eskeles
Geburtshelfer und der Hebamme Rosina Simon geschehen,
und haben. Eskeles und die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsact,
nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

Hebamme.
Rosina Simon

Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister
H. W.

Zeugen.
Abraham Eskeles
Geburtshelfer

1858 - Birth registration of 5.18 Moses Eskeles, died ? young.

5.22 Hermann Eskeles

Born 15.1.1865 Kelsterbach, died 22.10.1940,
deported to Camp de Curs (France).
Sources: Gerard Koch, Zeev Eshkolot.

1860.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert *sechzig* am *15. Januar*
um *10* Uhr des *Mittags* ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde
Offenbach am Main erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am
11 Uhr des *Mittags* sein
Heinrich ein *Knabe* geboren habe, welchem der Vornamen
Heinrich gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause *No. 100* geboren worden
ist, und daß *Heinrich* *Knabe* *geboren* ist.
Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen *Heinrich*
Gabriel und der Hebamme *Rosine* geschehen,
und haben *Heinrich* .. und die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsact,
nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

Heinrich *Gabriel* Zeugen.
Rosine Hebamme.
Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister
Heinrich

Hermann Eskeles was the sole survivor of the six children his father Feist had from his two wives. He must have left Kelsterbach at a very young age, since his first daughter, 4.45 Rosa Eskeles was born 1885 in Frankfurt/ Main when he was only 20 years old. Two other children, 5.22 Hermann Eskeles and 5.19 Eva Eskeles, were born in 1886 and 1887 in Offenbach.

1860 - Birth registration of 5.19
Eva Eskeles, died 7 days later.

The mother of his children was "the maid of Christian (Evangelic) faith" 5.26 Eva Katherina Susanna Simon, born 14.10.1866 in Vilbel (Oberhessen), daughter of a tailor (according to the first birth certificate) and/or a postal agent, 'Postschaffner', (in the second birth certificate). It is not clear whether they lived together in Frankfurt or in Offenbach. We do not have the birth certificate of the first daughter born in Frankfurt, but in the two following birth certificates Eva Susanna's address is in Offenbach. However, Hermann's address, who came and recognized his fatherhood of these children, indicates residency in Frankfurt.

The fourth child, 4.39 Amalie Eskeles, was born in 1889 in Zweibrücken (Saar), six months before they married there officially, the 27.3.1890. The fifth child, 4.46 Emilie Eskeles, was born in Zweibrücken in 1890, almost nine month after their marriage. We have no official or documented explanation for this quite particular and exceptional situation, we may only assume and try to understand.

1861.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert *Ein. u. hundert* am 18. März 1861
 um 7 Uhr des Morgens ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde
Karlshausen erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am 11.
Aug. 1861 um 11 Uhr des Abends, seine
Eltern S. Meyer u. v. Polmann
 ein *knab* Kind, männlichen Geschlechts geboren habe, welchem der Vornamen
Emilie gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause No. 17 geboren worden
bei S. Meyer u. v. Polmann sei.

Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen *Heinrich Adolf Lorenz*
Gebhard Eskeles und der Hebamme *Katharina Lorenz* geschehen,
 und haben *das Kind* und die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsact,
 nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

S. Meyer u. v. Polmann Hebamme.
Katharina Lorenz
H. Adolf Lorenz Zeugen.
Gebhard Eskeles Zur Beglaubigung
 des Bürgermeisters
K. L.

Karlshausen, den 27. Januar 1869
Die Vorstandsmitglieder des jüdischen
„Verein“ in Gross-Gerau.
Vors. Hermann Eskeles
Dr. Hauptmann
Eskeles
P. Eskeles am Main den 10. Juni 1955
Der vorstehende Bericht wurde am 22. Januar 1955
mit 12 Stimmen einst. d. j. Landesrabbin. in Frankfurt, Rhein

1861 - Birth registration of 5.20 Emilie Eskeles.

According to a letter sent in 1935 by the council of the Jewish cemetery Gross-Gerau to 4.1 Otto Eskeles, Feist Eskeles, son of Abraham Eskeles, died in 1855 and is buried in the Jewish cemetery of Gross-Gerau. As I found out later, this information was not correct, Feist Eskeles died in 1898 is buried in the Jewish cemetery in Frankfurt. Yet, it is possible that there was another Feist Eskeles who probably died very young and was buried in the Jewish cemetery of Gross-Gerau.

Feist married twice, in 1858 his first wife, 6.6 Eva (Esther) Ginsberger from Jägersheim, with whom he had 3 children, were all born dead or died very young. It is interesting to note that, according to the records of Kelsterbach, he married Eva 8 months after the birth of the second child. In spite of the fact, that Feist leaves us the impression of a less stable personality than that of his brothers, it is impossible to imagine, that in the small and orthodox Jewish community of Kelsterbach, Feist could have lived with Eva and had two children out of wedlock.

1858.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert, am und fünfzig ... den
ersten Tag ... sind vor mir,
 dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde Kelsterbach, Kreis Groß-Gerau
 erschienen die Ehegatten: Feist, Eskeles
 alt 24 Jahre und dessen Ehefrau Eva
 alt 26 Jahre Tochter von Isaac Feistberger
 von Isaac Feist
 sodann die beiden Zeugen: Isaac Eskeles Abraham
Eskeles
 ... und haben erklärt, daß sie Erstere, auf vorher von
 Großherzoglichem Rath zu Groß-Gerau ausgewiesenen
 Heirathsschein am ersten Tag d. J. laut
 Bescheinigung des Rabbinen, welche sie hiermit vorzeigen, 合法
 legitimirt worden seien, worüber ich gegenwärtigen Act geführt habe, und welcher nach geschehener
 Vorlesung mit den Erschienenen von mir unterschrieben worden ist.

Isaac Eskeles } Ehegatten. Isaac Eskeles } Zeugen.
Eva Feistberger } Abraham }

Zur Beglaubigung
 der Bürgermeister.
Isaac

1858 - Marriage registration of 6.3 Feist Eskeles and 6.6 Eva Ginsberger.

The plausible explanation is that they married in due time at the Rabbinate in Darmstadt, the important thing for them and for the community. Assuming that the first child was probably born dead there was no reason to officially register the birth. However, with the second child, who probably survived birth, appropriate action was taken to officially register the child and the marriage to the civil authorities. Eva died in 1860, 3 days after the birth of her third child, which died also 4 days later.

Feist married his second wife, 6.7 Johanetta Jettche Salomon from Amsbach in 1861 and had with her 3 children from whom only one son, Hermann, survived. Feist Eskeles died on December 28, 1898 in Frankfurt/Main. All Hermann's descendants, except one, Gerard Koch who lives in Paris, died or perished in the holocaust.

"The Society in Frankfurt/Main for the promotion of trades among the Israelite fellow-believers, To The mayor, Mr. Baecker, resident at Kelsterbach.

The there-living master-tailor Marx Moses Adler intends to take into apprenticeship the there-living Feist Eskeles, son of the late Moses Eskeles, and we would like to know if the master is an orderly man who is provided with sufficient work, and if an apprentice can be entrusted to him with the probability that he will teach him in due form. We take the liberty to ask you politely:

1. To give us the requested information
2. To give us the name of an honest there-living resident, to whom we could commission the supervision of the apprentice and the master.

Respectfully, the administrative commission Frankfurt/Main
28 Aug. 1842"

Der Verein in Frankfurt a. M.

zur Beförderung

der Handwerke unter den israelitischen Glaubensgenossen

An Ihren Ehrenmannen Baecker, Wobley
in Kelsterbach

Der dortige (Hauptmann) Marx Moses
Adler will den dortigen Lehrer Eskeles, (Sohn
des verstorbenen Meisters Eskeles) zu ihm aufnehmen,
und wir müssen wissen, ob der
Meister ein anständiges Mann, mit genügender
Arbeitskraft versehen ist, und ob man
ihm einen Lehrling anvertrauen darf mit
der Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß er ihn gehörig
unterrichten werde. Wir erlauben uns
Sie ersuchen zu bitten

- 1.) uns darüber Auskunft zu geben
- 2.) einen braven dortigen Bürger uns
zu bezeugen, dem wir die Aufsicht
über das Lehrling zu übertragen
können.

Respektvoll

Der Verwaltungsrath

Frankfurt am
28. Aug. 1842
Auftrag d. d. 29. Aug. 42

Georg
Eskeles

1842 - Letter of the 'Jewish society for the promotion of trades among the Israelite fellow-believers' to the Mayor of Kelsterbach concerning the apprenticeship of 6.3 Feist Eskeles.

The answer, dated one day later, is lost.

LINE 4

For previous generations see Line 1.

6.3 Feist Shraga Eskeles.

Born 1828 Kelsterbach, died 1898 Frankfurt/Main.

Source: Zeev Eshkolot.

The first name Feist is an exceptional name in the Eskeles family. The only explanation we can give is the following: His oldest brother Gabriel was named after his grandfather on his father's side. The second brother, Abraham was named after his grandfather on his mother's side. For the third son there was no traditional commitment and he was given the name of the Feist family which lived in Kelsterbach. We may assume that they had a special, good relationship with the Eskeles family.

The conditions of Feist's life were not different from those of his brothers. We know that at the age of 14 he was an apprentice-tailor in Kelsterbach, but later on he was mentioned as a merchant in Frankfurt. We do not know when he left Kelsterbach for Frankfurt.

1828

Im Jahr eintausend achthundert vierundzwanzig, den 11^{ten} Febr.
 zu Frankfurt am Main, ist geboren worden ein Knabe,
 der hieß: Shraga Eskeles, Sohn des Hrn. David Eskeles,
 Kaufmanns, und der Hrn. Maria Eskeles, geb. Feist,
 welche beide in der Stadt Frankfurt am Main
 wohnhaft sind. Der Vater des Kindes ist ein
 Mann von gutem Ruf und Stand, und die Mutter
 ist eine fromme, rechtschaffene Frau. Das Kind
 ist gesund und wohlgebildet, und wird in der
 besten Erziehung gehalten. Die Eltern wünschen
 sehr, dass das Kind ein frommer, rechtschaffener
 Mann werde, und dass es die Wissenschaften
 erlerne, die zu einem Stande führen, der
 Ehre und Nutzen bringe. Die Eltern sind
 sehr dankbar, dass das Kind in der besten
 Erziehung gehalten wird, und wünschen
 sehr, dass es ein frommer, rechtschaffener
 Mann werde, und dass es die Wissenschaften
 erlerne, die zu einem Stande führen, der
 Ehre und Nutzen bringe.

David Eskeles
 Maria Eskeles
 Shraga Eskeles

Birth registration of 6.3 Feist Eskeles.

We have a letter dated August 28, 1842 concerning his apprenticeship, which is noteworthy for the understanding of the relationship between the rich, established Jewish community in Frankfurt and the poor community in Kelsterbach. Furthermore, the letter intonates the sincerity attached in those times to the learning of a trade. Contrary to what would be expected, the letter is not addressed to the Jewish community, but to the mayor of Kelsterbach. Also the 'honest-resident-supervisor' is not a citizen chosen within the Jewish community.

Story of Line 3 as told by 3.11 Robert G. Eskeles:

"I was born on April 17, 1910 in Frankfurt/Main, son of 4.9 Edmund Isaac Eskeles from Kelsterbach and 4.12 Babette Eskeles born Blumenthal from Marktheidenfeld (Bavaria).

My father was born in Kelsterbach, the son of 5.9 Moritz Eskeles from Kelsterbach and 5.28 Babette Bettchen Eskeles born Rothschild from Schluechtern. My father's sister 4.10 Johanna Schwartz born Eskeles married Adolf Schwartz. They had one daughter 3.46, Selma Schwartz, who married 3.22 Willi Loewenberg. They had one daughter 2.60 Wally Loewenberg. The family lived in Weilburg (Lahn) where Willi Loewenberg had a chocolate factory. After his death at an early age, mother and daughter moved to Frankfurt/M. Johanna Schwartz was deported to Theresienstadt and died there in 1943. Selma Loewenberg and her daughter Wally were deported, probably to Minsk, and perished. My grandparents had a third daughter, Selma, born in 1886, who died after two months.

This is all I know about my grandfather's family. About my grandmother's family, the Rothschilds, I know more. As a young man, my father went to the USA, Richmond, VA., where he had two cousins living, nephews of his mother. He stayed there from 1894 until 1906. By nature of his marriage and establishing residence in Germany, he lost his American citizenship, which might have saved his life in later years.

I started school in 1916, but my father was drafted into the army about that time. My mother and I moved to Aschaffenburg (Bavaria) where my grandfather and other members of my mother's family lived. My brother 3.12 Max Eskeles was born in 1917, my mother passed away in 1918. My brother and I moved to Okriftel, where my father's sister, Johanna, lived. Okriftel is a small village on the right side of the river Main, about several kilometers from Kelsterbach.

I went back to school in Frankfurt, Samson Raphael High-school. I had to get up very early every morning, to walk 45 minutes from Okriftel to Hattersheim, a railroad station, to travel to Frankfurt and the same in the evening, coming home. It used to get quite cool in winter, but I always had company coming and going. In 1922 my father re-married, 4.13 Klara Reis, and we moved back to Frankfurt.

I graduated from the S.R.H. in 1926 and started working in an export business. I was very active in sports, member of the Bar Kochba and of their track team. I left Germany in December 1938, after I had been in Buchenwald concentration camp for 3 weeks. My release was due to the fact, that I had all my papers for entry into the USA. I stayed for 3 days in New York with a cousin of my father and on December 27, I came to Richmond, where I have been ever since.

I was drafted into the US Army in early 1942, married 3.50 Mildred Mayer (American) in December 1942. I served 4 years, also overseas in France and Germany, and was discharged in 1946. I started working in the meat packing plant of my 4 brothers in law, I was a salesman and travelled in Virginia. I retired in 1978 after 33 years with the company, because the firm closed down. I have been doing volunteer work ever since.

My brother Max was born in 1917. He graduated from the Philantropin High-school in Frankfurt. After graduation he also worked for an export firm, which had a subsidiary in Johannesburg, South Africa. This firm in South Africa gave 6 young Jewish boys and my brother affidavits and the money to come to South Africa. Max also served in the army, was wounded in the war, and while recuperating he visited Israel, where he met quite a number of friends from Germany. In 1952 I brought him to Richmond to be with me, but he stayed only a short time with me and went to Chicago where he married 3.46 Marcella Lewin. He passed away in 1969."

3.11 Robert G. Eskeles

Born 17.4.1910 Frankfurt/Main

3.12 Max Eskeles

Born 6.1.1917 Frankfurt/Main, died 27.5.1969 Chicago

Nr. 4.

Kelsterbach, am 1 Februar 1887.

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der

Persönlichkeit nach _____

_____ da kennt,

Sanktathanas Moritz Eskiles _____

wohnhaft zu Kelsterbach _____

und zeigte an, daß Selma Eskiles _____

gewiss Katholik als _____ römisch-katholische Religion,

wohnhaft zu Kelsterbach _____

geboren zu Kelsterbach _____

Töchter des Kuzenmanns und seiner
Gefährtin Dorothea geborenen Patschke

zu Kelsterbach _____

am fünfzigsten Tag im Januar _____

des Jahres tausend acht hundert _____ achtzig und sieben

nachmittags 8 um elf _____ Uhr

verstorben sei _____

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben: _____

Moritz Eskiles _____

Der Standesbeamte

Schmidt _____

G. 1886. Nr. 58.

1887 - Death registration of 4.11 Selma Eskeles, aged 2 months.

4.10 Johanna Schwartz born Eskeles

Born 4.3.1879, deported Theresienstadt, died 4.1.1943

NR. 11.

Reichsanzeiger am 7. März 1899

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der
Persönlichkeit nach _____
_____ kannt,
_____ *Maximilian Jakob*
_____ wohnhaft zu _____
_____ Religion, und zeigte an, daß von der
_____ *Maximilian Jakob* geboren _____
_____ *Maximilian Jakob* Religion,
wohnhaft zu _____
_____ *Maximilian Jakob* am _____
_____ des Jahres
tausend acht hundert _____ und _____
um _____ Uhr ein Kind _____
Geschlechts geboren worden sei, welches _____ Vornamen
_____ erhalten habe.

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und _____

Der Standesbeamte

Die Geburtsurkunde ist gefälligst
dem Kommune „Lara“ imge-
nommen.
Kopie vom 23. Januar 1939
Der Gemeindebeamte:
für Vorlegung
Jellner

Rechtsnachtrag vom 29. April 1939
Es warat schon der Rechtsnachtrag vom
23. Januar 1939 nicht gefälligst.
Es ist der Gemeindebeamte
im Vorlesung
Rum

H. L. nach rechtskräftigem Beschluß
(54 NR II 144/64) im Amtsgericht im
Frankfurt am Main vom 11. August 1964
für die Urkunde. Als 7. April 1964
wurde der 8. April 1964 festgesetzt.
Nach für die Urkunde im St. Amt I.
im Berlin Nr. 44/4962

1879 - Birth registration of 4.10 Johanna Eskeles. On the margin:

1939 - The first name 'Sara' has to be added (indicating that she is a Jewess).

1950 - The above remark is abolished.

1961 - "Declared dead".

5.9 Moses Moritz Eskeles
 Born 13.12.1845
 Kelsterbach, died ?

**5.28 Babette Eskeles
 born Rothschild**
 Born 1851 in
 Schluechtern, died ?

1845

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert fünfzig am 15. September
 um 10 Uhr des Abends ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde
 Kelsterbach, Herr *Gabriel Eskeles*
 erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am Sonntag
 den 15. September um 10 Uhr des Morgens seiner Ehefrau
 fünf, geb. Lischke, geboren.
 ein männliches Kind, männlichen Geschlechts geboren habe, welchem der Vorname
Moses gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause No. 42 geboren worden
 sei.
 Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen *Adolf I.*
Mary II. und der Hebamme *Christine Trüchel* geschehen,
 und haben *L. Weber* und die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsact,
 nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

Hebamme.
Christine Trüchel

Zeugen.
Adolf I.
Mary II.

Zur Beglaubigung
 der Bürgermeister
J. Eskeles

*Ich, der Bürgermeister, alle und jede im Laufe der
 letzten fünfzig Jahre auf demselben Ort fünfzig Jahre
 wohnhaft gewesen, bei den Spindeln in der
 Stadt wohnhaft eingetragenen Geburtsbücher
 welche sich in der Stadt befinden, habe
 und bestätige.*
Kelsterbach den 2. Juni 1846.
Der Bürgermeister
J. Eskeles

1845 - Birth registration of
 5.9 Moses Eskeles.

According to information received from 3.11 Robert G. Eskeles, Moses and Babette Eskeles are buried in Hofheim (Taunus).

5.16 Emilie Eskeles
 Born 1861 Kelsterbach, died 1923 Kelsterbach

Emilie was the youngest child of the family. We know that in 1900, at the age of 39, she had a still birth baby boy. The father was probably 5.23 Johann Viktor Niedzballa, born 1867 in Ratibor (Oberschlesien). She married him later and had with him a daughter, 4.20 Joseffa Emma Niedzballa.

1863.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert und zwei^{und}zig am 4. April
um 10. Uhr des Morgens ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde
Niederrhein im Kreis Gießen Herr,
Geburtst. St. erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am
23. Februar d. J. um 3 Uhr des Nachmittags
seiner Ehefrau eine im J. E. geborene
ein, gef. Kind männlichen Geschlechts geboren habe, welchem der Vornamen
+ Hans gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause No. 56. geboren worden.
und wurde dies so sei.

Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen
Joh. W. Hoffmann und der Hebamme Katharina Fritsch
und haben die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsact,
nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

Geburtst. St.

Hebamme.

Katharina Fritsch

Lautst. Zeugen.
Joh. W. Hoffmann

Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister

Herr.

1863 - Birth registration of 5.17 Hanneke Eskeles, died 5 days later.

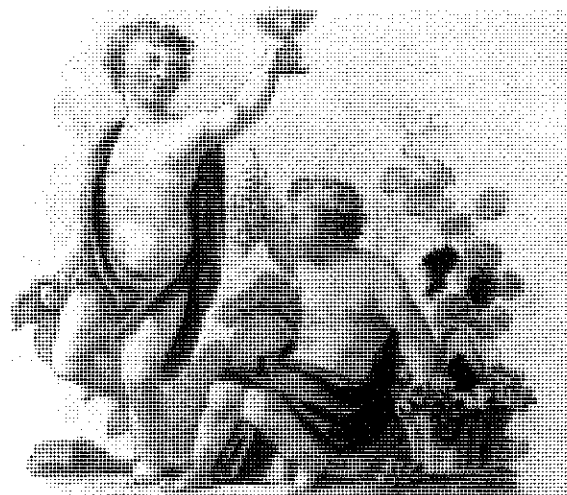
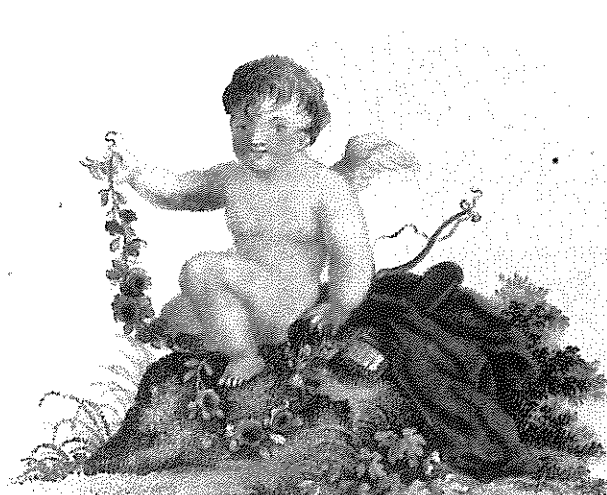
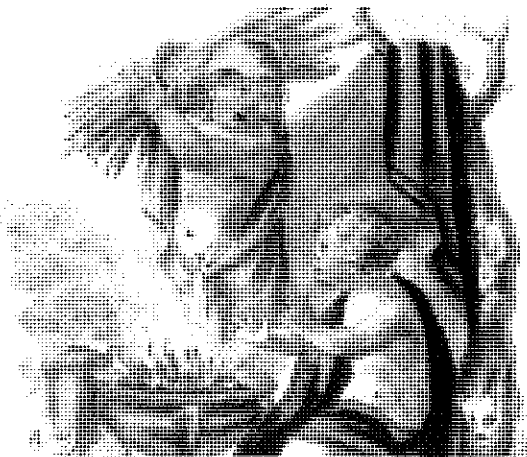
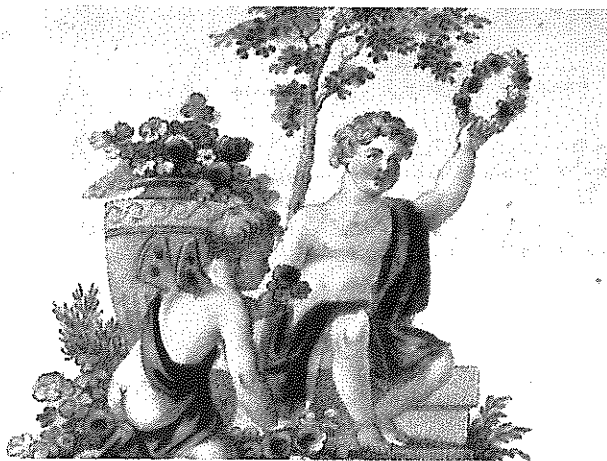


1822-23 - The autograph book (Stammbuch) of 7.7 Denis von Eskeles.
Especially remarkable is the inscription of three crosses by his (?) grandmother who, apparently, was illiterate.
I did not succeed to identify her.

At this opening ceremony I addressed, in the name of the Eskeles-Eshkolot family a speech, describing in short the history of the family and its relationship with Vienna and I underlined the fact that this return to the 'Palais Eskeles' closes a loop of 200 years between the family in the past and in the present time.



1993 - Zeev Eshkolot at the opening ceremonies of the Jewish Museum.



Sei glücklich
und schenke mir dein Glück

Erster 1/4 22.
Hilkebrand

Mein Liebes ist es,
das ich dir schenke

Erster 1/4 22.

Hilkebrand

Ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen

10ten Oktober 1822

Ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen

Mein Liebes ist es,
das ich dir schenke
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen

Ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen

Ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen

Ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen
ich will dich lieben
und dich zu mir ziehen

Harry, President of
Khebel

Don a friend's gift from the Boston
Museum, v. 1, p. 1823. H. A. Parker.

On Jan 31st 1873 Emily Pascal

Unglückseligste Giltzger

7.9 Marianne Baroness v. Eskeles

Born 1.3.1801 Vienna, died 10.8.1862 Munich

Sources: Joseph D. Dressel, Leo Baeck Institute

Marianne is known to have been a very kind and intelligent person. She was baptized in 1824. According to the family legend, her story with Franz v. Wimpffen is as follows:

Young, witty, fashionable, and attractive, Franz and Marianne were invited to the most brilliant and fashionable salons of Vienna. They fell in love, but the emperor would not consent to their marriage. Their love for each other became a very popular topic of conversation in Vienna at the time. After a while, the army suffered unexpected financial difficulties. Baron V. Eskeles, the banker was often solicited to guarantee loans on behalf of the state. However, in this case, before Baron v. Eskeles rewarded the army's loan petition, he requested an audience with the emperor. During negotiations with the Emperor, Eskeles said that he appreciated and understood the army's need, but that the emperor should also understand that his daughter needed a husband whom she loved. As a condition for the loan he requested the emperor's blessing agreeing to the marriage of Marianne with Franz. Furthermore, Eskeles wanted a guarantee that the emperor would attend the wedding. His presence at the ceremony was to be a sign of the emperor's acceptance and public support of the couple. The emperor agreed to both conditions. The marriage between Franz and Marianne was most successful, and their love for each other evidently continued throughout their marriage. Marianne was very involved in social, cultural and political organizations.

The Jewish Museum of Vienna in Palais Eskeles

Until 1993 I believed that Line 2, von Eskeles, and its history, belonged to the past, since after Denis von Eskeles, who died in 1876, there were no male descendants in this Line and, as a result, the name 'vov Eskeles' was extinguished.



End 1993 I learned from a newspaper clipping, sent to me by Khava Goldschmidt, that the Jewish Museum of Vienna will be transferred to the 'Palais Eskeles'. I contacted immediately the museum's management and I was invited, together with my wife Rachel, to the opening ceremonies in Vienna on November 18-19, 1993, which were held in presence of the Vienna Town Mayor Dr. Helmut Zilk who, two weeks later, was victim of a letter bomb, sent to him by radical rights.

1993 - The Mayor of Vienna presents to Zeev Eshkolot a honor medal at the reception held in the City Hall.

At this occasion I made the acquaintance of Mrs. Hanna Bernthaler, born von Wimpffen, who lives in Vienna, and is the granddaughter of Marianne von Wimpffen, born Eskeles.

I gave the museum as present the autograph book of the young Denis von Eskeles, which was in possession of my family for many years. This booklet, some pages of which are reprinted here, contains dedications from many famous personalities at this time.

9.14 Eleonore Lea Eskeles

Born 15.4.1752 Vienna, died 20.8.1812 Vienna

Sources: Hilde Spiel, Fanny v. Arnstein oder die Emanzipation

Here follows an extract about Eleonore Eskeles from Hilde Spiel's book.

"Eleonore married young. She had spent her youth with her brother in Amsterdam, where her mother went with her second husband. Her own marriage led her to Berlin, where she married the merchant Fliess. But the young woman, who felt the heritage of hundreds of years of intellectual refinement, did not stay a longtime with the merchant Fliess. She left him to live with her brother Bernhard who moved to Vienna from Berlin. In her native town Vienna she was called 'the Prussian', but she was received with friendliness. She was a learned woman exuding a special charm. Her unique personality and intelligence conquered the court-official 9.19 Valentin Günther, also 30 years of age.

The two developed a tender, loving relationship. Evidently he was politically astute and gained the confidence of Kaiser Joseph. Günther was appointed to a cabinet position responsible for copying all security files, cables, letters, and plans. The two developed a close relationship as the Kaiser enjoyed the cheerful and witty personality of the younger Günther. Due to the influence of Günther, The Kaiser was very helpful to the Jewish community and to Bernard v. Eskeles (s. above) in obtaining the famous Toleranzpatent from the emperor Joseph.

However, a few weeks after the publication of the edict (Toleranzpatent), a scandal developed which jeopardized the favorable position the Jews enjoyed under the Emperor Joseph. Valentin Günther, nicknamed 'l'aimable imprudent' (the lovable imprudent) was playing a dangerous game. During the day he administered to his stately duties under the auspices of the emperor. At night he pursued his love affaire with the Madame Eskeles.

In Vienna, the Jewess was considered a 'Berlinerin' (from Berlin). The suggested meaning was that "what good can come from Berlin?". Furthermore, she loved to read books and was kindly called a learned woman, an unfavorable connotation in Vienna. The famous Vienna secret police had been tracing Günther's secret liaison with the 'Berlinerin'. Suspicions mounted after the birth of her second child (8.13 and 8.14), an unavoidable consequence of such affairs at this time.

In March 1772 misfortune struck the two lovers. They became involved in a suspected espionage story traced to two Jewish crooks. Although their innocence was later proved, Günther lost the favor of and was discharged from his duties at the court. After a last talk with the emperor he was commissioned to Hermannstadt in Siebenbürgen, where he married "a young, blond and gentle girl". He never saw Eleonore again who was expelled from Austria. Eleonore returned to Austria 14 years later and regained her position in the prominent circles of the intellectual society."

In various biographies of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, the story of Leonore and Günther is described in details, seen from Mozart's point of view at the time when the scandal broke out, which later on proved to be absolutely incorrect.

7.7 Denis Daniel Baron von Eskeles

Born 1.10.1803 Vienna, died 14.1.1876 Vienna

Sources: Leo Back Institute,

Hilde Spiel, Fanny von Arnstein oder die Emanzipation

Denis v. Eskeles was the last male descendant of the Austrian Eskeles line. He was baptized in 1825, married Emilie Baroness of Brentano Cimaroli. She gave birth to six daughters who all married Austrian, French and Italian noblemen. His baptism and the marriages of his children to the nobility demonstrate the rupture of this and the later generations with their ancient Jewish tradition.

Denis v. Eskeles and his business partner Pereira could not compete against their competitors the Rothschilds. The Rothschilds risked investment in the developing and expanding railway lines and were more clever in taking advantage of the fluctuations in the European market. The Rothschilds harbored a hatred for the noble, baptized, ex-jewish bankers which proved to be a competitive incentive. A major investment in government bonds proved to be a complete failure and the bank Arnstein & Eskeles went bankrupt in 1873.

9.16 Bernhard Baron von Eskeles

Born 1753 Vienna, died 1839 Hietzing (Vienna).

Sources: Encyclopedia Judaica, Mr. Paul J. Jacobi,
Hilde Spiel - *Fanny v. Arnstein oder die Emanzipation*,
Zeev Eshkolot

Bernhard, born after his father's death, became one of the outstanding financiers in Austria at the beginning of the 19th century. After an unsuccessful start in Amsterdam, losing his father's legacy (over 400 000 florins), he returned in 1774 to Vienna, married Cecilie Wolff (born Itzig) and went into partnership with his brother in law, Nathan von Arnstein. Together they formed a banking house. His expertise and prestige in financial matters was recognized by heads of state and was solicited as an advisor to emperors Joseph II and Francis I. After his discovery of a banking forgery (1795), he was entrusted with government financial tasks.



9.16 Bernhard Baron v. Eskeles.

He founded the Austrian National Bank in 1816 and, competing with Solomon Rothschild, promoted railway construction. Ennobled in 1797, he became a baron in 1822. It is assumed that he was the author of an anonymous expose of the Jewish predicament upon which Joseph II's doctrine of 'Toleranzpatent' was based. In 1815, he was one of the signatories of a petition for Jewish rights. He was the only Austrian Jew invited to the Napoleonic Sanhedrin in 1806. In an obituary, he was attacked for failing to make sufficient use of his influence and wealth for the benefit of the Jews.

Bernhard's wife Cecily, a daughter of Daniel Itzig, made their house a meeting place for high society, mainly during the Vienna Congress. Her parties rivaled those of her sister, Fanny von Arnstein. Goethe made her acquaintance at Carlsbad. Bernhard and Cecily's children were baptized in 1824.

Here follow extracts from Hilde Spiel's book, *Fanny v. Arnstein oder die Emanzipation*, which describe the atmosphere in the Eskeles house.

"Reichardt: However the receptions in honor of the fatal year 1809 continued. At an excellent dinner at Madame von Eskeles, I had the opportunity to greet the new year with some of my best friends. I would be happy if I could let you feel and understand the exquisite and complete atmosphere of this house, how everything is coordinated paying attention to the smallest detail in order to create a delicate and comfortable environment. And I would like to describe the noble married couple and the two most-charming, beautiful and intelligent children. The wife is a beautiful, intelligent and sensitive lady from Berlin. The husband - I shall relate briefly since he - also a gentleman of few words - is a man with spirit, intelligence and heart, a real man. I would consider it a once in a lifetime opportunity the chance to live at the same place with him in close relationship."

"Rachel Levin: I like (Bernhard v.) Eskeles very much because he exudes intelligence; he eats, he is silent and he laughs with intelligence. His thoughts and ideas are all original. He amuses me more than other people due to his old-fashioned intellectual gifts. He has lived a full life according to his principals. He shares his experience with you with the ease of an experienced man employing an almost biblical manner."

"Varnhagen, Rachel Levin's later husband, adds to her description: In order to appreciate the full meaning of this last sentence, you have to understand the inside of the family. The splendor and the good taste of the furniture, as well as the distinction of the society and the conversation can compete with the highest circles of the Vienna society. The children have not the remotest idea of their true origin. After paying his respects to this noble facade, Eskeles customarily would escape into a back room, where he would receive the visits of his fellow-believers, old acquaintances and business friends. There he would spend the rest of the evening with ease and inconsiderateness, smoking and drinking beer."

He said to us "be my witnesses for what I order you as a command before I die". Since, as long I was in good health, I was too busy to make an orderly last will, and now, that I am very weak and ready to return my soul to the sole God in whom I believe, I forgive all those who angered me since I was born, until now. And I ask forgiveness from all those whom I angered and those against whom I might have acted unfavorably. And you, gentlemen, listen to what I am ordering you, so that nothing will be lost. Above all the fear of God !"

Here follows first a long list of communities and institutions, among them the Eskeles foundation, to which different amounts of money were to be paid for studies and for the poor.

"To my sweet and lovely wife, the Rabbanit Mrs. Khanna will be given from my legacy thirty six thousand Gulden and five thousand Reichsthaler precious stones and jewelry. It goes without mentioning that she receives the presents I gave to her at our marriage, including the 'Ketuba' (contract of marriage) and supplements I gave her. As long as she remains a widow, she will live in my house. Her living, rent, and household expenses will be administered too from my legacy. I am sure that she will behave with the fear of God and cleverness, as she has until now.

To the son of my late brother, R. Loeb Fürth (Eskeles the progenitor of Line I - Z.E.), whom I brought up as if he were my own child, and who always behaved honestly, twenty thousand Gulden will be given from my legacy.

He also will remain in my house and under my shelter 'Schutz'. He will enjoy them gratuitously until his marriage. He and his fellow tenants will have free board, provided that he will not quarrel with my wife, and will treat her with respect."

Here follows a long list of relatives and also some employees, to whom different amounts are left.

"Mr. Wolf Nassau informed me that I have in my possession a promissory note which he claims was reimbursed. Since I am unable to verify this assertion, my books should be checked. If no money is owed, the promissory note should be returned. The same should be done with all promissory notes of other debtors, so that nothing undue should remain with me.

Referent to the slander that I have squandered funds from the Moravian state, I hereby swear before you, especially now that I am going to pass away into the world of truthfulness (עלמא דקשיות), that I am free of this sin. On the contrary, I always used this money strictly and sparingly, and I have in my hands not one farthing belonging to the state..."

In the year of his death, 1753, the household of R. B. Eskeles was comprised of 42 persons, including his wife, two daughters, 28 servants with 6 children:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1 cashier (accountant general - R. Loeb Fuerth Eskeles) | |
| 1 assistant cashier | 1 cellar man |
| 1 accountant | 1 servant of cashier |
| 1 copyist | 1 assistant accountant |
| 2 German writers | 1 household storekeeper |
| 2 Hebrew writers | 3 female buyers |
| 1 messenger | 1 nurse |
| 1 solicitor | 1 room servant |
| 1 commissioner | 1 baker |
| 1 jeweler | 1 dishwasher |
| 1 cantor (khazan) | 1 governess (cashier) |
| 1 slaughter (shokhet) | 1 nurse (cashier) |
| 1 bass-singer ? (bassist) | 1 general servant |
| 1 teacher | 2 male-servants |

Aufschuß ist dieses Testament in adebus Jhro
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 Jurgel & fawigel in bürgerlichen der Luis Eskeles
 und hinfst Thonnet publicirnd, und von dem
 Manx Consistorio beschulten bei dem An,
 „Sach Erben abzugeben worden, welcher in
 der Schrift zu übergeben, und schon gewest
 der Hebräisch originale als auch der Transla-
 tum bei der Sautzlanj anzulegen beschulten,
 auch dem Interspiranten Abjuration zu untersch.
 „lon. 9. Martij 1753

pres. 22. Martij 1753

Copia

Aufschuß. Rabbinus Berend Gabriel Eskeles
 in der Schrift übergebenen Testamenti.



Below are cited selected parts from the last will of R. Berend Eskeles, which helps to characterize his personality and the circumstances of this epoch:

"In the name of God, this is to testify before God, today February 28, 1753 here in Vienna, that the witnesses undersigned at the end of this document, came to the chief rabbi Berend Eskeles and found him very weak on his sick-bed. In light of his condition, his conversation and his understanding was as lucid as any other healthy person one might finding walking in the market. We have examined him, and his mind is perfect and clear, and we found that he is in full comprehension. On yes he answered "yes", and on no he answered "no".

James L. Linn

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registered. and then about the subject,

Arnold gabriel Gleditsch Horvath

restained yagoyman Gerdard y his wife

Liberty of the Windward Maroon Jan 20. 1782

Georgsberg, am 1. März 1848

Dr. J. C. Höfer



mas. 2. 1857-75

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משה בן יצחק הכהן שני

...הוא לא יאמר שיש לו חלק בזה

Handwritten signature: *M. J. ...*

1. *Handwritten text in Tamil script, likely a signature or name.*

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הנהגתו ופיקודו על כלל הציוד וההגנה.

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Erdelichs Löwen Testament yfirdruckt

and George Washington, Virginia June 28th July 1782

Leichtschinnung

Interpreter

LINE 2

Line 2, the 'Austrian' line of the Eskeles family is doubtless the most famous and best documented branch of the family. Accurate documentation concerning the family's activities is available principally due to the prominent social and political status they enjoyed in Austria during the later half of the 19th century. I have no intention of writing the detailed history of this line, which could itself fill a book. I will rather try to recount only the main facts and data, emphasizing some personal and social aspects of the family.

10.2 R. Berend Berush Issakhar Eskeles

Born Olkusz 1691, died Vienna 9.3.1753

Sources: Encyclopedia Judaica, Mr. Paul J. Jacobi,

His last will in Hebrew and German.

ABD Kremsier (Kromeritz) at the age of eighteen from 1710 to 1719, and also ABD Prossnitz. From 1717 ABD Mainz and from 1718 also Kur-Mainzer-Landesrabbiner. He succeeded his father as ABD Nikolsburg and as Moravian Landesrabbiner, and in 1725 also his father-in-law, the famous Samson Wertheimer, as Hungarian Ober- und Landesrabbiner.

Around 1719 he settled in Vienna as court purveyor, supplying arms and other commodities. Although the dowry from his first wife provided substantial initial wealth, remuneration from his prominent position in the court significantly enhanced his personal holdings. Concurrently, he administered to his rabbinical offices from Vienna. When consulted by the Moravian authorities in 1727, he suggested that the precept forbidding Jews from shaving with a razor be enforced. Furthermore, he advocated distinctive dress for Jews, except during travels.

On the basis of the so called 311 Moravian Statutes, introduced in 1661, he saw to compilation and translation of the "resolutions" (statutes), posed till 1748 by the Synods of the Vaadei Kehillot of Moravia and finally approved in 1754. They were published in their German translation as "Statuten der jüdischen Gemeinde" in Maehren (1880). His novellae on 'Tractae Berakhot' remained unpublished. Using his influence in the court, he successfully supported Diego d'Aguilar's efforts to prevent the expulsion of the Jews from Moravia in 1741. However, he was unable to exercise his influence neither in Prag nor in Bohemia in 1744-45.

R. Berend Issakhar Eskeles established the Eskeles - Foundation for Torah. It was dedicated to teaching Torah to children and to providing dowries for brides. Endowed with 50,000 florins, it was one of the largest foundations in the Habsburg empire. When, in 1782, the government ordered that it should be used for the newly founded Normalschulen (public schools), Berend sued the government.

An agreement was reached guaranteeing the funds be appropriated according to the original charter of the foundation, as well as for Normalschulen. Berend doubled the capital in 1811. In 1839 he altered the statutes, adding a donation funding the studies on behalf of five Moravian university-trained rabbis and ten students. The latter were required to be of Jewish faith at the time they were awarded the scholarship, but they did not lose their privilege if they were later baptized. Of the two trustees one was to be a member of the Eskeles family regardless of his religious affiliations. This trustee was charged with the responsibility of appointing a second which was required to be a Jewish Moravian resident. This second trustee was subject to replacement if, posterior to the appointment, he were baptized. The foundation continued to exist in Brno (Bruenn) until the 1930s.

2.7 Dana Wilsker
b. 4.9.1963 Haifa

I was born in 1963 and spent my childhood in Neve-Magen, a suburb of Tel Aviv, Haifa, The Hague (The Netherlands), Beer Sheva and, finally, returned to Haifa. Throughout these years we lived in 8 houses and I attended 7 different schools.

After my compulsory service in the army I returned to Haifa where I live since (a desperate attempt, perhaps, to 'settle down'. During the past years I studied special education, alternative medicine and I am now completing my M.A. in movement therapy. I have done play therapy with autistic children, have been practicing reflexology and, recently, began working as a movement therapist with special education children and with post psycho adults.



1990 - Gathering of the Eskeles family living in Israel.

3.3 Shoshanna Wilsker born Eskeles

b. 14.4.1936 Berlin

I was born in Berlin in 1936. In 1937, our father 'dispatched' us - my mother and my two brothers, Zeev and David - to Eretz Israel - Palestine, while staying for another year in Germany, in order to liquidate his business.

The family settled on Mount Carmel in Haifa, where I spent a happy childhood; I went to the Ha'reali High School and joined the 'Hatsofim' Boy Scouts.

At the age of 18 years I joined the army for my compulsory service in the framework of the Nakhal, and after the initial military training, I spent most of the service in agricultural work in several Kibbutz.



Shoshana Wilsker born Eshkolot

In 1958 I married 3.7 Mark Wilsker and we moved to Rekhovot, where our daughter Nira was born. In 1962 we moved to a suburb of Tel Aviv where our second daughter, Dana, was born. In 1966 we returned to Haifa.

From 1972 to 1977 we lived in The Netherlands, where Mark worked for the Israeli Chemical Group of Companies. One year after our return to Israel I divorced.

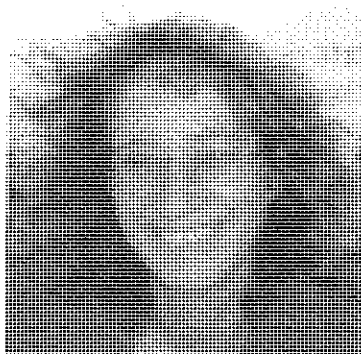
Since 1979 I am working as medical secretary in the Carmel Hospital, Haifa.

2.6 Nira Sobel, born Wilsker

born 23.7.1959

I was born in Haifa and until 1972, I lived also in Rekhovot, Nathanya and Neve Magen, a suburb of Tel Aviv. In 1972 our family moved to Holland, where I studied at the British School of The Hague, graduating in 1977.

Back in Israel, I served 2 years in the army and then studied at Haifa University English and French Literature (B.A.), Counseling, Special Education and Philosophy (M.A.) and later, also Creative Drama and Psychodrama.



Nira Sobel born Wilsker

In 1988 I married Daniel Sobel and, together with a number of friends, we formed a community at the outskirts of Haifa, where my husband opened a carpentry shop and where our two daughters, Elya and Avigail, were born.

In 1992 we moved to Mishav Yodfat in the Lower Galilee. Since then, I have been working as an Educational Counselor and Psychodramatist in the High School in Karmiel.

2.3 Talya Ravid, born Eshkolot

b. 28.11.1954 in Mishmar Haemek (Afula)

Talya absolved the Alliance High School in Haifa. In 1974 she married Menakhem Ravid with whom she had two daughters, Efrat and Mikhal. They divorced in 1980.

Talya studied accountancy and today, she works at RAFAEL.

Her daughter Efrat does her compulsory military service, Mikhal is still at school.



1995 - 2.3 Talya Ravid born Eshkolot



1995 - 1.8 Efrat Ravid



1995 - 1.9 Mikhal Ravid

2.4 Itamar Eshkolot

b. 13.4.1959 in Ashkelon (Rekhovot)

Itamar absolved the Technical High School at Technion, Haifa, path of refrigeration and air conditioning.

He served as officer during his military service and is still acting reserve Major.

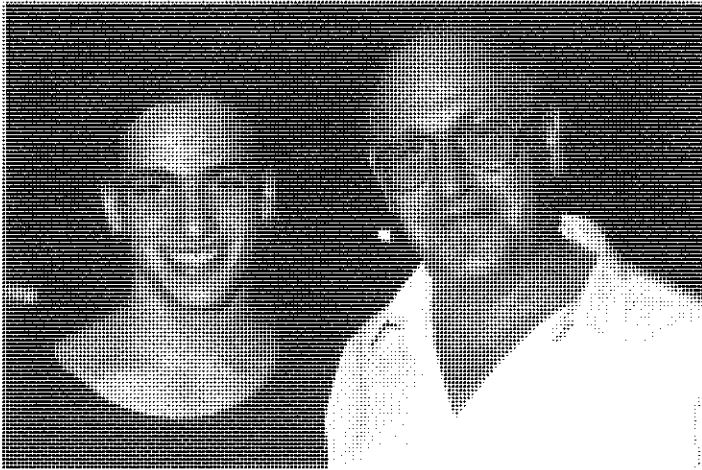
For about ten years now, he runs his own air condition business.

Itamar married in 1987 Sarah Tuchman with whom he has two children, a son - Niv and a daughter - Shaked.

Sarah works as teacher in special education.



1995 - 2.4 Itamar, 2.105 Sarah, 1.58 Niv and 1.96 Shaked Eshkolot



1995 - 2.12 Mikhael Weiser and 1.7 Alon Weiser



1994 - 1.6 Merav Alon born Weiser.

Their daughter Merav is married with Ran Alon.
 Their son Alon has graduated the ORT professional high school, path of computers. He will very soon begin his military service.
 Their young son Amir is still at school.



1993 - 1.36 Amir Weiser



1994 - Wedding of 1.5 Merav Weiser and 1.111 Ran Alon

2.1 Rachel Pessakh, born Eshkolot
b. 27.6.1944 in Mishmar Haemek (Afula)

Rachel is member of Kibbutz Mishmar Haemek. She studied education and specialized in education of small children. For many years she teaches in this field in the 'Kibbutzim Seminar' and in Kibbutzim in the neighborhood.

In 1963 she married Shimshon Benbenishti, who was killed in the Yom Kippur war; from this marriage, her first son Tamir was born.

She married again in 1970 and from this marriage she has four children, Shani, Amit, Ofir and Ady.

Her husband Hillel Pessakh is painter. He studied 'Product Design' and works in his field at TAMA, the factory of plastic products belonging to the Kibbutzim Mishmar Haemek and Galed.



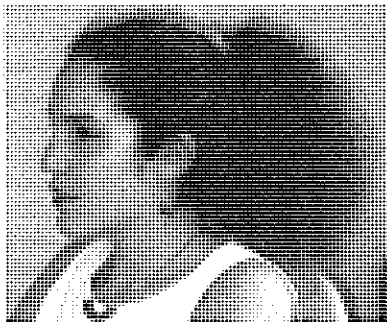
1995 - 2.10 Hillel Pessakh.



1995 - 2.1 Rachel Pessakh born Eshkolot.



1995 - 1.1 Tamir Benbenishti.



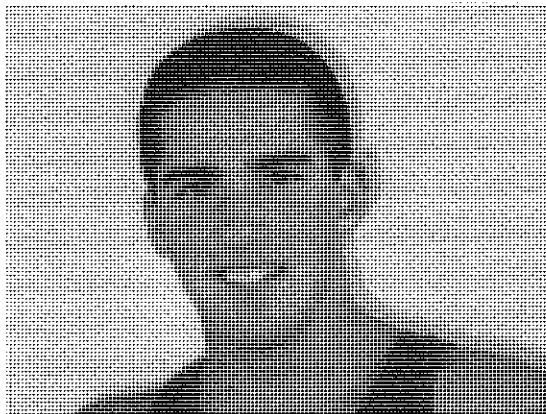
Shani Pessakh studies graphic design; Amit Pessakh does his compulsory service in the army, as officer. Ofir has finished school and, until he, too, will join the army, he is educator in the youth movement Hashomer Hatzair. Ady is still at school.

1995 - 1.2 Shani Pessakh

Tamir Benbenishti is member of Kibbutz Mishmar Haemek. He is married with Mikhal Har; they have one son Paz.



1995 - 1.3 Amit Pessakh.



1995 - 1.4 Ofir Pessakh.

3.6 Mania Eshkolot born Galperin

Born 23.4.1929 in Kaunas (Lithuania)

Source: David Eshkolot

Daughter of Sonia born Grudsen and Max Galperin. In 1941, in World War II, her father and brother Liova were killed by the Nazis. Mania and her mother survived the Ghetto in Kaunas (Kovno) and several working camps and after two years they spent in refugees' camps in Europe, arrived illegally (Aliya Beth) in Israel in April 1947.

During the years 1948-1955 she worked in the Ministry of Finance, first as short-hand typist and from 1952 on as secretary to the Minister of Finance. At the same time she completed her High School studies.

As from 1955 she lives in Haifa and from 1974 on she works at Bank Leumi Lelsrael as Assistant Manager of the Personnel Department.



1995 - 3.6 Mania Eshkolot born Galperin

2.8 Yaron Eshkolot

Born 21.6.1955 in Haifa

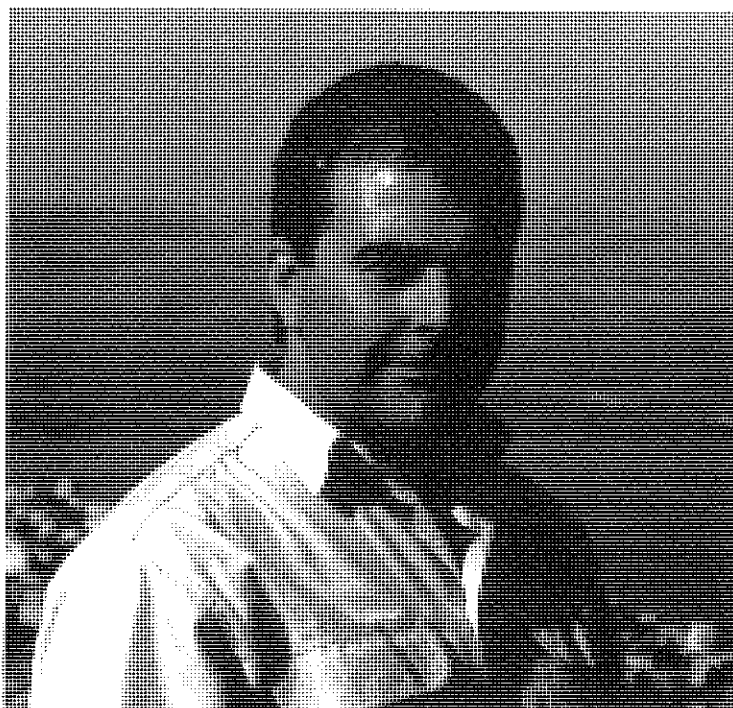
Source: David Eshkolot

Son of 3.6 Mania and 3.2 David Eshkolot. After graduating from High School in 1973 he joined the army where he served for about 5 years - both compulsory and regular service. He left the army in 1979 as Captain.

Yaron studied Communications, Journalism and Tourism and has a degree as Tourism Expert. In addition, he studied Business Management at the Business School of Tel Aviv University and specialized in Marketing.

As from 1986 he owns and manages a business dealing with Marketing Consultancy in the field of Tourism and is developing countryside-accommodation for tourists in Israel.

Yaron has one daughter, Natally, born 26.9.1984. He divorced her mother Narda and is today married to Dorith Lev born Saporta on 2.1.1957, who has two children from her late husband: Khen born 27.7.1983 and Yarden born 26.2.1986.



1995 - 2.8 Yaron Eshkolot



In September 1945, after the war ended, I came legally to Palestine by boat, together with my mother, my brother and one of my sisters. The eldest, married, with a child, returned to France.

The life here was, naturally, completely different from everything we could draw in our imagination, and very far from our life today.

I went to high school in Kibbutz Mishmar Haemek, where my teachers did their utmost in order to help me to overcome the arduousness of a new language and a completely new world. I feel that they succeeded and I am grateful to them.

1979 - 3.5 Rachel Renée Eshkolot
born Fleischer

3.2 David Eshkolot

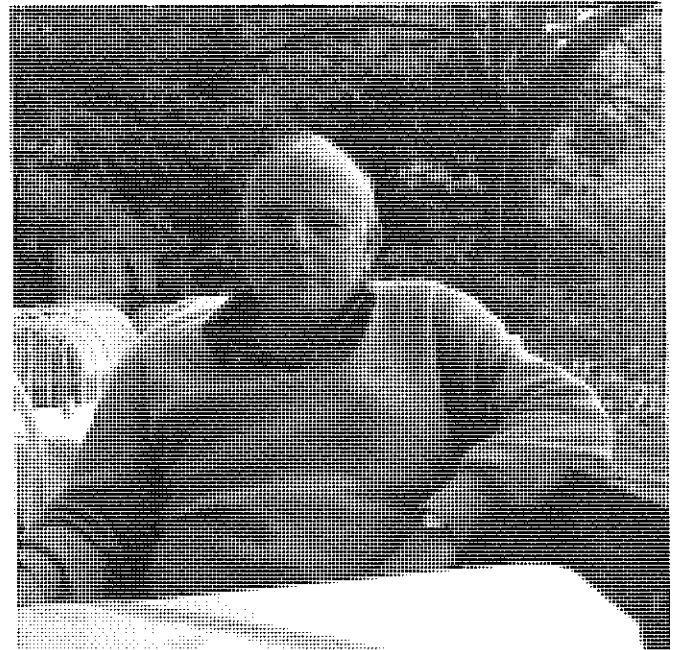
Born 22.5.1922 in Berlin

Source: David Eshkolot

Son of Olga and Otto Eskeles. Immigrated to Israel together with his family in July 1937. Attended the 'HaReali' High School in Haifa from which he graduated in 1947. In autumn of that year, on the eve of independence of the State of Israel, he joined the 'Palmakh', fought during the Independence War in the 'Yiftakh' brigade in Galilee and central regions of the country. He left the army in 1949 as officer. During one year he was member of Kibbutz 'Palmakhim'.

In 1950 he proceeded to Jerusalem to study Law at the Hebrew University, from which he graduated in 1955 as Bachelor of Law. He performed several administrative and legal jobs. Most of the time he worked with ZIM, the Israeli Shipping Company, from 1988 to 1993 was employed as lawyer in the Ministry of Justice and in 1993 joined a Law Office in Haifa.

In 1952 he married 3.6 Mania Galperin; they have a son, 2.8 Yaron Eshkolot and a daughter, 2.5 Mikhel Eshkolot.



1995 - 3.2 David Eshkolot

3.5 Rachel (Renée) Eshkolot born Fleischer

Born 3.9.1933 in Sedan (France)

Source: Rachel Eshkolot

My parents left Poland for Germany in 1910, trying to build a better life. They settled in Karlsruhe, where four children were born. My father was a small tradesman, dealing with electrical appliances, mainly radio sets, who earned just enough to enable the family to live a modest life. In 1931 they moved to Sedan, in France, where my sister and me joined the family. We were now three boys and three girls, the elder being born in 1917 and the youngest (myself), in 1933. In 1937 we moved again (the Wandering Jew) to Pas-de Calais, in the northern part of France. I have no special memories, but of a warm and lively home, until the break out of the war, in 1939.

I remember the bombing and the day we had to flee and to leave behind our house and belongings. We burned all documents and photographs, trying to hide the fact that we were Jews, and my father drove us in his car to Paris, where no fuel could be found. We continued by train and bus to the south of France, where we lived poorly in a small village, being the only Jewish family in the whole area, fearing every step of the German army, and of the French government as well. One of my brothers died in 1941 at the age of 13 - the only physician in the area (a French, of course) being too busy to take care of a Jewish boy.

Things became worse and my sister and I were hidden in a convent situated in the vicinity. When the nuns discovered that we are Jewish we had to leave and went back home, to the village. In 1942 my eldest brother and his wife, who married before the war and stayed behind us in the north of France, decided to join us. On their way, in the train, they were arrested by the Germans and sent to Auschwitz. They perished there, she in the laboratory and he, on the electric wire when he was notified about her death. In February 1943, two french policemen knocked on our door. They were sent to fetch my father - just for a few days, a matter of routine, and he will then come back. We never saw him again, of course. He died in Maidanek.

Once more we moved, clearly knowing what will happen to us after we saw the German entering the village and the mayor bending before the 'heros'. This time we were helped by a Jewish organization trying to send out of France as many Jews as possible. In May 1943, wearing two or three dresses to free our hands, we crossed the border to Switzerland at night, walking in muddy fields and endless forests. We had luck not to be turned down by the Swiss policemen who met us on the border, but let us enter what we thought to be the paradise. It is sad to say, but many of our friends were not allowed to cross the border and were sent back to France. Almost all of them were caught and killed by the Germans.

After spending six months in the Red Cross Center in Geneva, the family had to split and I was sent to a Swiss family in Vevey, located near the Lake of Geneva, who was paid by the Red Cross to keep me. Many Jewish children stayed with Swiss families, while their parents were detained in refugees camps which were created for this purpose.



1952 - 3.5 Rachel Renée Eshkolot born Fleischer.

and later, as company commander in combat units of the 'Golani' brigade, and took part in most of the battles the brigade fought.

This book is not intended as framework of an account of the war of independence, but I would like to mention one figure, in order to demonstrate the severity and hardness of this war: from 240 graduates of our officer's course in May 1948, 120 had been killed in battle three months later. I was lucky enough to be wounded only once and to be 'almost killed' three times.

At the end of the independence war my unit became motorized and since, I became involved in the creation of the armor corps of the Israeli Army. In 1951 I spent one year at the French Armor School in Saumur and then commanded the first armor officer's course in Israel.

In 1953 I left the army for political reasons - as member of the 'Hashomer Hatzair' I was denied promotion, but was called back in 1955. The Kibbutz did not want to agree to my return to the army, so that I had to leave the Kibbutz. We were very short of money - at this time leaving members of a Kibbutz received no indemnity at all - and, in order to balance our budget, we started with translations for the Ministry of Defence, another career which we took up again 35 years later. After almost 10 years as in combat, staff and training duties, including the 1956 war, I went for two years to the Ivory Coast in 1962, as head of the Israeli Military Mission. I retired from the army in 1963 in the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

In 1964 I headed a team of young ex-officers for a year in Madagascar in forestry survey for a private french company and then worked in Israel in private business. In 1967 I was called back to the army, participated in the six days war, was wounded at the Suez canal after the end of the war, at the beginning of the so called 'war of weakening', and stayed until 1970 with the army. Among other duties, I built-up the Singapore Armored Forces, including training of the Singapore officers in Israel and in Singapore.



Retired again from the army in 1970 I had several jobs, some of them not very satisfactory. My most interesting job was for about 3 years as secretary and part of the time also as chairman of the league against religious coercion, which gave me the opportunity to combine organizational skills with political beliefs. In 1979 I worked for almost 4 years as administrative manager in a big Israeli construction company in Nigeria. I retired again from professional activity in 1983.

In 1984 I began working on the Eskeles genealogy and very soon discovered that I have to computerize my work. Having won interest in computers and gained the necessary skill in word processing, and having been initiated by potential clients which applied to our knowledge of languages, we started in 1985 to develop a translation business, which is growing since all the time and keeps us very busy.

Some words about my family: in 1942 I married 3.4 Hanna Wolf and two years later our daughter 2.1 Rachel Eshkolot was born. We divorced in 1947. In 1952, I married 3.5 Rachel (Renée) Fleischer. We have three children, 2.2 Ayala, 2.3 Talya and 2.4 Itamar.

1989 - 3.1 Zeev Eshkolot.

3.1 Zeev Eshkolot (Wolfgang Hermann Eskeles)

Born 15.1.1920 in Berlin

Source: Zeev Eshkolot

Among the memories I keep with me is a childhood which took place in a wealthy family living in a large, 10 rooms flat in one of the most elegant residential quarters of Berlin, situated at a two minutes walk from the Kurfürstendamm. In spite of our excellent financial situation - my father, born in a poor family, was a successful banker who had made his fortune by hard work - there was no 'show-off'. My mother played the piano - a Blüthner grand piano which had its place of honor in a special music room where I was not allowed without special permission - and both, my mother and my father were involved in cultural and social activities.

When I was eight years old, my mother gave birth to my brother David, and passed away from a heart attack. It took my father many years to overcome the death of his beloved wife. We used to spend holidays together and went also often to visit my aunt Frieda and my two cousins Hans and Hermann Goldschmidt, who lived in Munich.

When I was 10 years old I entered the "Collège Français", which was considered to be one of the best High Schools in Berlin, many of the students being sons of foreign diplomats who served in Berlin. The language of instruction in many subjects was French. I believe that the emphasis on languages - French, English, Greek and Latin, as well as the international atmosphere of the school, have stimulated my love for languages and are one of the reasons for the cosmopolitic orientation in my later life.

At the age of eleven I joined the Zionist youth movement 'Werkleute' which became later, in Israel, part of the 'Hashomer Hatzair'. The 'Werkleute' became almost the most important thing of my life, even more than school.

Hitler came to power on my thirteenth birthday. I still remember the time I spent at school together with pupils who were members of the 'Hitlerjugend' and with teachers who were members of the Nazi party. My class teacher was member of the SS. Luckily, until we left Germany in 1937, I never suffered personally from persecution, neither did a member of our close family. The restrictions on Jews had a general character, such as laws concerning economical and professional activity, marriage with non Jews, civil rights, etc., but we were not hurt in the first years of the Nazi regime.

At school, there was an equitable relationship with fellow students and teachers, Jewish pupils being excluded only from some activities of Nazi-German-Aryan character. But it was clear to us, as it was to everybody, that the noose was tightening and that it was only a question of time and timing when to leave Germany.

In 1932, my father married Paula Kronheimer who, with much success, undertook the very difficult task to become the adoptive mother of my brother David and myself. In 1936, my sister Shoshanna was born. The same year I had to leave High School and I made an apprenticeship in the maintenance department of a big paper and cardboard factory, which belonged to a Jew.

In 1937 we left Germany and came to Eretz Israel. My father remained another year in Germany, in order to liquidate his bank, and joined us in 1938. All these years, until the creation of a Jewish State in 1948, there were severe restrictions on immigration - Aliya - to Palestine, except for owners of a 'capitalist certificate'. At this time, the fact of possessing one thousand Pounds Sterling made you a 'capitalist' and enabled you to obtain an immigration certificate. We came on such 'capitalist certificate' and settled in Haifa. I decided to go back to school and was admitted at the Technical High School of the Technion. We arrived end July 1937 and school began end September. I plunged with a private teacher, a fellow student of my future class, into Hebrew and after two months of intensive study, 10 hours per day, I mastered the Hebrew language. I became very soon active in the 'Hagana', the illegal Jewish defense organization. This was the beginning of my later military career.

In 1939, I graduated from the Technical High School, worked for almost one year as welder in the construction of the Haifa Refineries. In 1940, together with my group of Hashomer Hatzair, I joined Kibbutz Mishmar Haemek, where I remained as member until 1956.

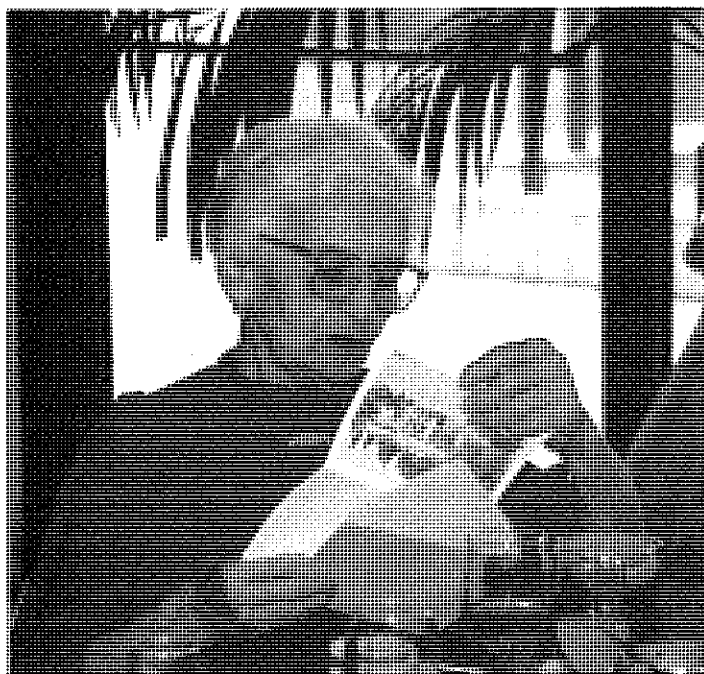
In 1948, the 'Hagana' sent me to an officer's course, which terminated a short time before the declaration of the Jewish State and the invasion of some parts of former Palestine by the Arab armies. I served as platoon commander

From 1926 to 1928, she works as social worker in different Jewish communities and in 1928 she begins her career in the main, central Jewish welfare organization in Germany (Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Deutschen Juden), as referent for social work among the youth and as editor of the institution's periodical.

In the Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle she met my father, Otto Eskeles and in 1932, they got married.

Paula had many friends, Jews and gentiles, among them leading personalities in Jewish social affairs, such as Georg Lubinski - later Giora Lotan, founder and head of the National Insurance (Bituakh Leumi) in Israel, Georg (Giora) Josephtal, later Minister of Labor and Social Affairs in Israel, and many others with whom she remained in close relationship after her Aliya to Palestine.

She adopted Otto's two sons, myself and my brother David, and made with great success every effort to replace our mother, who had died years ago.



In 1936, our sister Shoshanna was born and in 1937, we emigrated to Israel. She learned very quickly Hebrew and in the first years after her Aliya she worked as social worker on behalf of the Jewish Agency in a camp for Olim at Atlit, near Haifa.

Paula and Otto's home in Haifa remained during all the years, until Otto's death in 1960, a center for all members of the family and their many friends. Paula was very much interested in literature and poetry and even made translations from Hebrew into German.

Age was not friendly with her and slowly she declined, mainly mentally. All of us tried always to remember her in her long years of physical beauty and intellectual brightness. She passed away in 1994, at the age of 92 years.

1992 - 4.6 Paula Eskeles born Kronheimer.



1992 - Celebration of 4.6 Paula Eskeles' 90th birthday.

4.8 Arthur Hermann Eskeles

Born 29.3 1899 Offenbach, died 1941 in the Holocaust

Sources: Zeev Eshkolot, Hans Goldschmidt (s. above)

We know little about Arthur Eskeles. It is known that in his youth he was a great motorcycle fan and he enjoyed life. He married 4.61 Grete Stern, who came from a very rich family. They lived in Frankfurt in a beautiful flat which was arranged and furnished by an architect, an unusual luxury in those times.

We have copies of all applications they submitted to the finance authorities in Frankfurt in 1939, soliciting emigration to England and the U.S.A., and of the permission which was given to them after heavy payments of almost all their property to the authorities for "tax evasion, expiation payment and other obligations (sonstige Verpflichtungen einschliesslich Reichsfluchtsteuer und Sühnezahlung)". The exact circumstances are unknown. For some reason, they never emigrated. The files from Yad Vashem, which are confirmed by the International Tracing Service of the Red Cross, indicate that they were deported in 1941 to Litzmanstadt, where they perished.

Der Oberbürgermeister
Frankfurt a.M., den 19.7.39
Ausfertigung
Unbedenklichkeitsbescheinigung
Der Oberbürgermeister
Stadtschreiber
19.7.1939
Den Eheleuten A. u. L. o. L. o. L. o. Arthur Eskeles geb. 29.3.99
A. Grete Stern geb. Stern geb. 6.7.06
Frankfurt a.M., Feldbergstrasse 9
wobei
wird hiermit bescheinigt, dass
- der Ausstellung eines Reisepasses -
- der Auswanderung -
- der Überführung des Vermögens ins Ausland -
- zur Vorlage bei der Devisenstelle -
gemeindesteuerliche Bedenken nicht entgegenstehen.
Im Auftrage:
Seon. 8. 39

1939 - 'Certificate of no objection' (to emigration, etc.), issued to 4.8 Arthur Eskeles and 4.61 Grete Eskeles born Stern; both perished in the Holocaust.

4.6 Paula Eskeles born Kronheimer

Born 28.3.1902 Fürth, Died 11.9.1994, Haifa

Source: Zeev Eshkolot

Paula was born in Fürth, a small, not specially beautiful town, near Nürnberg in Bavaria. Her father owned a stationery business. Her mother, who was a very charming woman, had 12 brothers and sisters. The relationship in her mother's family was very close and had an enormous influence on Paula.

Paula, who was extremely intelligent and attractive, hated her ugly home town, the 'petit bourgeois' atmosphere and tried to live her own life at her belief, but still within the limits and respect of high school and her parents house.

In 1921, she graduated from high school and decided to become a social worker. She studied philosophy for one year at the Erlangen University, worked as volunteer for Catholic organizations in legal assistance for youth. In 1922, she started to study political sciences and social work at Munich University and then, went to study at Köln (Cologne) University. In 1923, she got her diploma of social worker. In 1926, she graduated from Köln University as Doctor in Political Sciences (at this time, Sociology was in Germany apparently a branch of political sciences).



1935 - 4.6 Paula Eskeles born Kronheimer.

4.3 Joseph Max Eskeles

Born 3.11.1879 Offenbach, died after 1945 New York

Source: Zeev Eshkolot

Joseph was a bachelor all his life. He worked as a salesman of accessories in the leather industry. He probably continued in the business of his father. In 1938 he was imprisoned for one and a half months in the concentration camp of Buchenwald, but was released and came to Palestine in 1940. He did not stay there, for he later emigrated to the U.S.A. and settled down in New York. We know that during the years 1951 and 1952 he lived in a board and care facility on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, NY., where also his cousin Max Speier lived, but do not know what were his activities in New York and when he died.

Mr. 528.

Offenbach, am 9. Juli 1881.

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der
 Verantwortliche und ~~_____~~ *he* tannt,
 der Ehemann Moritz Eskeles ~~_____~~

wohnhaft zu Offenbach in der Landstrasse Nr. 20
 israelitischer Religion, und zeigte an, daß von der
 Jeanette Eskeles, geboren Frank,
 seiner Ehefrau, ~~_____~~ israelitischer Religion,
 wohnhaft ~~_____~~ *he* ist

zu Offenbach in seiner Wohnung
 am *Freitag* den 9. Juli des Jahres
 tausend acht hundert *achtzig* ist und *Freitag, Neunzehnter*
 um *Neun* Uhr ein Kind *geboren* worden sei, welches *den* Vornamen
Alfred
 erhalten habe.

Vorgelesen, geprüft und *unterzeichnet*
Moritz Eskeles

Der Standesbeamte
L. Hartung
Reichmann

1881 - Birth registration of 4.4 Alfred Eskeles, died 3 years old.



In the beginning of the thirties, his ties with Zionist organizations became stronger and he decided to emigrate to Palestine. The timing of the emigration was propitious because he was absolutely aware of the hopeless situation of the German Jews. He realized that time was running out for the Jews in Germany. Also, in order to emigrate, he had to liquidate his assets, sell his partnership and transfer his money out of Germany.

His wife Paula and the three children Zeev, David and Shoshanna emigrated in 1937 to Palestine, he remained in Germany in order to liquidate his business and followed one year later.

In Palestine, and later Israel, his professional skill and experience proved beneficial in cultivating a business in connection with the transfer of Jewish property from Germany and the countries allied with Germany. It was never a big business, but was enough to provide the family. The new culture and business mentality in Palestine did not necessarily resonate with his character and conceptions of business and life. He continued to be active in various public institutions and organizations until his death in 1960.

Otto was a hard working man, who believed in honesty and efficiency. He believed that one can and has to earn one's money through hard work and honest business. At the same time, he felt it was one's duty to be active in the community and he was always ready to help people, personally or through welfare institutions. However, he did not tolerate being 'cheated' by people who wanted to take advantage of the public or of philanthropic organizations, without making the necessary effort to help themselves. Unlike many other German Jews who came to Palestine/Israel at a relatively advanced age, he succeeded to learn and read Hebrew literature and to take part in the local cultural life.

One of his characteristics was his reserved and prudent manner when analyzing situations, making decisions, and acting upon his convictions. Humble in his aspirations, he never abused his connections with various welfare and public activities. For his honesty and sincerity he was heralded as a popular man welcomed by everyone. His personality should serve as a model for his descendants.

4.5 Olga Katherina Eskeles born Schönfeld

Born 17.10.1891 Berlin, died 22.5.1928 Berlin

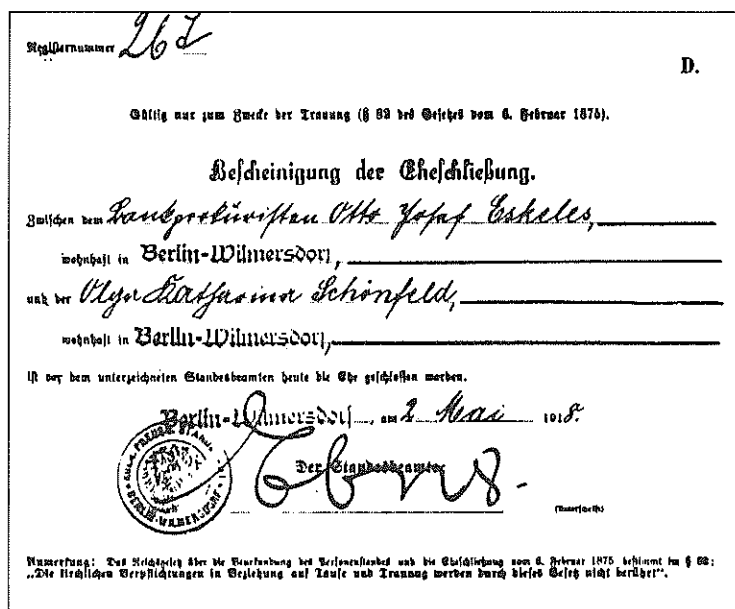
Source: Zeev Eshkolot, Hans Goldschmidt (see above)

We know very little about Olga Eskeles; all the documents concerning her have been lost. The only remaining document is a diary she wrote during a relatively short period of time of her life - between the age of sixteen and a half and eighteen. The diary, however, should be interpreted independently, for it expresses a very particular state of mind, during a relatively short and difficult period of her life. The entries describe her feelings after the death of her mother, covering as well the second marriage of her father to a woman she despised. Considering the emotional pressures, the entries should not be interpreted as valid testimony on behalf of her character. The feelings she expresses are quite contradictory to her kind and balanced character, described by all those who have known her.



1917 - 4.5 Olga Schoenfeld one year before her marriage to 5.1 Otto Eskeles.

Olga was brought up in a wealthy, assimilated Jewish family in Berlin. Her father was a "Justizrat" - a title of honor for respected lawyers - 4.62 Julius David Schönfeld. She had an older sister, Josephine, (nicknamed Pepi) and an older brother named Reinhold. Olga was a beautiful, very educated, highly intelligent and musically inclined young woman. We do not know anything about her activities during the eight years between graduation from high-school until she married Otto. Her first son, Wolfgang - Zeev Eshkolot, was born one and a half years after her marriage. Heart disease and her overall failing health should have prevented her from having more children. She died during childbirth from a heart attack while having her second son David in 1928.



1918 - Civil marriage certificate of 4.1 Otto Eskeles and 4.5 Olga Schoenfeld.

We do not know when and how he advanced from 'Prokurist' at Gebrüder Heymann to become a partner, and how he financed this partnership, but it must have been not long after the end of the war. We can only assume that the post war economic situation, high-inflation rate and the hard transition to normal conditions, created possibilities which he was able to use to his advantage.



Otto was a wealthy man already in the beginning of the twenties. He and his wife lived in a very big and beautiful apartment, had many friends and enjoyed an intensive cultural life. Otto never wanted to 'show off' his wealth and never exhibited the doubtful manners of the 'nouveaux riches'. He was always conscious of the hardship of his youth, and the trying circumstances his mother suffered in order to raise and educate her children in a culturally rich and morally sound household.

1935 - 4.1 Otto Eskeles.

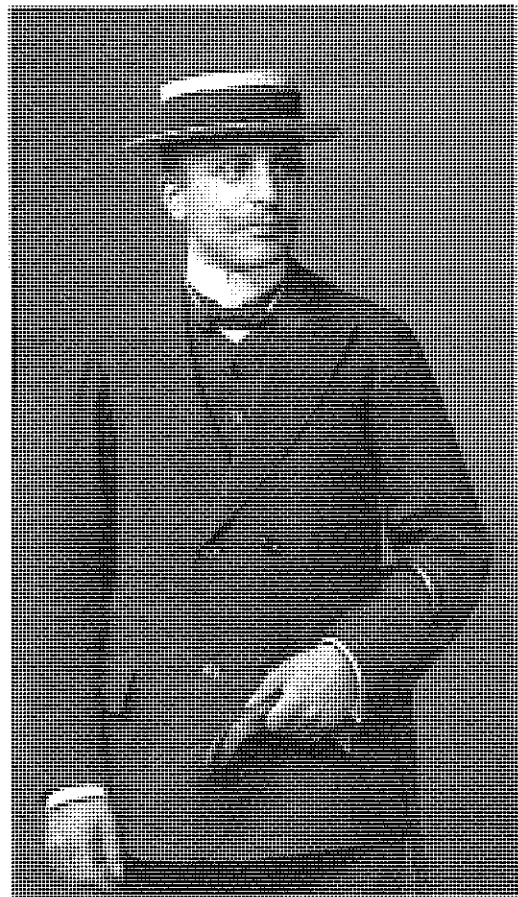
On the other hand, Olga Eskeles, his wife, came from a rich and highly cultured family, and her cultural activity was part of her education and character.

It is significant for Otto (and many other wealthy people of this generation), that he never had a car of his own. There was one car, a Mercedes with a driver, belonging to the bank, which served the three partners, mainly for the needs of the business. The family depended mostly on public transportation, bus, underground, city-railway and sometimes a taxicab.

Otto kept Jewish tradition and attended Jewish holiday services at the synagogue (Oranienburgerstrasse). However, he did not keep kashrut and he worked on Saturdays. He was very active in several Jewish institutions, mainly in the 'Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Deutschen Juden' and 'Kinderhilfe', both Jewish welfare foundations. At the 'Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle' he met 4.6 Dr. Paula Kronheimer, a social worker who, in 1932, became his second wife. In 1936 a daughter, Shoshanna, was born.

He served in a combat unit on the eastern front, was wounded and was awarded the Iron Cross, second class. He was discharged from the army in 1918 and in the same year married 4.5 Olga Katherina Schoenfeld. They had two children Zeev (Wolfgang Hermann) born 1920 and David (Robert David) born 1928. Olga died in childbirth while having David, a very hard blow for Otto who was very attached to her.

We do not know where he worked from 1907 until 1916. Records indicate that during this time he was recruited to the German army. His armed services identification information details his profession as an "Authorized Bank Officer" (Bankprokurist). Notably, he occupied a relatively high position after only 9 years of work in this profession. After the war he became a partner in a private bank, Gebrüder Heymann, but we do not know if he had a position in the same bank prior to the war.



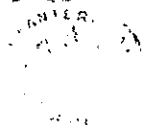
1900 - 4.1 Otto Eskeles

Vorläufiges Besitzzeugnis.

Ihre Ähren d. Maj. des Kaiser ist die
Stabskabine Eskeles

durch den Divisionskommandeur der 18.
L. Infanterie Generalleutnant Seibel
das Eisene Kreuz II. Klasse
am 28. IV. 17 verliehen worden.

Im Felde den 8. Januar 1918.



Beck
Hauptmann v. Hoffm.

1917 - Certificate of the 'Iron Cross 2nd Class' awarded to Otto Eskeles in World War I.

No.

J. LOEWENHERZ

DEPESCHEN-ADRESSE:

HERZBANK.

BERLIN N.W.

DOROTHEENSTRASSE II

20. Febr. 1904

Herrn Citta Eckel

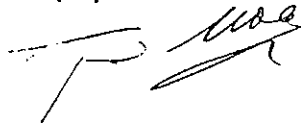
Offenbach 7. H.

Riederer Str. 24.

Ist anfangs Ihr Bewerbungs-Schreiben vom 11. c. sowie Ihren Brief vom 17. c. und bestätige Ihnen hierdurch meine Mittheilung an die beiden Herren, die sich in Ihrem Interesse verwendet haben. Dieser Mittheilung zufolge können Sie am 1. April c. als Lehrling in mein Geschäft eintreten. Keine Bedingungen sind, das Sie sich bestreben, während der Zeit bis zu Ihrem Eintritt Ihre Handschrift durch stetigen Unterrichtsunterricht zu vervollkommen und nachher während der drei Lehrejahre sich durch Aufmerksamkeit, Fleiß und Gewissenhaftigkeit meine Zufriedenheit zu erwerben und in Ihrem eigenen Interesse etwas Nützliches zu lernen.

Ihrer gefl. Bestätigung über Ihren Eintritt am 1. April c. sehe ich bis spätestens 25. c. entgegen und zeichne

hochachtungsvoll
pt. pa. J. Loewenherz.



A.

Nr. 666.

Offenbach, am 18. August 1886.

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der
Berechtigter nach

Selbst,

der Kaufmann Hermann Eskeles,

wohnhaft zu Offenbach, Kreisamt Offenbach, Nr. 11.

Herr Eskeles, Religion, und zeigte an, daß von der

Magdalen Eskeles, geborenen Eskeles, früher Eskeles,

Herr Eskeles, Religion,

wohnhaft zu Offenbach,

zu Offenbach, im Jahre 1886,

am 18. August 1886, geboren ist.

Das Kind ist ein Knabe, geboren am 18. August 1886.

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Offenbach d. M. am 18. August 1886.
 Gemäß § 1 des Gesetzes vom
 27. August 1886 ist der Otto Eskeles
 als 1. Januar 1886 dem
 Geburtsort Eskeles, Kreisamt
 Offenbach, geboren.
 Der Standesbeamte.
 Herrmann Eskeles

Offenbach d. M. am 18. August 1886.
 Nach § 1 des Gesetzes vom
 27. August 1886 ist der Otto Eskeles
 als 1. Januar 1886 dem
 Geburtsort Eskeles, Kreisamt
 Offenbach, geboren.
 Der Standesbeamte.
 Herrmann Eskeles

Der Standesbeamte.
 Herrmann Eskeles

Der Standesbeamte

Herrmann Eskeles

Herrmann Eskeles

1886 - Birth registration of 4.1 Otto Eskeles.

In 1904, after graduating from high school in Offenbach, he came to Berlin. Apparently, he wanted to study law and/or business, but he did not have the necessary funds and applied for a job in a bank. We have a letter from Bank Loewenherz dated April 1, 1904 confirming his employment as an apprentice, "provided that he improves his handwriting and show attention, diligence and conscientiousness...". He probably started to work as an apprentice and, at the same time, pursued studies under a free student arrangement with the University of Berlin. From 1905 he was student at the faculty of law and graduated in 1907.

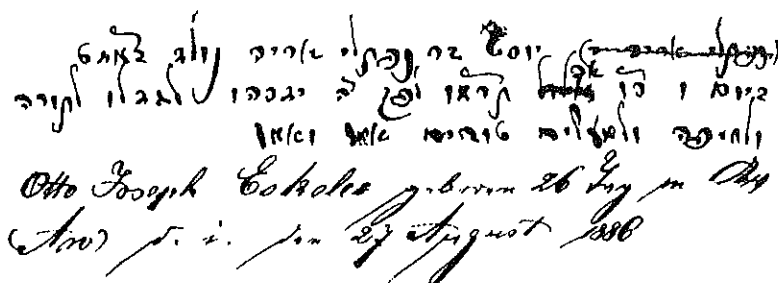
I 'met' Otto's and Olga's first son, Wolfgang alias Zeev, in the early Twenties. A 'Gouvernante' was in charge of him. A 'Gouvernante' is no 'Kindermaedchen' (nurse) - but was, what I should say, a high-class educator. In the early Twenties of this century these ladies - not girls - were recruited from daughters - for example - of the Prussian officer's class. They were protestant, of course, suitably educated, etc. They slept with their pupils in the same room, so that the mother at no time of the day or night had any inconvenience with their offspring. As mother Olga's health, or rather sleep, was rather delicate, this arrangement was of importance. In 1932 I came again to Berlin to work on my dissertation detailing the role of the Federal Reserve Bank in 1928 and its history."

4.1 Otto Joseph Eskeles

Born 27.8.1886 Offenbach/Main, died 7.8.1960 Haifa

Source: Zeev Eshkolot, Hans Goldschmidt (see above)

Otto's father, 5.1 Hermann Naftali Eskeles, died when Otto was not 2 years old. Otto and his sister Frieda were raised by their mother Mathilde (see above). He went to school in Offenbach, where he also completed his high school studies. Although later in his life he proved to be an extremely intelligent and bright man, his school reports were mediocre. He was exempted from sports for medical reasons, but we are unaware of the nature of his illness.



The image shows a handwritten birth registration document. The top part is written in Hebrew, and the bottom part is written in German. The German text reads: "Otto Joseph Eskeles geboren am 27. Aug. 1886 in Offenbach am Main. i. J. 1886". The Hebrew text is a translation of the German text.

1886 - Birth registration of Otto Eskeles in Hebrew and German, probably from the registers of the Jewish community of Offenbach.

Furthermore, you had to undergo vaccinations against typhus and sundry other diseases. Smallpox vaccinations were compulsory in Germany in any case.

I was vaccinated twice, at the age of two, and then again during my first school years at seven or eight. Furthermore, I recall that my mother had to acquire a supply of quinine (chocolate coated). I also recall that, after her return, my mother announced that she was not the only visitor at my uncle Otto's sickbed: his fiancée, 4.5 Olga Schoenfeld, was also there. They got married in 1919.

Easter 1922, I received an invitation from the young couple to visit them in Berlin. I was terribly excited. It was my first train journey alone across Germany. It was a postwar Germany suffering unbridled inflation, the aftermaths of the Treaty of Versailles, the economic and psychological effects of reparations, and the blackmarketeers. In light of these circumstances, I was surprised that I was allowed such a luxurious vacation. Berlin - the Center of Germany was just beginning to blossom, preparing its last splendor during the Weimar Republic. Otto met me at the Anhalter Bahnhof as aunt Olga was attending a concert listening to the "Forellen Quintett". This simple yet significant fact stands out in my mind, as it was the custom in the 'Province' for the whole family to gather at the station to welcome a visitor ... however young.

Aunt Olga, when I met her the next morning, made a terrific impression on me. She was petite, very pretty, with black hair parted in the center. She struck me as extremely alert and intelligent, disciplined and firm in her whole attitude. The flat in Meinekestrasse was immense. The Music Room in which the Grand Piano occupied almost the entire space, was forbidden ground for me. The delicate burgundy-colored carpet registered every footstep and would require careful daily care to restore it to its perfection. Adjoining, was the Salon, which housed an immense library. It was there that I acquainted myself with "Herzl's Diaries", with his "Altneuland", and many, many other books which were 'taboo' in our house. My father who was a good Jew, grew up according to the tradition of his grandfather, the Rabbi Dr. Salomon Formstecher; a liberal, who worked and died in Offenbach/Main 1888. He was a German Jew, but no Zionist.

But to come back to uncle Otto. He played a big role in my early upbringing, due to the fact that my father died in 1923 (I was 13 years old). I shall always remember the year 1923. During that summer I was stricken with polio. In November Hitler putshed in Munich and was defeated, inflation was stopped, and overnight 1,000,000 Mark became one Rentenmark.

That same summer my father died after an illness lasting two months. During the last week of his illness my mother called in a professor for consultation, and two weeks after my father's death the professor presented his bill: 30 Gold Mark. I was sent to his office to pay in three 10 Goldmarks - where they came from, I do not know.

My father had his own business and staff. He also had the most 'fantastic and solid' investment including: shares in Moscow and Vladivostock Railways, Austro-Hungarian Papers, Belgian, French and English Obligations. All of these 'holdings' were rendered completely and utterly useless. The Russians had turned communist, and no one would seriously negotiate with a German shareholder on account of the useless German currency after the war. My mother tried her utmost to continue the business and maintain the family. She depended on her brother Otto who stood by her with advice and help.

I wanted to become a banker like him, and between 1928 and 1933 his recommendations enabled me to pursue this career. In 1927 or 1928, I asked him to suggest a long-term recommendation for me. His answer was: "Fortgehen, möglichst weit, möglichst lang" (Emigrate, as far as possible, for as long a time as possible).

Otto and Paula [4.6 Paula Eskeles born Kronheimer - Otto's second wife he married in 1932, after the death of Olga in 1928 - Z.E.] saw me off to Africa from Belgium in 1936. A month later I left Paris, after a domicile there lasting four years. I was again the guest of Otto and Paula in 1952, on my return from India to Rhodesia, and again in 1955, together with my wife, on our return from Europe. In my eyes, uncle Otto never changed. He was always benevolent and understanding.

journey, a lonely French aircraft had placed a bomb in the center of Frankfurt and completely destroyed a small waiting room at the Hauptwache, a tram-line crossing. The moral effect was not devastating, but nevertheless, impressive. Of course, the ramifications of the bombing did not register with me. In retrospect, however, it showed considerable courage on the part of my parents to send one of their two children into a possible war zone.

I remember having a great time with my grandmother. Although she had a one-woman business to look after (M.C. Kirschbaum Nachfolger; dowry/bridal linen), she took me around to see sights that would interest a little boy.

Thus I remember a trip to the 'Forsthaus' - a holiday spot nearby, where I enjoyed a ride in a little carriage drawn by goats. I was also taken to Kelsterbach to meet aunt Babette [5.3 Babette Bettchen Speier born Eskeles - Line 8 - Z.E.](daughter of Abraham Eskeles) and uncle Bernhard Speier at their - probably summer - house and little garden. They grew their own vegetables and berries and had some fruit trees. Considering the food shortages during those war-time days, such delicacies were a real indulgence. I still remember - there I saw my first beanstalk.

Uncle Bernhard had a long white beard and gave me the impression of a friendly fairy-tale character. Ten years later I was the guest for a week of his son 4.39 Max Speier [father of 3.42 Ursula Growald and 3.44 Eva Luria both born Speier] and his family in Köln (Cologne).

Grandmother Mathilde had four sisters and a brother. They, of course, are not of interest in the context of the Eskeles genealogy, to which I shall confine myself.

A second visit to my grandmother took place in 1919 - a few months before her death. She had congenital heart problems and went to Bad Nauheim every year. She died eventually of cancer of the breast - as did her daughter forty years later.

Tante Jeannette [5.8 Jeannette Eskeles born Frank - widow of 5.6 Moritz Eskeles], a brother of my grandfather Hermann - I knew very well. She lived in Offenbach, Biberstrasse 24. In the same house, Hermann & Moritz had an outfitting business. She lived on the first floor of a two-storied house in the center of town near the market. The house had a little garden with a summerhouse. It was actually a wooden shack with a bench, where aunt Jeannette spent the afternoons and evenings.

I remember her well, because when I stayed with relatives of my late father in Offenbach, I had a 'jour fixe' for lunch on Saturdays with her. Her oldest son, Joseph, - unmarried - lived with her, and on occasions her youngest son Arthur joined us. On occasions only, for he was a great motorcycle fan and, on weekends, roamed the countryside with another cousin of mine - Alfred Goldschmidt. You will have noticed in the genealogy, that among German Jews at the turn of the century Hermann (Khaim) and Alfred (Avraham) were great fashion.

I must make mention here of another daughter of Abraham Eskeles - 5.4 Amalie Mayerfeld born Eskeles - I have vague memories of her; I must have met her in Frankfurt. I do remember her features - an impressive face with a nose of intelligent and strong character. She lived in Hannover and her, or rather her son in law's business had to do with alimentation - butchery - I am not quite sure. I do remember that during the war (W.W.I) she sent us a food parcel of duck's eggs. Perhaps she sent several, I do not know. I have not seen or tasted ducks' eggs since, but I remember that they are about twice the size of chicken eggs. In those days everyone baked for themselves, making noodles, cakes and omelettes; thus such additional items were more than welcome.

My mother's brother Otto [4.1 Otto Eskeles], who lived in Berlin, was the only other Eskeles family member with whom I had close connections. I had first heard from him as a little boy of six or seven, when Otto was a soldier in World War I.

I recall that he served on the Eastern Front in Rumania under General Mackensen. There he was wounded, transferred to a military hospital in Mulhouse (Elsace) and later to Berlin. Toward the end of the war, either 1917 or 1918, my mother went to visit him. The distance between Munich and Berlin is about 650 kilometers which in those days took a fast train about 12 hours, no problem. Yet, to be able to travel from Munich (Bavaria, Germany) to Berlin (Prussia, Germany) in those days, you were required to carry a passport and a visa for German nationals (whether foreigners were able to undertake a journey, obviously depended whether they were classified as Neutrals or otherwise).

5.6 Moses Moritz Eskeles
Born 24.6.1851 Kelsterbach,
died ? Offenbach
Sources: Hans Goldschmidt,
Zeev Eshkolot

1851 - Birth registration of 5.6 Moses Moritz Eskeles.

1857.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert finfzig am 1. July
um 8 Uhr des Abends ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde Wylkingen
Wylkingen, Bezirk Leunpelt
Alfred Schuler erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am
24. März um zwei Uhr des Nachmittags seiner
Elisabeth seiner geborenen Marianna
ein knaben Kind zweites Geschlecht geboren habe, welchem der Vornamen
Alfred gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause No. 1 geboren worden
und noch keine Wunde hat. sei.

Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen Adolf Schuler II
Marie Schuler und der Hebamme Elisabeth Trüchel geschehen,
und haben ebenfalls und die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsact,
nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

Alfred Schuler Hebamme.
Elisabeth Trüchel

Adolf Schuler II
Marie Schuler } Zeugen.
Alfred Schuler II

Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister
Alfred

The family in Germany between 1900 and 1933

Here follows a description of the Eskeles family by 3.8 Hans Goldschmidt (Line 9). Hans was born 1910 in Munich and left Germany in 1933. During this period, he met many of the members of the family and below he recounts some of his childhood memories. Hans has not only a very good memory, but also an extraordinary sense of humor and an understanding of people. His 'memories' help to understand the conditions and atmosphere of our ancestors in Germany between the two world wars:

"I was born in Munich - Bavaria, Southern Germany - and the first member of the Eskeles family I became acquainted with was my mother [4.2 Frieda Goldschmidt born Eskeles - Z.E.]. She was small statured, with grayish/bluish eyes that had an occasional greenish tinge. She had a notably sharp intellect and pursued varied interests. In her pre-marital days she taught German in some institute or another to Jewish immigrant youngsters from tsarist Russia -the previous century's last refugees from the East, final waves before the floods of our times. My grandmother [5.7 Mathilde Eskeles born Frank - Z.E.] - my mother's mother - lived in Frankfurt/Main - some 300 miles away - and travelling in the first quarter of the century was somewhat more difficult and unusual than the convenience of our modern times. The train took 8 to 10 hours, and even those people who owned a car in the late Twenties or early Thirties could not make the trip any faster, as the poor road conditions were not constructed for long distance traveling.

The other Eskeles lived around Frankfurt - Offenbach, Kelsterbach, and in Köln and Hannover. Thus my early memory of the 'others' starts with a visit to my grandmother's house in 1916, during the first world war. Shortly before my

Freitag 7 Novbr 1919

Meine Lieben Kinder!

Wenn jetzt diese Zeilen einmalen in
die Hände fallen, bin ich nicht mehr. - Ihr
Kinderlebe ich keine Wünsche, nur fünf, sechs
meine sehr willigen Liebesworte und absehe
nicht. Ich habe immer für Euer Leben gewollt
und wenn ich nicht meinen Heilwünschen folgen
kann, so werde ich doch mit dem Bewußtsein
sein immer bemüht gewesen zu sein, fünf
zu hundert Jahre Wachsen lassen zu können.
Ich habe es mir mit für Kinderlebe
wünscht gegeben. Diese Zeilen fallen mir
den Kopf und Herzen, daß ich an Euer
Gute mußte, nur für mich in meinem
langen Bewußtsein, schickte ich. Ich weiß
daß ich dies von selbst tue, daß nichts
ich fünf können, ich für ein eigenes Leben
4 1/2 Stunden in Abschieden zu geben, was
ich für fünf nicht weiß. Ich muß selbst
verantwortlich keine Abschieden, nur ein
Andenken. Ich bin sehr wenig; fühlte
nicht leicht, wie mich fünf in verantwortliche
Liebe gedankt.

Eure Mutter

1919 - Letter of 5.7 Mathilde Eskeles to her children few days before her death.

B.

Mr. 74

Offenbach, am vier ten
Mai 1882 tausend acht hundert achtzig und zwei.

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschienen heute zum Zweck der Eheverlobung:

1. der Kaufmann Hermann Eskeles
der Persönlichkeit nach Er taunt,
evangelischer Religion, geboren den zweiten
August des Jahres tausend acht hundert
fünfzig und fünf zu Kelsterbach,
König-Groß-Gerau, wohnhaft zu Offenbach
in der Frankfurterstraße Nr. 20
Sohn des Kaufmanns Abraham Eskeles und
des Elisabeth Canche, geb. Kannheimer,
wohnhaft
zu Kelsterbach,

2. die Mathilde Frank
der Persönlichkeit nach Er taunt,
evangelischer Religion, geboren den dritten
Juni des Jahres tausend acht hundert
sechzig, zu Arnsheim,
wohnhaft zu Offenbach
in der Frankfurterstraße Nr. 20
Tochter des Joseph Canche, aus Frankreich, Kaufmanns
und Joseph Canche, geb. Rosalie,
geb. Kellmann, wohnhaft
zu Arnsheim, am Markt,

Als Zeugen waren zugezogen und erschienen:

3. der Lehrer Jeanette Eskeles, geb. Frank
der Persönlichkeit nach Er taunt,
fünf und zwanzig Jahre alt, wohnhaft zu Offenbach
in der Frankfurterstraße Nr. 20

4. der Kaufmann A. Moritz Eskeles
der Persönlichkeit nach Er taunt,
dreißig Jahre alt, wohnhaft zu Offenbach
in der Frankfurterstraße Nr. 20

Zu Gegenwart der Zeugen richtete der Standesbeamte an die Verlobten einzeln und nach einander die Frage: ob sie erklären, daß sie die Ehe mit einander eingehen wollen. Die Verlobten beantworteten diese Frage bejahend und erfolgte hierauf der Ausspruch des Standesbeamten, daß er sie ummehle kraft des Gesetzes für rechtlich verbunden Eheleute erkläre.

Vorgesehen, genehmigt und unterschrieben:
Hermann Eskeles
Mathilde Eskeles geb. Frank
Jeanette Eskeles
Ministerialrat

Der Standesbeamte
Dr. H. H. H. H.
Gau

1882 - Marriage registration of 5.1 Hermann Eskeles and 5.7 Mathilde Frank.

The following letter, written by Mathilde Eskeles a short time before her death, sheds light on her loving, rich character and the circumstances of her life. The note did not reach her children until after her death.

My dear children!

"Friday, 2 November 1919

When these lines reach your hands, I shall not be anymore. Unfortunately, I do not leave you any treasures, about which my last will should be written. I have always tried to do the best for you, and even if I fail to leave you wealth, I depart conscious, that I always endeavored to educate you to be useful persons. You have largely repaid me with your love for me as my children. These lines only intend to express my wish, that you reward Elise [her housekeeper - Z.E.] for all she did for me during my long sickness. I know that you would have done it by yourselves, but I request she be given furniture for her bedroom and living-room, whatever you do not need for yourselves. I do not want, of course, to give you any instructions, only a hint.

I am very moved; keep on loving me, as I have kept you with sadness in my memory.

Your mother."

The relationship between Hermann and his brother Moses Moritz seems to have been very close. It is not known when they left Kelsterbach for Offenbach at that time, which was an important commercial center for the leather industry. They were partners in a leather accessories business. The two brothers married two sisters, Jeannette and Mathilde Frank, from a notable family from Arnstein.



The Frank family. Mathilde standing on the right side.

5.7 Mathilde Eskeles born Frank

Born 3.6.1860 Arnstein, died 28.11.1919 Frankfurt/M

Source: Hans Goldschmidt, Zeev Eshkolot

Mathilde Eskeles, less than six years after her marriage, became a widow with two children. She nurtured and educated her two children, 4.1 Otto Joseph Eskeles and 4.2 Frieda Eskeles (married 4.7 Alfred Goldschmidt), alone. She gave them the best possible education, sent them to high school in Offenbach, and maintained a culturally rich atmosphere that prevailed at home. Although no concrete information exists, she possibly continued the leather accessories business of her late husband and his brother. However, it has been verified, that later on, and until her death, she had her own bridal accessories shop.



5.7 Mathilde Eskeles born Frank.

Generation 5

Generation 5 was still born in Kelsterbach. With one exception, 4.9 Edmund Eskeles (Line 3), all their children (generation 4) were already born in Frankfurt or Offenbach. In the late nineteenth century, the small village of Kelsterbach (1300 inhabitants) was no attraction for these youths. The community's deficiency in education, and the need for Jewish emancipation and social and economic advancement did not provide enough stimulation for the younger generation. We do not know exactly when generation 5 left Kelsterbach. However, we may assume, that most or part of them finished elementary school at Kelsterbach, then went to Frankfurt to study at high school and remained there or in Offenbach. Evidently, during those years, they became less orthodox than the community in Kelsterbach. However, all of them maintained strong ties with the Jewish religion.

5.1 Hermann Naftali Eskeles

Born 2.8.1855 Kelsterbach, died 17.2.1888 Offenbach

Source: Zeev Eshkolot

We know very little about Hermann Eskeles. He died young, at the age of 32. He, his brother 5.6 Moses Moritz Eskeles and his sisters 5.3 Babette (Line 8) and 5.4 Amalie (Line 6) remained in Germany. His younger brother 5.5 Max Meyer (Line 7) and his 2 sister 5.2 Henrietta (Line 5), emigrated to the U.S.A.



5.1 Hermann Naftali Eskeles.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert fünf und fünfzig am 17. August
um 9 Uhr des Abends ist vor mir, dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde Kelsterbach
Herrn Jakob Hirsch erschienen, welcher mir erklärt hat, daß am 2. August
um 5 Uhr des Nachmittags ein
Mädchen geboren worden, welches dem Vornamen
Hermann gegeben worden; welches Kind in dem Hause No. 3 geboren worden
ist.
Diese Erklärung ist in Gegenwart der beiden Zeugen Jakob Hirsch und der Hebamme
und haben die Zeugen mit mir gegenwärtigen Geburtsact,
nachdem ihnen derselbe vorgelesen worden ist, unterschrieben.

Hebamme.
Dina Maria Lammert

Zeugen.
Jakob Hirsch
Jacob Hirsch

Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister
Hirsch

1855 - Birth registration of
5.1 Hermann Eskeles.

6.2 Gabriel Eskeles.

Born 1817 Kelsterbach, died 13.2.1896 Kelsterbach
Source: Zeev Eshkolot

Like his younger brother Abraham, Gabriel was a merchant and his life was presumably not easier than that of other Jews in Kelsterbach. We only know that in 1862, he purchased the house from his brother Abraham.

9505	Gabriel P. I. Eskeles	geb. 1817	gest. 13.2.1896
9506	P. I. Eskeles	geb. 1817	gest. 13.2.1896
9507	P. I. Eskeles	geb. 1817	gest. 13.2.1896
9508	Gabriel P. I. Eskeles	geb. 1817	gest. 13.2.1896
9509	P. I. Eskeles	geb. 1817	gest. 13.2.1896
9510	P. I. Eskeles	geb. 1817	gest. 13.2.1896
9511	Max P. I. Eskeles	geb. 1817	gest. 13.2.1896

1896 - Death registration of 8.1 Gabriel Eskeles.

1862.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert und zwei. Pfingst am
31. März 1. S. sind vor mir,
dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde Kelsterbach, Rüdiger Grosse
folgende beide erschienen, als:
Herr Eskeles P. I. Abraham Eskeles
und haben erklärt, daß Herr Eskeles P. I. Abraham Eskeles
am 30. März 1862 alt, am 30. März
Herr Eskeles um 1 Uhr des Nachts in dem Hause No. 56 gestorben ist.
Die Erklärenden haben den gegenwärtigen Act, nachdem ihnen solcher vorgelesen worden, mit
mir unterschrieben.
Herr Eskeles
Herr Eskeles
Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister
Herr Eskeles.

He married in 1845 Hannche Lilienstern and had with her 9 children; only 3 survived. He is the ancestor of Line 3 from which only two members survived the holocaust.

1863 - Death registration of 6.5 Hannche Eskeles.

6.3 Feist Eskeles.

Born 1828 Kelsterbach, died 1898 Frankfurt/Main
For details see line 4.

Am 27. 3. 68

Kelsterbach den 25. Mai 1868

Das Wohl der Gemeinde

An

Großherzogliche Finanz- und Oeffentliche Arbeiten.

Es ist uns sehr lieb, dass Sie
sich, was das betreffende
an dem wenigstens
möglichst zu lassen, so
weit, wie möglich, die
sich selbst besorgt. Bitte
Gefühl.

M. W. L.
J. W. L.
J. W. L.
H. W. L.
J. W. L.

Wir haben am 21. April und
am 10. Mai die Angelegenheit
des Wohl der Gemeinde
sich, was das betreffende
an dem wenigstens
möglichst zu lassen, so
weit, wie möglich, die
sich selbst besorgt. Bitte
Gefühl.

1868 - Petition of
members of the
Jewish community
of Kelsterbach for
the creation of a
Jewish School.

Aug 15th 1876.

[illegible][illegible]

Überflüssig zu sein
der Herrschaft
Moses Adler II
Oberster Richter T.

David Goff.
Joseph & Isaac.
Henry Adler I.
Abraham Adler II
Morris Adler I
A. Eskel.
Lazarus & Minnie
Eulmann Adler I
Minnie Adler.
Jacob Hirsch Lee
Jenny Adler III
Abraham Adler II

Heard:

2.9. 11. 10. 76.

Auf Ihren Brief vom 15. v. Mth. antworte
 ich Ihnen, daß wir auch nicht vorzuziehen
 sind, und daß wir auch nicht vorzuziehen
 sind.

1876 - Petition of the Jewish citizens of Kelsterbach to District Offices in Gross-Gerau, not be compelled to send their children to the Public School "where great religious influence is exerted".

1849.

17
den

Im Jahr Eintausend acht-hundert neun- und vierzig
fünften Tag
dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde *Neuland*
erschieden die Ehegatten: *Abraham Eskeles*
alt 28. Jahre und dessen Ehefrau *Hanne Mannheimer*
alt 27. Jahre Tochter von *Abraham Mannheimer*
von *Neuland*
sowie die beiden Zeugen: *Isaac Adler* und *Moses Adler*

und haben erklärt, daß sie Erstere, auf vorher von
Großherzoglichen *Neuland* Rath zu *Neuland* ausgetreten
Heirathsschein am *fünften Tag* l. J.
Bescheinigung des Rabbinen, welche sie hiermit vorzeigen, zu *Neuland*
kopulirt worden seien, worüber ich gegenwärtigen Act geführt habe, und welcher nach geschehener
Vorlesung mit den Erschienenen von mir unterschrieben worden ist.

Abraham Eskeles
Hanne Mannheimer Ehegatten.

Isaac Adler
Moses Adler Zeugen.

Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeister.

Isaac
Auf dieses Register zulle und jule, um Laufe des Jahres
für Land und wirt standort, wann in Neuland zu kommen
wird gekommen, bei der Abreise in der Gemeinde
Neuland eingetragene Trauungen falls auffallt, welche sich
im jungen auf gegen beidseitig, selbst nicht und
bezeichnet, Neuland am 5. Januar 1850.
Abraham Mannheimer
Isaac

1849 - Marriage registration of 6.1 Abraham Eskeles and 6.4 Hanne Mannheimer.

Nr. 5

Hannche Eskeles am 29. Juni 1890

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der
Persönlichkeit nach _____

_____ bekannt,
Herrn Kaufmann Carl Eskeles, Sohn,

wohnhaft zu _____

und zeigte an, daß _____

67 Jahre alt _____
wohnhaft zu _____

geboren zu _____

zu _____
am _____

des Jahres tausend acht hundert _____

Für Ehegatten ist bekannt, daß der

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und _____

1890 - Death registration of 6.4 Hannche Eskeles.

Civil - Stands - Register der Juden.

in der

Gemeinde *Kelsterbach*
Kreis *Großgerau*

Eraunungs - Register.

68.

Zu Nr. D. 10133.

Darmstadt, am 9. August 1837.

Betreffend: Die Civilstandsregister der Juden.

Das Großherzoglich Hessische
Ministerium des Innern und der Justiz

an

die Großherzogl. Provinzial-Commissariate dahier und zu Gießen und sämtliche
Großherzogl. Kreisräthe in den Provinzen Starkenburg und Oberhessen.

Wir finden uns veranlaßt, die nachstehenden, im Wesentlichen früher schon bestandenen, jedoch mit Rücksicht auf die dormaligen Verhältnisse abgeänderten und vervollständigten, Bestimmungen über die Führung der Civilstandsregister der Juden Ihnen zur eigenen Nachachtung, sowie zur Instruirung der Bürgermeister, mit dem Anfügen zugehen zu lassen, daß sich die Großherzoglichen Bürgermeister vom 1. Januar 1838 an überall zur Führung der Geburts-, Trauungs- und Sterbe-Register der Juden gedruckte Formulare, übereinstimmend nach den Mustern 1., 2. und 3. eingerichtet, zu bedienen haben, wovon das Buch, auf gutes beschnittenes Schreibpapier, auf allen 4 Seiten des Bogens bedruckt, in der Cabinetbuchdruckerei von Stahl und Becker dahier, für 24 Kreuzer zu haben ist.

an Thil.

Prinz.

1837 - Front page of the Jewish Marriages in Kelsterbach.

He married in 1849 Hanne Mannheimer from Gräfenhausen, about whom nothing is known. He had three sons and three daughters with her. Remarkably, considering the high rate of infant mortality during the period, all survived and became the ancestors of Lines 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. His youngest son 5.5 Meyer Max Eskeles married later (1890) Abraham's niece 5.28 Dorothea Dora Mannheimer, the daughter of Yoel Mannheimer, his wife's brother, and became the ancestor of Line 7 - St. Louis.

His descendants, those who emigrated to the U.S.A., as well as most of those who remained in Europe, succeeded to survive the Holocaust.

Nr. 641.

Offenburg, am 15. September 1888.

Vor dem unterzeichneten Standesbeamten erschien heute, der
Persönlichkeit nach

_____ bekannt,

_____ Herr Kaufmann Moritz Eskeles,

wohnhaft zu Offenburg in der Kirchhofstraße Nr. 22,
und zeigte an, daß Herr Kaufmann Hermann
Eskeles,

_____ 23 Jahre

alt, israelitischer Religion,

wohnhaft zu Offenburg in der Kirchhofstraße Nr. 29,

geboren zu Kallherbach, Kreis Groß-Gerau, am

_____ 18. März 1865, israelitischer

Lebensstand, wohnhaft zu Offenburg,

_____ dessen beider Ehefrau, eine israelitische Kaufmanns-

Wittwe, geb. Eskeles, wohnhaft zu Kallherbach, am 18. März

1888, geboren am 18. März 1865, wohnhaft zu Kallherbach,

zu Offenburg

am _____ 15. September

des Jahres tausend acht hundert _____ achtzig und _____

_____ Uhr

verstorben sei, die Angehörigen anwesend, daß er

_____ ein israelitischer Kaufmann war.

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

_____ Moritz Eskeles

Der Standesbeamte

_____ Herr Notar
_____ Herr Kaufmann

We know only the following facts concerning the activities of Abraham Eskeles. According to records from the Rabbinate in Fürth he was a tailor. In Kelsterbach, licenses given to merchants in 1853-54 by the mayor indicate that Abraham was (at that time) a peddler and a merchant of food (Spezereikrämer). He had doubtless to struggle for his large family, and he might have changed his professions and activities according to the contemporary needs and possibilities. Nevertheless, in 1858, he succeeded to purchase a home, which remained property of members of the family until 1907.

Civil - Stands - Register

d e r J u d e n

in der

Gemeinde *Kelsterbach*

Kreis *Großgerau*

Sterb - Register.

68.

Zu Nr. D. 10138.

Darmstadt, am 9. August 1837.

Betreffend: Die Civilstandsregister der Juden.

Das Großherzoglich Hessische

Ministerium des Innern und der Justiz

an

die Großherzogl. Provinzial-Commissariate dahier und zu Gießen und sämmtliche
Großherzogl. Kreisräthe in den Provinzen Starkenburg und Oberhessen.

Wir finden uns veranlaßt, die nachstehenden, im Wesentlichen früher schon bestandenenen, jedoch mit Rücksicht auf die dermaligen Verhältnisse abgeänderten und vervollständigten, Bestimmungen über die Führung der Civilstandsregister der Juden Ihnen zur eigenen Nachachtung, sowie zur Instruirung der Bürgermeister, mit dem Anfügen zugehen zu lassen, daß sich die Großherzoglichen Bürgermeister vom 1. Januar 1838 an überall zur Führung der Geburts-, Trauungs- und Sterbe-Register der Juden gedruckte Formulare, übereinstimmend nach den Mustern 1., 2. und 3., eingerichtet, zu bedienen haben, wovon das Buch, auf gutes beschnittenes Schreibpapier, auf allen 4 Seiten des Bogens bedruckt, in der Cabinetsbuchdruckerei von Stahl und Becker dahier, für 24 Kreuzer zu haben ist.

1837 - Cover page of the Jewish Deaths Register in Kelsterbach.

Born 7.1.1819 Kelsterbach, died
15.5.1883 Kelsterbach
Source: Zeev Eshkolot

Civil - Stands - Register

der Juden

Der Jude

in der

Gemeinde. *Kelsterbach*

Kreis Großgerau.

Geburts-Register.

63.

Darmstadt, am 9. August 1837.

Bezüglich: Die Civilstandsregister der Juden.

Ministerium des Innern und der Justiz

37

die Großherzogl. Provinzial-Commissariate dahier und zu Gießen und sämtliche
Großherzogl. Kreisräthe in den Provinzen Starkenburg und Oberhessen.

Wir finden uns veranlaßt, die nachstehenden, im Wesentlichen früher schon bestandenen, jedoch mit Rücksicht auf die dormaligen Verhältnisse abgeänderten und vervollständigten, Bestimmungen über die Führung der Civilstandsregister der Juden Ihnen zur eigenen Nachsicht, sowie zur Instruktion der Bürgermeister, mit dem Bittgesuchen zugleich zu lassen, daß sich die Großherzoglichen Bürgermeister vom 1. Januar 1838 an überall zur Führung der Geburts-, Trauungs- und Sterbe-Register der Juden gedruckter Formulare, übereinstimmend nach den Mustern 1., 2. und 3. eingerichtet, zu bedienen haben, wovon das Buch, auf gutes beschnittenes Schreibpapier, auf allen 4 Seiten des Bogens bedruckt, in der Cabinetsbuchdruckerei von Stahl und Becker dahier, für 24 Kreuzer zu haben ist.

1837 - Cover page of the birth register of Jews in Kelsterbach.

Hingegen ist es Pflicht der Obrigkeit für die
 christliche Religion zu sorgen, zu erhalten,
 zu fördern, und zu verbreiten, und zu diesem
 Zweck die nöthigen Maßnahmen zu ergreifen,
 die zur Erhaltung und Förderung der
 christlichen Religion erforderlich sind, und
 die zur Verhütung der Verfall der
 christlichen Religion nöthig sind.

Isa 44.11. Baikal



Ami
38

1838 - Page of the 'Birth register for the Community of Jewish faith' of Kelsterbach.

Born 2.7.1776 Fürth, died 12.12.1829 Kelsterbach
Source: Zeev Eshkolot

It is unknown when Moses Eskeles came to Kelsterbach from Fürth. We only know that he married in 1820 in Kelsterbach 7.3 Babette Braunle Sonneberg, born 1798 probably in Kelsterbach. Her father was a 'Schutzjude' (protected Jew) Herz Loew Sonneberg, resident of Kelsterbach.

Im Jahr Eintausend achthundert vier und zwanzig
 Wilhelm Lenné
 dem Bürgermeister der Gemeinde Rüppellshaus, Kreis Osnabr.-Gau
 folgende beide *zeugen*
 Albrecht Lenné, h. f. u. g. Albrecht III

und haben erklärt, daß Antonius v. Kolb, geb. Vaumburg
auf 6. d. dinstägigen Sept alt, am 3. d. dinst. d. dinst.
1874. um 6. Uhr des Abends in dem Hause Nro. 56. gestorben ist.

Die Erklärenden haben den gegenwärtigen Uct, nachdem ihnen solcher vorgelesen worden, mit mir unterschrieben.

A. Eskels.
Long 20 Dec 1877

Zur Beglaubigung
der Bürgermeisterei

[illegible]

1874 - Death registration of 7.3 Babette
Braunle Eskeles.

Strangely, their marriage was registered only in 1820, after the birth of their second son. The plausible explanation suggests that the registration of civil and religious marriages, as well as births and deaths, was only recently introduced as protocol by the municipality. The municipality, at this point, required a certified written testimony given by the 'Landesrabbiner' as a civil confirmation of the religious proceedings.

LINE 1

For biographies of the previous generations - see Main Line.

8.1 Gabriel Eskeles

Born 1750 Vienna, died 10.5.1783 Fürth

Sources: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi, Zeev Eshkolot

Not much is known about Gabriel Eskeles, except that he was born in Vienna and died in Fürth. As indicated, there existed a link with Fürth in the preceding generations. Gabriel's father and grandfather were called Eskeles-Fürth. His father's first wife - not his mother (he is the son of his father's second wife), was born in Fürth. We know for sure that he and his brother 8.7 Uri Feiwelmann Wiener-Eskeles were born in Vienna, and later lived and died in Fürth. Another Brother, 8.3 Moses Eskeles was also probably born in Vienna but later, he lived and died in Schwabach, located near Fürth (See Line 11).

7.2 Yehuda Loeb Eskeles

Born 30.8.1773 Fürth, died 26.11.1852 Fürth

Source: Zeev Eshkolot

All we know about Loeb Eskeles, except the dates and place of his birth and death, is that he was a teacher, a bachelor and had no children.

1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles

Israelische Kultusgemeinde Fürth Nr. 90 1773

1773 - Birth registration of 7.2 Yehuda Loeb Eskeles.

1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles
1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles	20 Tage	1773	30.8.	Yehuda Loeb Eskeles

1852 - Death registration of 7.2 Yehuda Loeb Eskeles.



The Jews leaving Prague at the end of February, and beginning of March, 1745, following the expulsion decreed by the Empress Maria Theresa, 18 December 1744. Anonymous copperplate engraving.

replied to the community of Metz that he agrees to come. Whether R. Gabriel had been informed about these developments, or whether he had indeed had the intention to return and take up again his Rabbinate, he came here and believed, that with the help of his followers he could get back his Rabbinate.

But I don't dare to describe what happened here! Let God forgive everybody his sins! A humble and simple woman like me should not dare to write about such celebrities. Let God forgive everybody who did disgusting things within his party. Many books could be written, describing everything the parties did in order to fight their case through. Let God make us enjoy virtue and piety from both scholars!

So, after the world-famous R. Gabriel (Eskeles) had been here for a certain time, and had seen that nothing could be gained, since the direction of the community could not revoke the action which had already been taken, he departed in great honor, as in the whole community he had no enemies, only friends. But they could not reverse their decision, after having already sent the letter of appointment and after the well-read Rabbi Avraham (Broda) had replied that he accepts and will come."

R. Gabriel Eskeles was the first to add the family name Eskeles to his name, at a time when it was uncommon and not yet required by law. There are three different versions about the origin of the name Eskeles, for details see preface, No. 8.

R. Gabriel married Esther Hadassa Bat (daughter of) Issakhar Berush Heshel, a very famous rabbi of Krakow. His son 10.2 R. Berend Gabriel Eskeles is the progenitor of Line 2, the 'Austrian' line of the family. 10.1 R. Yaacov Khaim Eskeles - Fuerth is the progenitor of Line 1, the 'German' line of the family.

10.1 R. Yaacov Khaim Eskeles - Fürth

Born 16 ? Olkusz, died 1732 Shaffa (south east Moravia)

Source: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi, Zeev Eshkolot

ABD Shaffa

Here we find for the first time the name Fürth added to the family name Eskeles. As happened often when Jews adopted or were given family names, the family name is identical to the name of the place they came from. This happened also in the Eskeles family in spite of the fact the family name Eskeles already existed. We find later on, 8.7 Uri Feiwellmann Wiener Eskeles, who adapted or was given the name Wiener because he came to Fürth from Vienna.

In the case of 10.1 R. Yaacov Khaim Eskeles - Fürth and his son 9.1 R. Yehuda Loeb Eskeles - Fürth, we have no evidence, but we may assume for sure that R. Yaacov Khaim Eskeles was among the Jews who came in 1671 from Vienna to Fürth. In 1671 all Jews were expelled from Vienna, and the Jewish community dispersed.

An important group came to Fürth, 120 families went to Berlin and founded there the first Jewish community. Later on, the Jews were given permission to return to Vienna. The fact that his son Yehuda Loeb was born in 1713 in Vienna proves that in the meantime he returned to Vienna, but we are unaware about the circumstances. In the second half of the 18th century other members of the family will leave Vienna and come to Fürth.

9.1 R. Yehuda Loeb Ben Yaacov Eskeles - Fürth

Born 1713 Vienna, died 29.11.1763 Vienna

Source: Mr Paul J. Jacobi

Already in his youth he lived in the house of his uncle 10.2 R. Berend Eskeles (see Line 2 below), who employed him as 'cashier' in his (his uncle's) business. R. Berend not only left him a sizable legacy, but also appointed him as coexecutor of his will, together with his uncle's wife.

After his last marriage R. Loeb Eskeles stayed for a certain time in Fürth, but returned later to Vienna. He, too, left an interesting Hebrew last will of his own, in which he made his third wife his full heir, and his three sons 'Nacherben' (remaindermen).

MAIN LINE

21.1 R. Bezalel Ben Yaacov (Loeb)

Presumed 1365 - 1440

Source: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi

Nothing is known of this last of the 77 members of the traditional chain of descent of the present family, as it was published in the YIKHUS LETTER (see part I, including remarks).

20.1 R. Yehuda-Loew (Liwa) Ben Bezalel (Loeb)

(R. Yehuda-Liwa "Hazaken" or "Hamephursam"),

born. ?, died 1439 Worms

Source: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi

RM Worms. The life of this historically, somehow evinced, progenitor of the family is still obscure.

The name Liwa, which frequently appeared in the Worms area, is generally pronounced 'Liwa', though originally it either stood for the German 'Loewe' (lion), the heraldic sign of the tribe of Yehuda, or for the German-Jewish 'Loew'.

19.1 R. Bezalel Ben Yehuda Loew (Liwa)

Presumed 1425 - 1500

Source: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi

RM Worms. Nothing concrete is known about him.

18.1 R. Khaim Ben Bezalel (Loeb)

Born Worms 14 ?, died Prag 1522 (1565 ?)

Source: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi

He seems to have lived primarily in Issenheim (Upper Alsace).

17.1 R. Bezalel Ben Khaim (Loeb)

Presumed 1485 - 1560

Source: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi

Born/lived in Worms? - Issenheim? - Posen? - Prague?

Unlike his younger brother, he had to stay behind and help his father, and did not pursue studies in Poland.

Married 17.2 Bat R. Khaim Issenheimer.

17.2 Bat R. Khaim Issenheimer

Her history still requires archival or other verification. Her mother was rumored to have conceived her from someone other than her husband, thus exposing her daughter and her descendants (including the 16.2 MAHARAL) to the stigma of 'Mamzeruth' (bastardism), making them ineligible to marriage. This rumor was vehemently contested as perjury not only by the slandered woman's grandson, the MAHARAL, but also by her husband's grandnephew, the MAHARSHAL.

16.1 R. Sinai Ben Bezalel (Loeb)

Born Posen 15 ?, died Kolin 1607

Source: Mr. Paul J. Jacobi

16.2 R. Yehuda Loew (Liwa) Ben Bezalel - MAHARAL

(MAHARAL, i.e. Morenu HaRav Loew), also known as Der Hohe Rabbi Loew von Prag.

Born Posen 1525, died Prague 1609

Sources: Encyclopaedia Judaica, Mr. Paul J. Jacobi

PREFACE TO PART II

This part of the genealogy contains all available biographies of members of the Eskeles family, received until end 1995.

The sources of each biography are indicated, i.e. either various publications, or members of the family who sent me biographies of their living and late relatives.

Since these collected biographies originate from various sources, there was no possibility, and I made no effort, to stylize the collected and received material, which explains the differences in style and attitude.

Generally, I reprinted the received and collected material without major changes. However, in order to conserve a certain conformity of the biographies and balance between them, I had sometimes to shorten the original or to make slight arrangements.

It was not my aim in this part to make a correct and balanced historical research. I have tried to represent the collected material in a popular way and to select those passages which might help to understand the mentality of generations which passed away and the atmosphere of those times.

Numbers and names of every person in this part are exactly the same as in part I, and their order is by numbers.

The name "Loeb", always in brackets, is employed (in Main Line) as a common denominator of the family's male descendants, though never used by them as a family name de facto, as distinguished from "Bezalel", "Eskeles" and "Loew", occasionally adopted.

Abbreviations:

- "ABD" - Av Beth Din, i.e. Chief Rabbi and President of the Supreme Rabbinical Court.
- "R." - Reb, precedes the names of all male descendants, in Main Line only.
- "RBD" - Rosh Beth Din, i.e. Head of the Supreme Rabbinical Court (in rank next to ABD).
- "RM" - Rosh Metivta, i.e. Head of a Yeshiva (Talmudic college).

PART II

BIOGRAPHIES

From 1939, the transport of Jews to the death camps in Germany and beyond its borders, commenced. The Jews of Germany protested at what was happening, making mention of their common heritage and their participation in the First World War, but it was to no avail. They were forced to rely on the help of Jewish organizations to rescue them from their homeland. Jews who had been converts for generations found it difficult to return to the Jewish fold, but others, even those who were far from the life of the Jewish community, tried to be active and proffered help. Emigration appeared to be the only possible solution. The problem was that they could only be absorbed in small numbers, also that the gates of Eretz-Yisrael were not open wide, and what is more, many of them lacked any connection with Zionism.

Those wishing to emigrate to Eretz-Yisrael received training on special farms, which prepared them for agricultural work so that they could be absorbed more easily. The Jewish communities set up educational institutions because Jews were forbidden to attend regular schools. The teachers were Jews who had been expelled from German educational and teaching institutions. For young people, many pioneering youth organizations were established whose members prepared themselves for emigration to Eretz-Yisrael. In 1940, the Nazis transferred the central organization of German Jewry, headed by Rabbi Leo Baeck (1873-1956), to the Nazi Ministry of the Interior to which it became subject. From now on it was called; 'The Reich Union of the Jews in Germany'. At the same time, many Jews were imprisoned in concentration camps waiting their turn to be sent to the death camps.

German Jews who fled to countries in western Europe were caught once again when the German Army conquered those areas (Belgium, Holland, France). Up till 1942, it was still possible for someone with financial means to escape from Germany by way of Spanish and Portuguese ports. In March 1941, the total destruction of German Jewry commenced. Hitler's right-hand man, Adolf Eichmann, was placed in charge of the plan, and it was he who sent the Jews of Germany to the ghettos in the east, and to the death camps. There was a continuous increase in the number of suicides among Jews. By that time, they had already lost their property, and the Jewish organizations ceased to operate completely. Some German Jews reached the Ghetto - the 'show' camp Theresienstadt, in Czechoslovakia. Some 20,000 Jews (according to the Nuremberg Laws) remained free in Germany, and approximately 8,000 Jews returned from Theresien. Between 160,000-180,000 German Jews met their deaths during the course of the war.

The Weimar Republic (1918-1932)

'Weimar' was the name given to the new German state which was established under Allied auspices after Germany's defeat in the war - named after the seat of government. With the establishment of the new government, the Jews appeared to have achieved full emancipation. They occupied important positions in politics and the state, and played a part in setting up the new administration. Jews were members of the social democratic left-wing political parties, and participated in the inquiry commission which examined the reasons for Germany's failure in the war. In areas of former Prussia, Jews were appointed to senior posts in public service. Their exalted office and status awakened deep hatred on the part of the German masses, who at that time were suffering from high inflation, partly caused by right-wing industrialists who exploited the situation for their own needs and also used the Jews as a scapegoat for all Germany's troubles. Several economic failures and bankruptcies, in which Jews were also involved, did little to improve their image. Anti-Semitic propaganda increased. The theory of the treachery of the Jews who had 'knifed Germany in the back' in the war, continued to spread. Involvement of many Jews in Marxist movements, combined with fear of the spread of Communism, only increased the hatred.

The Jewish communities in Germany endeavoured to cope with the flow of Jewish refugees from the east, which had intensified after the war. Self-help organizations and welfare departments were set up, which in time became organizational bodies wielding power. The majority of Jews lived in the cities, mainly Berlin, and the rest in thousands of small villages, some within the framework of established Jewish communities, and others without community services. Most Jews were engaged in commerce and there was mobility between various occupations. In the towns, they were principally in the liberal professions: medicine, law, theatre, art, and journalism. Despite some Jews losing considerable property during the years of inflation, most had succeeded in re-establishing themselves before Hitler's rise to power. A very large number assimilated or intermarried. The Communal Jewish Organization operated almost independently within the framework of the Weimar legislation, while the system of Jewish organizations throughout Germany functioned in an orderly manner and had contacts with organizations in Germany and those overseas.

The internal struggle within German Jewry between Jewish nationalism and assimilation was very conspicuous. With the emigration of many Jewish writers from Russia to Germany, the latter became the centre of Hebrew and Yiddish writing. This was paralleled by a large increase in the distribution of books, periodicals, and newspapers dealing with Jews and Eretz-Yisrael, including those published in German.

Jews in the Third Reich (1933-1945)

The rise to power in Germany of the Nazi (National Socialist) Party, totally destroyed the Jewish edifice in Germany. The Jews, who were close to achieving their aspirations as German citizens, were declared to be a 'non-Aryan' race which could not be accepted as a member of the community of those who were considered 'Aryans' (of pure German stock). The shock was profound, especially among those who considered themselves to be Germans in all respects, very far from their Judaism. In 1933, a boycott of the Jews was declared. Jewish shops and businesses were daubed with yellow signs, and squads of the S.A. (the Nazi 'Storm Troopers') made sure that the ban on Germans entering them was observed. At the same time, government-organized riots against the Jews commenced. Jews and opponents of the government were dispatched to the first concentration camps when these were established in 1933. Jews began to be dismissed from all the positions that they held. In 1935, the 'Nüremberg Laws' were promulgated. These laws applied to those with Jewish antecedents going back to three generations, and all types of relations and contact between Jews and Germans was forbidden. During the same period, a number of statements were made by Nazi leaders claiming that the Nüremberg Laws were quite sufficient for the anti-Jewish policy, and that there was no need for additional measures against them.

In reality, things were different. It is true that between 1935-1937 the Jews still had ready capital and that some of them continued to manage profitable enterprises. But at the same time, incidents of confiscation of money and property were an everyday occurrence. With the annexation, or 'Anschluss', of Austria in 1938, the situation of the Jews became even worse. In particular, the Jewish inhabitants of Vienna suffered. The same events repeated themselves with the annexation of the Sudetenland that same year. The situation of the Jews in Germany worsened after 'Kristallnacht' which took place on 9 November 1938. In one night, synagogues and Jewish businesses went up in flames throughout Germany. A collective fine of 2 million marks was imposed on the Jews.

Emancipational Legislation

Until the outbreak of the 1848 revolution, complete emancipation was lacking in almost every state in Germany. The dramatic turn in the approach of the Jews to the matter of equality occurred mainly when, in the period of reaction, people began to be aware of what they were liable to lose. Politically, some Jews turned to the socialist organizations. The politicization of the substance of Judaism, within the apologetics and struggle for emancipation, increased the process of secularization and Germanization of the Jews even more. During the years of reaction emancipation was delayed. In places where it had already been given - it was affected. The rights of Jews to governmental posts were abrogated, and they were removed from every supervisory religious appointment. In Prussia, the change occurred with the accession to the throne of Wilhelm I, who ruled between 1871-1888. Bismarck (1815-1898), who was a representative in the Frankfurt Parliament and was later elected Chancellor of Prussia, was not liberal, and his government was ready to make changes in the law relating to Jews only if it did not lead to conflict with the conservative right. Even if it appeared that a number of changes were occurring in the status of Jews, they took place slowly, and were annoying and insulting.

In Bavaria, for example, the matter of emancipation was preceded by the need and demand for capital, entrepreneurship, and manpower. In Prussia, the Jews received full emancipation in 1869. The edict stated: "All restrictions emanating from differences of religion which have existed up till now, concerning civil and political rights, are annulled and void". Judaism continued to be a tolerated religion, and was not mentioned in the legislation of the Second Reich (1871-1918).

Jews in Germany During the Period of the Second Reich

In spite of the Jews appearing to have achieved emancipation after 1871, this was to no small degree an illusion. Inequality remained in matters of education, taxation, appointment of army chaplains, kosher food in hospitals, release from working on Sabbaths and Festivals, and more. The legal definition of the Jewish community as a corporative body created a legislative problem from the outset, and so they did try to create equality for Jewish individuals. Liberalism helped to integrate individuals in the monolithic society. Apparently, it was not the degree of assimilation of the Jews which determined the time when emancipation was granted, but the interests of the government. Integration of the Jews into the German state was supposed to bring advantages during a period of industrialisation and capitalisation. Bismarck himself needed to amend the law within the framework of the array of political forces.

As a consequence of the war reparations which Germany received from France (the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871, in which France lost the territory of Alsace-Lorraine to the Germans and undertook to pay heavy war reparations), Germany entered an economic spiral. The fall was not long in coming. An economic crisis which occurred in 1873 severely affected the business community. The Jew served, just as in the past, as someone on whom to pin the blame. The German response was swift and violent. It included boycott, riots, robbery, etc. The most significant result was the formation of a new political party which nailed anti-Semitism to its mast, and adopted it as its principal platform. This was a turning point in the relations of German society to the Jews. Anti-Semitism became a political force.

After the unification of Germany, the flow of Jewish migrants from the east ('Ostjuden') increased. Aversion to them was common both by Jews and Germans alike. They differed from German Jews in all their cultural patterns. Having said that, their arrival in fact prevented the absorption and complete assimilation of German Jewry. With them appeared the first buds of Zionism. Despite the German Zionists being small in number, the strength of their organizations was well-known. After the death of Herzl (1904), the centre of Zionism passed to Germany, where it also remained during the war. At the same time, the movement of neo-orthodox Judaism strengthened in Germany. It was characterised by intellectual Jews in the liberal professions who were diligent in preserving their Judaism. They were the basis for the foundation of the 'Agudat Yisrael' political party. They established various institutions of higher learning for Jewish studies in many parts of Germany. During the First World War (1914-1918), when some of them served as army chaplains, their influence on Jewish soldiers was considerable.

In this context should be mentioned the Escales silk factory in Zweibrücken, which belonged to members of one of the branches of the Eskeles family and the soap and vinegar factories of Eskeles in Bonn. (For details see Eskeles Genealogy, Lines 10 and 11).

Social Roots and Assimilation

Openness to innovation had not always existed among the Jews, but also not among all the non-Jews. From the social point of view, one can discern a flourishing and courageous cultural connection in the period of 'Vormärz' ('pre-March' - 1848). The openness of German society at that time caused many Jews to abandon their Judaism and to try and resemble Germans as much as possible. In 1848, the German Parliament assembled in the Church of Saint Paul. Following the Revolution of 1848, the middle classes decided to speak out against the reactionary Metternich, and they demanded a gathering of the National Assembly, which was subsequently called 'The Frankfurt Parliament'. The Parliament dissolved two years later, and this was followed by a severe decline in the relations between Jews and non-Jews, which most existing testimony describes as being quite superficial. Of all people, it was among men of religion, who had not accepted the ideas of equality with great enthusiasm, that the basis was found for joint activity, especially in education.

Jewish Education

The educational policy introduced in the 18th. Century was supposed to prepare the Jews for becoming German citizens. However, the principles which the educational system laid down remained vague. In general, most Jewish children attended school, and the accent was also placed on girls education. There was no tendency to set up special schools, in order to prevent 'isolationism', and of course there was also the problem of financing these institutions. All schools were supervised by the government. The existing Jewish schools continued to preserve quite a high standard, and yet some Jewish intellectuals tended to send their children to general schools where the standard was sometimes lower. There were in fact almost no cases of discrimination, and Jews had no difficulty in being accepted in High Schools.

The number of Jewish students in universities was also greater than their relative number in the population. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that as the contact of the Jews with their environment deepened, so did acculturation increase - the process of urbanization, socialization, and culturization of the Jews in Christian society. One can say that there was a conscious estrangement from Judaic values. Preserving tradition and continuity fell on the shoulders of the parents. More and more Jewish children became aware of their heritage only on Jewish festivals or when there was an outbreak of anti-Semitism.

Jewish personalities (converts...) of the stature of the poet Heinrich Heine (1797-1837), and writers Ludwig Boerne (original Jewish name Leib Baruch, 1786-1837) and Saul Ascher, were not numerous. On the contrary. The number of Jews prominent in the intellectual and cultural sphere diminished. This was also true of the number of Jewish creative artists. Jews were active as composers, musicians, and teachers, but on a reduced scale. Whilst it is true that Jewish writers did not change their religion, they also left no impression on following generations. Creative Jews were absorbed in Christian society but were hated by it, just as they were by Jewish society. A similar fate was the lot of former Jews who were founders of the socialist left, like Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Ferdinand Lasalle (1825-1864).

Some Jewish publishers were regarded as liberals, continuing the tradition of 1848. In the world of entertainment, Jews found the free, non-traditional atmosphere, that allowed them to develop a new type of culture that was free of the fetters of both German and Jewish tradition. Jewish critics mercilessly tore them apart. Jews did not excel in the technical field and natural sciences. They found difficulty in obtaining professorships in the academic field and it was even more difficult to become an associate professor. Attempts by Jews to persuade university administrators to set up chairs for Jewish Studies suffered complete failure. On the other hand, the number of Jews serving as supporters, and cultural-artistic patrons, increased. They created fashionable and prestigious circles from which the link with Judaism was lacking. The question that remains is, to what extent did the acculturation process succeed? The Jews sensed an ambivalent attitude. Despite religious sentiment becoming weaker, the hatred did not disappear, and subsequently even intensified.

possible to leave the Jewish community as individuals, without the need to be baptised, and not in order to join another community. From 1848, civil marriage was introduced. In Braunschweig and Hamburg, the number of Jews marrying in this way was particularly large. Prussian law, on its part, allowed conversion to Judaism, and many instances are known of converted Jews returning to Judaism and of non-Jews who converted to Judaism.

Professional Stratification

Natural increase, emigration, and urbanization also influenced the economic activity of the Jews. The noticeable trends in the branches of employment of Jews during these years are as follows: a considerable increase in regular commerce and banking; a rise in the number of those living off capital and investments; a decrease in manual occupations, daily hire, and domestic service; a marked reduction in the number of poor and those without a trade. It is difficult to estimate the number of Jewish workers, and what the professional breakdown between them was. The incentive for productivity was great up to 1848, and afterwards almost completely ceased. Occupational criteria became more economic, and the practical profession turned into industrial-commercial. In general, the traditional professions based on connections with the feudal manor or service to the courts of princes, were abandoned. The development of capitalism turned the wealthy into capitalists, and the majority of Jews into workers.

During these same years, a strong class of workers formed in the urban areas, with a well-developed class consciousness. Urban Jews tended to become wholesalers, exporters and importers. They mainly traded in food products, luxury goods, or popular products (approximately 80%). They would adopt various methods of advertising in order to promote new products. In Prussia, Jews leaving school preferred commerce to the manual occupations. At the same time, the professional status of a number of occupations such as small-scale trading changed, and they became more respectable. A process commenced of Jews with any sort of starting capital becoming bourgeois. Many of them were attracted to professions requiring mobility such as travelling salesmen, the modern version of the Jewish pedlar. The aim which they were trying to achieve was economic independence.

Banking

With the banks becoming a very important factor in the capitalist regime, many Jews left money-changing and began to manage modern private banks. They distributed government loans, made loans to governments, and managed their affairs on an international scale. Almost all of the large and influential bankers came from well-known Jewish families. Many abandoned their links with Judaism, but there were also those, such as the House of Rothschild, who remained faithful to it. Bleichroeder (1822-1893) was a notable German banker and philanthropist. In 1855, after inheriting the bank from his father, he became a close friend and adviser to Bismarck (As a sign of gratitude for his efforts and contribution, after the Franco-Prussian War he was awarded an aristocratic title). With the conversion of the banks into limited companies, the Jews also found plenty of room for manoeuvre for their activities in this field. The House of Rothschild was active in the development of railways in Austria, and Baron Hirsch received a franchise to build railways in the Ottoman Empire. Jewish enterprise developed in the fields of textiles, food, delicacies, luxury goods, printing, publishing, chemistry, and more. After the establishment of the Reich, there were many Jews in Berlin who were involved in academic teaching.

In this connection, it is especially worth mentioning the Austrian bank, Arnstein & Eskeles, which was founded and managed by members of the Eskeles family, and was in fact the Austrian state bank for a long period during the 18th. Century. (For details on this subject, see Eskeles Genealogy, Line 2).

Industry

In central and western Europe, the Jews, who were already well-established from the economic point of view, took the initiative in developing industry. In Germany, their influence was noticeable in the south and the region of the Rhine. They were involved with the manufacture of industrial machinery, the oil industry, and the copper industry. Many of them, particularly in north Germany, invested in shipping. It is noteworthy that Jewish industrialists tended not to employ Jews.

in the various communities offered them as much assistance as they were able to afford. There was also internal migration among the German Jews themselves, mainly to more urban areas.

In the 19th. Century, a group of Jews, the third in its size, lived in the Duchy of Hessen. During the first half of the century there was a continuous increase in the number of Jews and then the emigration overseas commenced. One of the reasons for this was that the Duchy of Hessen played no part in the economic development of Germany and therefore the Jews preferred to leave it. Dynamic cities were lacking in the Duchy. Apart from the capital Kassel and a number of provincial towns, the choice was between trade and commerce. Jewish families preferred more productive sources of livelihood and wandered to other places. After 15 years of continuous emigration, they had shrunk to small communities around Worms, and eventually they disappeared completely. In Bavaria there was a significant drop in the number of Jews following the passing of draconian legislation against them. The outstanding feature, starting from the middle of the 19th. Century, was the increasing concentration of Jews in the State of Prussia and in Frankfurt, whose number of Jews exceeded that of Hamburg.

Demographers point to the interesting fact that the Jews did not multiply particularly in traditional locations or in places where they were given rights (apart from Saxony, where the number of Jews gradually increased), but in places where they lived or had migrated. The absolute increase among Jews was high compared to the natural increase in Europe, which had undergone a revolution in the provision of medical and sanitary services. Apparently, it stemmed from the following reasons: the increase in life-expectancy, the decrease in infant mortality, few instances of suicide, the stability of family life, the small number of illegitimate children, the status of women, the concern for rearing children, the small number of cases of drunkenness, and the tradition of self-help, charity, etc. An additional point which is worth mentioning is that until 1848 many Jews had not registered with the census so as to avoid paying taxes. After the establishment of the Reich they were compelled to register, and the figures obtained since then are more reliable.

Already, by the middle of the 18th. Century, there was a considerable flow of Jews leaving the borders of Germany. The emigration increased during the 1830's and reached its peak during the insurrections of the 'Spring of Nations' (1848-1849) - the name given to the insurrections and revolutions against reactionary rulers in several states in Europe. In 1848 the number of emigrants was 50,000 and in 1880 one hundred thousand. Some of them emigrated to England and France, while the majority, like the German Christians, set their faces towards the United States. Population censuses taken in the 1880's show that the Jews were concentrated in Russia, Austro-Hungary, Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and New York. Most of the emigrants concentrated in the large cities.

Thanks to their urban character, the Jews quickly integrated into the process of urbanization which was taking place in Europe. The number of Jewish communities with more than 10,000 persons, such as Warsaw, Vienna, Odessa, Berlin, and New York, increased. Jewish newspapers of the same period describe the emigrants in heart-rending fashion. They explain the phenomenon as a choice between flight and hardship. Before the establishment of the German Reich (1870) the Germans regarded the Jewish emigrants in a positive light, since they saw in their emigration an act against reaction. After the establishment of the Reich, they regarded them as deserters and traitors.

Religious Conversion and Inter-marriage

From the middle of the century, the tendency of Jews to be baptised as Christians decreased. The rate increased once more after the establishment of the Reich. According to data provided by Sociologist Arthur Rupp, during the 19th. Century, approximately 22,500 Jews were baptised in Germany. According to an additional statistic from the Historian Ettinger, some two hundred thousand were baptised in Europe alone, mostly to the Protestant faith. Conversions were not equally distributed throughout Germany, the tendency being most noticeable in Brandenburg and Prussia. The further away the Jews were from the sources of the Enlightenment, and the nearer to their historical tradition, so was the rate of baptism small. Many converts brought their children to be baptised before they could be registered as Jews, and thus they were lost to Judaism completely.

During the period of the 'Spring of Nations', there were many Jews, especially in Prussia, who wanted to know if the new regulations would release them completely from their dependence on the community. When it became clear that this was possible, these established independent communities. The turnabout came in the 70's, when it became

threshold of a new generation which would realize the ideas of the Enlightenment. They regarded giving legitimation to particular Jewish redemption as amounting to a lack of loyalty to the German people.

Cultural life revolved around the fashionable 'salons' held by Jewish women such as Rachel Levin-Varnhagen, Henrietta Grätz and others. Well known German intellectuals who took part in these 'salons' such as Fichte (1762-1814), the brothers Schlegel, and others, did not refrain from expressing their disgust of those Jews, who had neither part nor lot in the Jewish People.

The dissociation of German Jews from the orthodox community, a process which had already commenced in the 17th.Century, reached its peak at the beginning of the 19th.Century. A widening gap was created which could not be bridged. Despite the fact that the principles of reform Judaism were only acceptable to a small number of Jews, and the majority remained within the antiquated frameworks, the reform movement had a very great influence, mainly following the emigration of its members to other shores.

In 1813, many Jews answered the call of Frederick Wilhelm (1771-1815), King of Prussia, and went to fight Napoleon. On their return from the war, a great disappointment was in store for them. The Austrian Chancellor (Prime Minister) Metternich (1773-1859), who was Chancellor of Austria from 1813, founded the German Bund at the Congress of Vienna (1815) for the victors. The Congress, which wanted to abolish nationalistic and revolutionary ideas, also brought with it a reaction on the subject of Jewish rights. The Congress determined that the Jews were entitled to enjoy all the rights which had already been confirmed by the German States. This expression replaced the terminology 'in' the German States because, apart from Prussia, which had granted equal rights to the Jews within its borders and in Mecklenburg in 1812, equal rights had been granted by the French, and not by the German States. The land was awash with 'Teutonic' revolutionism (Teutonen - meaning the original German tribes). In the course of time, the term became idiomatic for expressing pure German roots and anti-Jewish nationalism.

The 'Turnvereine' (gymnast organizations), headed by the charismatic leader Father Jahn, and the new all-German students organization, the 'Burschenschaft', spoke out against foreigners and non-Germans. At the Wartburg Fest in October 1817, 'reactionary' books were burnt, among them also books written by the Jew, Saul Ascher. German writers and academics, some very well known like Professors Jena Fries, and Ruhs from Berlin, published vicious articles against the Jews. Since the influence of the two was quite considerable, their articles were received with great acclaim. It was against this background that, in August 1819, pogroms known as the 'Hepp-Hepp Krawalle' broke out in Germany. The pogroms, which were also the outcome of the socioeconomic crises which characterized the transition in Germany from a corporate medieval society to a capitalist society, proved to the Jews that the anti-Jewish feelings of hate from the Middle Ages had not passed from Germany. Bitterness and despair became the lot of the Jews. Whoever wanted an honourable entry permit to Christian society was forced to convert to Christianity.

Jewish Demography and Migration

Around 1800, most of the Ashkenazi Jews were living in the east, on the borders of German cultural influence. In fact, only a small number of German Jews remained who had originated in the Middle Ages. In the main, they lived in the vicinity of the Rivers Rhine and Main, with wide areas around them empty of Jews. Until the 18th.Century, there had been no Jewish settlement in many areas of Prussia, Mecklenburg, and Bavaria. Vienna and Berlin, at the two extremities to the north and south, began to be of decisive importance: Berlin in the 18th.Century and Vienna at the beginning of the 19th.Century. With the conquests of Frederick II, and the third division of Poland (1795), the Polish province of Poznan (Posen) was annexed by Prussia. In this area, thousands of Jews were living, who in the course of time became the majority among German Jewry. This situation brought about an imbalance between the old German communities and the Jewish communities which it had annexed.

Although there was almost no intermarriage between classes, the contact led to an exacerbation of class differences. Just a few years later, when these Jews realized that the traditional community no longer satisfied them, they became enthusiastic supporters of the Enlightenment, joined the centre in Berlin, and contributed their share in the business and journalistic professions. The roads in Germany were filled with 'Polish' Jews, as they were called. Some of them saw in Germany a springboard for emigration overseas, some remained on the soil of Prussia. Self-help organizations

achieving this. Lessing, in his play 'Nathan the Wise' (Nathan der Weise, 1779), and Dohm (1781-1783) in his article: 'On Improving the Civil Conditions of the Jews' ('Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden', 1781, 1783 ([2])), tried to prove that the misfortune of the Jews was a result of fetters and socioeconomic conditions which had been imposed on them by the Christians. The improvement would take place, in their opinion, with abolition of the restrictions.

Matters were not that simple. Not all Germans were aware of the changes which the Enlightenment entailed, and even fewer Germans were convinced in the rightness of a change of attitude toward the Jews. Also among the Jews themselves, their attitude to enlightenment was not unequivocal. There were prominent class differences among them. The wealthy resembled the Christians in almost everything and even sent their children to 'reformed' schools, while the masses continued to live, enclosed in musty ghettos, poor and lacking everything, without abandoning their old habits. Hence, the Enlightenment Jews were not characteristic of all the German Jews, who were completely lacking in rights. The change was brought by the armies of revolutionary France.

Germany at the Period of The French Revolution

In 1792, the French revolutionary armies conquered the regions of the Rhine by storm. In every place that they reached, regulations were proclaimed transforming all the inhabitants into equal citizens before the law. This also included the Jews. In Mainz and Cologne the ghetto walls were burnt, and exiled Jews were allowed to return. The 'euphoria' continued for a short time only. Immediately on the accession of Napoleon to rule, new anti-Jewish winds started to blow through Germany. The German Romantic Movement wanted to glorify and praise the German past by a return to its historical sources. The movement, which made its mark on German literature, art, and the study of history, and which began to flourish at the beginning of the 19th. Century, based itself on a distortion of Darwin's theories of survival, and did not find in it a place for the existence of the Jews.

The Public Debate on the Jewish Problem

The public debate on the Jewish problem had a decisive influence on the formation of political policy regarding them, and on German public opinion. The central question was whether to grant the Jews equal rights and turn them into equal citizens of the German people, or perhaps leave them without rights, or in more extreme cases, to bring about their expulsion. The Germans generally found great difficulty in freeing themselves from the traditional anti-Jewish prejudices which had accompanied them for so long. The intellectuals themselves were divided in their opinion regarding the correct course, since most of them wanted the Jews to be reformed, which in the end would bring about their assimilation into German society. By the term 'reform' they meant education, manners, language, habits etc. which would help to blur the differences between Germans and Jews, a thing which would be of great benefit to the State itself. The intellectuals spoke of the more humane character of the State, of adaptability and of gradual processes. Those who opposed spoke of the national and social pride of the Jews, which was not capable of being bridged, of the expected danger to the State from giving rights to a separate national entity, of the fear of massive migration of Jews to Germany following the granting of rights. The inclination was to give the Jews rights as individuals but not as a national entity. The irony in this stems from the fact that the desire of the reformers and opponents alike was to achieve in different ways a common aim - assimilation of the Jews.

In 1806 (the Peace of Tilsit), Napoleon's victories in Germany were sealed. He established the 'Confederation of the Rhine' on the ruins of 'The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation'. The confederation consisted of 36 secular, apparently independent States. The French enacted laws which were intended to abolish slavery, dismantle the guilds, and grant maximum freedom to the individual and the public. The Germans understood for the first time the meaning of real freedom, compared to servile citizenship. The Jews won partial or absolute freedom in a number of cities and states. In Berlin, their involvement with the life of the Christians was now so great that there are those who claim that during this same period one tenth of the Jews converted to Christianity.

Israel Jacobson opened a Christian-Jewish school and introduced an organ into the synagogue. At the same time, far-reaching changes were made to the text in the Jewish prayer book, and all prayers referring to redemption and the return to Zion were removed. The subject of redemption was not an issue at all. These Jews felt that they were on the

wide audience. The perfection of printing and means of communication permitted its ideals to pass from place to place at a relatively great speed. Its principles were based on daring to investigate and being aware, on the optimistic belief in the logical ability of rational man to achieve happiness, on faith in reason as a source for solving problems and forming an outlook on life, on scepticism and a critical attitude toward the past in general and the Church in particular, and on freedom of economic activity and non-interference by the State (liberalism). The accent was placed on rationalism and on the 'rational' aspect in all matters. A true intellectual was considered to be one who examines everything in a logical manner. It was a recognition of the right of the intellect to be its own master, without any preceding power or authority. There was nothing to be gained from what had taken place in the past, such as tradition, customs or education. The past enslaved the intellect. The source of all evil was ignorance, and first and foremost, sensible reform was required. The Enlightenment had a new evaluation of reality and it contained the social ideal of public reform. It wanted what was good and pleasant for man.

Enlightened Absolutism

A number of European rulers, such as Katharina Alexejewna II of Russia (1762-1796), Joseph II of Austria (1741-1790), and Frederick II of Prussia ('Frederick The Great' 1712-1786), adopted the ideas of the Enlightenment in part. These rulers did not abandon the absolute nature of their rule, and continued to concentrate all authority and liberties in their hands. The essential difference in their attitude concerned the basis of legitimate justification for their existence, which was no longer divine power, but the service they rendered their subjects. They regarded themselves as the highest servants of the State, as they saw fit... "Everything for the People, but not by the People".

The Influence of the Enlightenment on the Jews

The Enlightenment movement became a spiritual ferment which encompassed the whole Jewish Diaspora from the middle of the 18th. Century and enjoyed great support, mainly among the central and west European Jews. The Jewish Enlightenment coined slogans which included: wisdom, i.e. broadening the mind and studying general science; skill, i.e. public concern for preparing the younger generation for the responsibility of a respectable livelihood; language, i.e. learning foreign languages in the places of settlement of the Jews; manners, i.e. improving the way a person behaves both as an individual and in society. The Enlightenment presented the Jewish people with a contradiction between the renewed feeling of life and the traditional view of life. The first breaches were created by prosperous Jews, who in their mode of life were close to the non-Jews. These circles were involved in affairs of State and were therefore attracted by these ideas in ever increasing numbers.

The Centre of the Enlightenment in Berlin

The centre of the Enlightenment was, not by accident, in Berlin. The Jewish settlement in Prussia was prosperous and non-orthodox. The authorities were selective in the Jewish settlement. They exploited financial potential and intervened in the life of the community. The Jews felt themselves to be part of the State despite this being in contradiction to their legal position, as they lacked rights. The Jews of Prussia adapted themselves from the beginning, in their customs, manners, and culture, to the society around them. At the same time, a process took place of unburdening from traditions and communal ties, which in any case were weak. The swift repudiation was not to the taste of Jewish and Christian intellectuals alike. The Enlightenment intended that repudiation would come gradually and respectably and not by blatant contempt for the Jewish religion. In Berlin it was customary to meet in fashionable 'salons', where literary, artistic, and philosophical matters were discussed outside a religious context. It was a pure intellectual society. Most of the intellectuals preferred the practical, Christian Enlightenment, and were not particularly enamoured of the theoretical Enlightenment. That is to say, they preferred commercial ties and appreciation of an individual by means of direct contact.

Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) was considered to be the father of the Jewish Enlightenment movement. He leaned towards secular studies from a young age and was influenced by the spirit of rationalism. When he and his family arrived in Berlin, he sought the company of Jewish intellectuals and was influenced by the German philosopher and writer Lessing (1729-1781). He believed that the Enlightenment would be beneficial in improving the situation of the Jews, who had stagnated in previous generations. He saw the translation of the Bible into German as a way of

various parts of Europe contributed greatly to this. The Jews left the ghettos, moved to large urban centres, and engaged in money-lending, peddling, commerce and banking on a small scale, and more. In areas of South Germany, they were involved in the retail trade in livestock, horses, feathers, clothing, corn, tobacco, cloth, tailoring, etc. and in places where guilds did not yet exist - in diamond polishing, painting, and more. The Jews were accustomed to sell their wares at fairs in the large cities. At the same time, there were those who received contracts to supply silver for the purpose of minting coinage. There was a very flourishing trade in promissory and exchange notes.

The spiritual-cultural activity, too, which had ceased following the pogroms of 1648-1649, awakened somewhat following the return of German Jews from Poland and Lithuania to Germany. There are historians who claim that the Thirty Years War brought in its wake the second era of German Jewry, the Polish-German era. This era was characterized by the return of Polish Jews to Germany, which their parents had left dozens of years previously. The Jews made their way back, replete with foreign customs. They brought with them new dialects of Hebrew and Yiddish and also rabbinical philosophies which had originated in the east. Starting from this period, the intellectuals and rabbis were of east European origin.

Towards the end of the century, the status of the Court Jew became stronger. The princes needed them as suppliers of regular provisions for their armies, and wheat for the corn and emergency stores of the city. The Jews suffered from stiff competition from Christian merchants and from poor crops or droughts which were liable to thwart all their efforts. There were even cases where they were banned or put to death as a result of social unrest or failure to fulfil demands. They continued to be a very influential class in all matters concerning the continued existence of the Jewish community from which they had come, or which they had established.

There are those who claim that dependence of the community on the Court Jews was also a source of its weakness, since it opened the door to interference by the external government in internal arrangements. The 'Jewish masses' developed extremely ambivalent feelings toward the Court Jews. On the one hand, thanks to them, new possibilities had opened up for trade and permanent settlement, but on the other, their wealth and ostentation caused strong hatred and jealousy. The swift enrichment may have brought with it a rise in the standard of living, but it led to a lowering of morality. Avarice grew, and as a result the Law was forgotten. On the eve of the capitalist era, man's worth began to be determined by his wealth. The wealthy Court Jews built palaces for themselves and middle-class Jews lived in spacious homes and employed servants. The use of gold and silver utensils and imitating the ways of the non-Jews was commonplace. Even the preachers who cried out against the widening gap between rich and poor, did so to no avail. The Court Jews ruled high-handedly over the Jewish masses, who were also the first to be affected the moment that the Court Jews lost favour with the ruler.

These wealthy Jews became increasingly interested in collecting culture, art, and establishing museums, by which means the Jewish heritage was recorded and preserved. It also allowed the Germans to indirectly get to know the beauty of this heritage and its culture. This was a period in which the Jews of Germany presented their children with an appreciation for luxuries, and the level of enjoyment rose for things other than for the purpose of making a living. It led many of them to indulge in idle pastimes such as games of chance and cards.

By 1700, numbers had grown as a result of natural increase, marriage at a young age, and the absence of epidemics. Jews who had been expelled from Switzerland and Bohemia moved to Germany and set up residence. By the 18th. Century, many new communities were added, numbering more than 30,000 persons. The 17th. and 18th. Centuries brought about a cultural flowering in France and Britain, but not necessarily in Germany. The Jews, too, were affected by an impoverishment of spirit which expressed itself by their joining false messianic sects. At that time, vicious anti-Jewish slanders began to be published in Germany, principally written by Eisenmenger (1654-1704), which were to have a far-reaching influence on the future of the Jews.

The Enlightenment Movement (Rationalism)

The Enlightenment Movement developed in the 17th. and 18th. Centuries, following the swift advance and development of the Natural Sciences. Its influence was considerable in all spheres of life. It caused a radical change in values in western radicalism and re-formed the outlook on life of modern man. Despite the centre of the movement being in Paris and its main thinkers being French, its purpose was cosmopolitan and its message was intended for a

return and settle there. In 1582, it contained some 200 Jewish inhabitants. In 1607, we already find mention of the name of a Rabbi. Two leaders of the community represented it before the local council. Fürth's Jews were mainly involved in trade, and their commercial links were with Bohemia and the East. There are two versions regarding the influence of the Thirty Years War had on them. According to one version, the region was affected relatively lightly, while the other version claims that the community was scattered in all directions during the period of the war.

The expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670 caused much capital and talent to flow to the city of Fürth, and it became a serious competitor to Frankfurt on Main. Subsequently, this fact contributed to creating the foundation of the great Jewish community in Berlin. The wider community concentrated mainly around Geleitgasse. The old synagogue near Koenigstrasse was built in 1617 and the new synagogue in 1697. An additional synagogue of the Fränkel family, was established in 1707. The cemetery had been consecrated some hundred years previously in 1653, and also the 'Hekdesh' hospital. Towards the end of the 17th. Century a Hebrew press developed in Fürth. Several Jewish families started to work in printing and published a considerable number of books. Despite attempts to put a stop to the publication of books which were printed in Hebrew, the work continued until the second half of the 19th. Century. In 1719, the community numbered some 400 families. Its political status was settled by the Bishop. In return for the annual taxes which the Jews paid, they were promised protection for their lives and property. They were permitted to build places of worship and employ a cantor, beadle, and gravedigger. In cases of dispute between Jews, the right of jurisdiction was in the hands of the Jewish court. In cases of disputes, and court cases between Jews and Christians, they were judged by the Ecclesiastical Court. The Fürth community conducted all its affairs with the help of a set of rules instituted in 1728. The first Jewish orphanage in Germany was established in Fürth in 1763, and from the 17th. Century until 1824 it also contained an important Yeshiva. In 1862, an orthodox school was set up in Fürth, which in 1899 was also recognized by the authorities as a High School. At the same time, the importance of the community, whose sons rose to high positions in the field of jurisprudence, grew. The Jewish community contributed greatly to the economic and political development of the city. The number of Fürth's Jews rose gradually until the 80's of the 19th. Century. From then on the numbers dwindled. At the time of the rise of the Nazis to power, there were 2000 Jews in Fürth, representing 2.6% of the total population.

Following the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna, members of the Eskeles family also arrived in Fürth, returned once more to Vienna and finally, the German branch of the family settled in Fürth. We do not know precisely who and when they moved from Vienna to Fürth and back again, but it is clear that the ties between members of the family in the two cities was close. Rabbi Jacob Chaim Eskeles, son of Rabbi Gabriel Eskeles, added Fürth to his name. In her memoirs, Glueckel von Hameln (1645-1724) writes of the Jews who engaged in minor lending, the manufacture of cheap jewellery, and peddling German and Dutch haberdashery. Glueckel also recalls Rabbi Gabriel Eskeles who was the Rabbi of Metz and the President of the Jewish Ecclesiastical Court of Moravia.

Jews in Germany in the Middle of the 17th. Century

Court Jews (Hofjuden)

After the Thirty Years War, there began the process of the slow disintegration of the 'Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation' (this was a name given to the German principalities and other parts of Europe which belonged to the German tribes from the beginning of the 9th. Century until the conquest of Napoleon at the beginning of the 19th. Century). Germany was fragmented into more than 300 principalities, in each of which, apart from the free cities such as Frankfurt and Hamburg, the princes were absolute rulers, duplicating the system of government which was usual in France. In the new political situation which was created, a new class of Jews arose, who were called 'Court Jews'. The Court Jews were under the direct control of the princes and were granted privileges in status, dress, etc. The extended members of the Jew's household were also granted these benefits. The role of the Court Jews included supply, provisioning, loans, commerce, supply of precious stones, art objects, etc. The first Court Jews of which we are aware appeared in Vienna and Prague, and little by little, the Jewish communities which lacked privileges became dependent upon them. A number of Jews who excelled greatly in their service to the princes were even awarded aristocratic titles.

In the period of crisis and destruction through which Europe passed in the years following the Thirty Years War, the Jews helped greatly in the economic recovery. The extensive system of contacts which existed between the Jews in

The Jewish Community of Vienna

The Jewish community of Vienna, which had reawakened after the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), increased greatly. In Austria, there was a constant fear of the stream of refugees coming from the Ukraine, which flooded the country following the pogroms of 1648-1649. Austria, which had already expelled all the Jews from its territory, wondered what to do with the masses of Jews. Following the wars against the Turks, the influence of the Catholics increased greatly, and especially the Order of the Jesuits. These incited the government against Jews and Protestants alike. In particular, they were envious of the Jewish community of Vienna which numbered some 4000 souls, most of them well-to-do. The majority of the Jews in the community were merchants who had commercial contacts with Turkey, Italy, and Poland. Their principal trade was cloth, jewellery, horses, and providing loans to the nobility. The Jews paid protection money for permission to remain, and additional taxes. This fact was not lost on the princes, who were obliged to keep close contact with the Jews since these were helping them at a difficult time. The Thirty Years War brought about a noticeable increase in wealth of some of the Jews.

Following this development, the town council requested that the Jews be placed under its protection. Despite repeated attempts, the Emperor refused, because he knew that this would bring about the destruction of the community and, as a consequence, of his income. The change in the situation of the Jews commenced with the accession to the throne of Emperor Leopold I (1640-1705). This devout Jesuit disciple was exposed to the influence and entreaties of the town council, and to the counsel of his first wife Margaret Theresa (1741-1780), daughter of King Philip IV of Spain, who was a notorious and deadly foe of the Jews. It was difficult for her to reconcile herself to the fact that in her country there were no Jews at all, while in the place where she ruled the Jewish community prospered.

She realized her evil scheme at the time that war broke out with the Turks. A libel was spread, according to which the Jews, whose commerce with the Ottomans was known to all, were treacherously negotiating with them. The result was immediate. Mass incitement, pogroms, and brutalities by individuals and groups, commenced in the 'Jewish city'. It is true that the Emperor put a stop to the riots, but he hesitated in finding a solution to the problem. He was supplied with the means by his wife. After she gave birth to a stillborn child, she decided to 'appease' God by offering the Jews as a sacrifice. Permission for expulsion was supposed to be given by the Committee of the Inquisition which had been set up in order to solve a number of theological questions regarding the Jews. The Committee of course issued its decree as expected - expulsion. During its deliberations, and according to the summary it presented, it painted a most negative image of the nefarious and shady activities of the Jew.

In July and August 1699, the order was given to expel the impecunious Jews from Vienna and from Lower Austria. These owned little property and the Emperor had no interest in them. Among them were Rabbis and scholars who were exempt from taxation. Permission was granted for wealthy Jews to remain until they had liquidated their businesses. The Jews attempted to avert the evil decree in various ways, but another dead child only increased the desire of the Emperor to bring about their total expulsion. Meanwhile, the members of the town council sold the houses of the Jews but did not transfer them the money. New taxes and levies were also imposed on them. This situation brought about the complete impoverishment of the community and then, too, came the turn of the wealthy. Sixteen remaining leaders of the community were held as hostages in the event that Jews should deceive or take their revenge on the Christians. Since nothing happened, the leaders were freed and they, too, were expelled. During the course of these events, not one Jew converted his religion so as to remain in the city. Within a short period, the Jewish quarter became a Christian quarter, and the synagogue - a church. But the inhabitants of Vienna quickly began to feel the absence of Jewish capital and trade. The king, who could not openly repeal the expulsion order, allowed the Jews to return gradually. And thus it was, that within a relatively short period, and despite the growing opposition of the townspeople, the number of Jews in Vienna increased.

Germany

Jewish settlement in Germany expanded after the Thirty Years War. It was a result of internal migration which was a product of economic motives, expulsions, and an attempt to build a new life. A good example of this was the establishment of the Jewish community in Fürth. When Nuremberg expelled its Jews, Fürth, which was close by, opened its gates. Fürth, like other towns along the Rhine, had commercial links with the East. Jewish money-lenders there are mentioned for the first time in 1440. Later, they were removed from the city. In 1528, they were allowed to

The Jews of Bohemia (Boehmen)

At the beginning of the 16th. Century, German families, for example the Fugger family, began to establish commercial monopolies which squeezed out the small traders. For the Jews, this situation, which was accompanied by persecutions and bankruptcies, was unbearable. In their search for new sources of livelihood, they emigrated to Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland. In the first quarter of the 16th. Century, when Bohemia was under the protection of the King of the Jagellons (Jagellonen), the Polish dynasty which ruled between 1386-1572, and was marked usually by its favourable attitude toward the Jews, the number of Jews there increased greatly. The king imposed his authority over the Jews and forbade them to receive protection from local nobility.

During the same period, the Loeb family, forebears of the Eskeles family, were also wandering eastward and we find them at the beginning of the 16th. Century in Bohemia, Prague, and Poznan.

At the beginning of the 17th. Century, we come across the daughter of Rabbi Chaim Issenheimer who refers to the family of the 'Maharal' of Prague (Der Hohe Rabbi Loeb von Prag). The 'Maharal', who was born in Poznan and died in Prague, won great fame in that city. Like him, his brother, Sinai Ben Bezalel Loeb, the grandfather of Rabbi Gabriel Eskeles, was born in Poznan and died in Prague.

In 1501, the King and the Landtag (the local Parliament) announced that if the Jews would pay all the taxes imposed on them, they would not be expelled from the country, and all their privileges would be preserved. A number of towns in Bohemia succeeded, under various pretexts, in expelling the Jews, but in Prague, apart from one year when they were expelled, the king forbade the Jews to leave the city limits, and placed them under the protection of the local Burggraf (a sort of mayor for townspeople). He also allowed the Jews who had fled from the city to return. The town council, which did not approve of their prosperity, did everything within its power to reduce their economic activity.

As the Jews were unable to fulfil the requirements of the decrees against them, the inhabitants of the town demanded unceasingly that they be expelled. The situation remained unchanged for as long as the wars against the Turks continued (during the 16th. Century) and the princes were in need of Jewish business and credit. The entry into the town of the new Governor, Ferdinand, was greeted with joy by many Jews. Ferdinand promised, as had his predecessor, to preserve all their privileges and to oppose their expulsion. He also warned the local populace against attempts to exploit the Jews. From now on their affairs were determined by the 'Bohemian Department' which collected taxes from the Jews and protected them from the town councils. From time to time, the latter were reprimanded for unfair treatment of the Jews. The Department was in contact with the leaders of the Jewish community in Prague and with the committee of Jewish communities in Bohemia.

Although the king was in great need of the income from the Jews, he was unsuccessful in putting an end to the blood libels and expulsions from the towns of Moravia (Moravien) and Schlesia (Schlesien), where the influence of the townspeople increased, and they also demanded the expulsion of the Jews from Prague. They used the pretext that Jews were smuggling silver ingots abroad and were thus harming the monopoly of the local mint. After the Turks defeated the Hungarians at the Battle of Ofen, Hungary, in 1541, the influence of those demanding expulsion increased. These were now joined by the Department, which claimed that the Jews were collaborating with the Turks. And so an expulsion order was issued and the mobs began to plunder Jewish property. At this stage the king intervened, took those who were leaving under his protection, prosecuted the rioters, and gave the Jews an extension to leave the country until 1542. As usual, the wealthy were granted a longer extension to allow them to settle their financial affairs. Towards the end of the 16th. Century Jews were expelled from many areas of Germany, mainly from the towns. The Jews wandered to areas closer to the Polish border and settled in small rural communities. Many areas in the interior of the country were 'cleared' of Jews. In only four towns in Ashkenaz did the historic, communal continuity continue - Prague, Vienna, Frankfurt on Main, and Worms, but this was not to be for very long.

The Spoken Language

The Jew continued to keep and to preserve the original language with which he arrived in Germany, even when he was within the walls of the Ghetto. While the upper classes kept strictly to the original language, the masses adopted their own tongue. They created a new jargon which was exposed to different variations of the local dialects. Jews who arrived from Italy and France adopted several dialects and revitalized Yiddish while adding new elements. Occasionally, their language retained Roman-Latin elements. In other instances, they copied in one way or another the German grammar. Yiddish was very common among the Jewish communities in southern Germany at the end of the Middle Ages, and there are some who claim that there is a connection between it and Old German (Mittelhochdeutsch).

Jews were accustomed to spice their language with ingredients from the past, such as a return to the ancient Hebrew texts, and this was instrumental in preserving it. Women preferred it because of the translations of the Bible, the Prayer Book, and the books of ethics. Tales, love stories and travel books would also be translated, thus popularising it among the majority of the people. With its migration eastward, Yiddish took the place of the Slavic language which was until then common among Jews. Obviously, local elements were also added to it, but in general, most of the Jews of Europe spoke, wrote, and lived in Yiddish until the period of the Enlightenment. What prevented the spread of the language to southern Europe was the Balkan dialect of the Sephardi Jews. One of the reasons for the difference in stress and pronunciation between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi versions of Hebrew is the linguistic influence which Yiddish had on German Jews, also in the manner of reading and speaking Hebrew.

In the 17th. Century, after the pogroms of 1648-1649, pogroms which the Cossacks and others carried out against the Jews at the end of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), the spiritual centre of Ashkenaz Jewry, from the quantitative and qualitative point of view, passed to Poland-Lithuania.

In Germany a new status of prosperous homeowners arose who became part of the surrounding urban culture. These Jews differed in character from the Jews of eastern Europe. The difference derived mainly from the change in source of income following the geographical discoveries at the beginning of the New Age (1492 onwards). During the same period, the demand for luxury goods increased greatly. The economic activity of the Jews of Ashkenaz became more extensive, also by trading with the settlements overseas. Overland trade with the Jews of Poland and Lithuania also greatly increased the extent of their commerce. New contacts were created between them and the Ottoman Empire. Jews exiled from Spain, and later also their Ashkenaz brothers, penetrated the trade in precious stones and became specialists in it. Among their main clients were the great houses of the nobility in Germany.

The Reformation

The Reformation began with the German priest Martin Luther (1483-1546), who strongly opposed the sale of indulgences by the Pope in order to finance the building of luxury edifices in Rome. Luther, who only intended to reform, in fact founded a new religion - the Protestant Religion. His attitude toward the Jews, like his attitude to other events such as the peasants revolt in Germany of 1515, bears witness to his controversial image. At first, his attitude to the Jews was sympathetic, because through them, he intended to demonstrate the abuses of the Church. When he did not receive great support from them, or alternatively - their religious conversion, he wrote attacking them with hate and anger. The sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) explains Protestant Determinism as believing that the fate of man on earth is preordained. If he is successful - it means that he has found favour in the eyes of God even while he is alive, and if not - the curse of God is upon him. All the more so regarding the Jews. Their sorry state and humiliation in the present is a sign of the hand of God, who has deserted them for another, and better people. Persecuted and damned, they appeared as those whose fate can no longer be changed. The Jews were very quickly disillusioned from their hope of tolerance or sympathy from the Protestant sects. Between the 'Peace of Augsburg' in 1555, which determined that "The religion of the Prince is the religion of the State" (*cuius regio eius religio*) and which demarcated the north of Germany for Lutherans and the south for Catholics, and the Thirty Years War, the political situation in Ashkenaz was unstable.

Legal Institutions

Every community aspired to set up its own Court of Law. In fact, the Court's sphere of jurisdiction was the community. The community usually disapproved of accepting additional Jews. A 'Residence Ban' was imposed on an individual who settled in it against the wishes of its communal leaders, and only in cases of absorbing refugees was this law broken. Over the years, a communal tradition of respectability was built up within the communities which, with the internal distinguished lineage of their veteran members, prevented those who did not belong from joining.

Economic Regulations

'Clientele'

This was a regulation which stated that one must not try and tempt a non-Jew, who is a permanent customer of a certain Jew, to buy from another Jew, by offering discounts and benefits.

'Right of Interjection'

This was an appeal to public opinion concerning an injustice which had taken place, by interrupting the Reading of The Law. It was common mainly in small townships.

Change in the Image of the Family

The most well-known ban was that of Rabbeinu Gershom, who forbade a Jew to marry two wives, except in a case where the man's wife was mentally ill. This ban completely changed the character of the Jewish family in Ashkenaz.

Social and Spiritual Life

From the end of the 10th.Century, French and Ashkenaz Jewry was distinguished by its high cultural level and its unique tradition. Study groups were created around sages in the community, which adopted for itself a system of ideals, such as service to the Jewish Nation and the highest degree of morality. The simple folk also received instruction regarding suitable conduct. Study of the Torah, the language, and the holy books became the supreme ideal. The concern of parents for children brought about the design of a system of study and education which differentiated the Jews from the non-Jews. The spiritual work did not cease, despite the persecutions of the 14th.Century. The increase in Yeshivot contributed greatly to the spirituality of the People. In certain places, the sage concentrated a number of disciples around him who continued to spread his ideas. Teaching indeed became a matter of honour, but it was also a livelihood. The sages also earned a living from providing hot meals for their students in their houses. Groups of Yeshiva students were formed, with their own particular ways and life-style.

The Tosafists (Ergänzer) - 11th. and 13th. Centuries

For the sake of deepening the understanding of the Talmud, the 'Tosafot' were created in Ashkenaz. The Tosafists regarded the Talmud as a sacred sphere and saw their work as being only a commentary on the Talmud, Rashi, and the Gaonim. Outstanding among them were Rabbi Samuel ben Rabbi Meir and Rabbeinu Tam. The 'Tosafot' are a collective work which continued over many generations. It includes interpretation of words and explanations, definition of concepts or their reformulation, legal discussions, and more.

Ashkenaz Hassidim

Starting in the 12th. Century, and during the 13th.Century, a group of God-fearing Hassidim formed in the communities of Ashkenaz, who feared sin and aspired to a life of simplicity and innocence. They were very strict with themselves and acted with enthusiasm and out of reverence for the Creator. These Hassidim were mystics who studied the secret mysteries of the Cabbala. Their perception of the creation was holistic and it also included a belief in demons and spirits. They believed that the dead continue to exert an influence over the living. They scorned the existing world, but feared demonic forces. In spite of their ascetic-monastic way of life, they led normal family lives. They regarded prayer as being devout, intellectual, and personal. Great devotion and concentration were natural foundations of their faith. Inner belief and devotion were most important. Until the 18th.Century, Hassidic ideals were of supreme importance in the life of Ashkenaz Jewry.

In 1679, the French burnt the city, and ten years later a Jewish community was once again established in it. In the following centuries, Worms was not counted among the important Jewish communities in Germany. During the 19th. Century, there were 800 Jews living there who enjoyed the equal rights given to the Jews of Hessen. In the period of the 'Spring of Nations' (see below) a Jew was appointed as mayor. By the rise of the Nazis to power, the Jewish population of Worms numbered 1016.

At the end of the Middle Ages, there was a growing recognition among the Jews that they must convince the rulers of their need to remain in the various principalities. They believed that they had to emphasize the glory of the name of the ruler in protecting the Jews, and they became, willingly, the private property of this or that ruler. They were 'Servants of the Treasury'. In 1263, the Emperor Frederick the Second declared the Jews in Germany to be "Servi Nostra Camerae" - "Servants of our Treasury". From this period on, privileges which various rulers granted the Jews mainly related to the subject of money.

The Persecutions

Until the 15th. Century, the Catholic religion was the only legitimate religion in Europe. The Jews were humiliated, and the Catholics denounced them as the murderers of Jesus. Having said that, one should remember that the Church sometimes served as a restraining factor against the bloodthirsty mob. The existence of Judaism as a separate group represented, then as always, a permanent challenge for the Church, whose leaders would from time to time issue written polemics against the Talmud. The arguments, which were intended to glorify Christianity, led to the creation of an atmosphere of anti-Jewish incitement, and to an increase in their isolation and persecution. Jews were sculpted, painted, and portrayed in all fields of art in a distorted and frightening way. In many places in Europe, Jews were forced to wear pointed hats or yellow patches in order to make them easily recognizable. The masses attributed everything that was bad and corrupt to the Jews, and at the time of a religious festival or when any disaster occurred, the Jews were always made the scapegoat. One of the most notable examples of this were the blood libels (their outstanding common factor was; the Jew thirsting for the blood of children). Riots against the Jews were the outcome of religious ignorance and fanaticism, but at the same time, the tendency to try and burn the hated promissory notes always repeated itself. Towards the New Age the situation of the Jews became unbearably difficult, because the authorities did not want, or were unable to protect them, and criticism of the disturbances was also made half-heartedly.

Jewish Leadership in the Late Middle Ages

Geographical communal continuity, that is to say, permanent settlement in one place for a long period, could not be preserved because of outside events. Each time, the community was forced to rebuild itself in another place, and set up its institutions. In the ancient and well-established communities, particularly narrow rules of government crystallized, which were based on distinguished family lineage and on money. Domination by the family oligarchies affected the atmosphere of cooperation and solidarity, and soured the taste at the regional meetings.

Activities and Purposes of the Independent Leadership

Tax Collection

The community itself was responsible for collecting taxes and transferring them to the ruler. It is true that an attempt was made to collect taxes in a progressive and equitable manner, but not in all cases was this successful. The authorities for their part were always ready to offer help in collecting the tax.

The Ban

Banning was used as a tool for enforcing internal discipline. The leaders of the community used it in order to discover the value of property, incidents of theft, losses etc. In the eyes of those of the period, the ban was perceived as the right of force majeure. Whoever was caught infringing the rules of the community was isolated from the rest of its members and a ban was imposed on him. A person on whom a ban was imposed could convert to Christianity, and thus remove the punishment from himself. It is known that there were a few cases of conversion. In the main, even the most hardened offenders preferred to be banned, but to remain within the framework of the community.

The 'Black Death'

On 10th. Adar Bet, 1341, when the 'Black Death' was raging throughout Europe, anti-Jewish disturbances broke out anew in Worms. The 'Black Death' was a popular term for the bubonic plague which broke out in Europe in the middle of the 14th. Century and wrought havoc on the population. As a result of the plague, the demographic appearance of the continent was completely altered. Jews were accused of spreading the plague and poisoning the wells. It was even said that since they knew which wells were poisoned, they did not drink from them and thus remained alive. The historical explanation is, that the plague broke out when the sailors disembarked in Italy from a ship which had sailed from the east, and the Jews, who observed the rules of hygiene, were relatively less affected than other populations.

When the rioters reached Worms, a few Jews succeeded in escaping to the south, to the city of Heidelberg and its surroundings. The vast majority of the members of the community remained in their houses. When the rioters arrived, many preferred to immolate themselves. Others were slaughtered by the mob. The city council confiscated their property. When the rioting was over, King Karl IV (1316-1378) renounced all royal privileges that he had regarding the Jews in favour of administration by the city council. From now on the community was administered by 12 leaders, one of them appointed by the Cardinal to be 'Bishop of the Jews' for the period of his lifetime. The last appointee to this post died in 1792.

Commencing in the middle of the second half of the 14th. Century, we find the first evidence of the ancestors of the Loeb family, who three hundred years later would be called Eskeles. We refer to Rabbi Bezalel ben Jacob Loeb, Rabbi Jacob ben Judah Loeb, and Rabbi Bezalel ben Chaim.

A change also occurred in the professions of the Jews after the plague. They engaged in petty hawking, peddling their wares from house to house, or were agents in small businesses. The development of the city also contributed not a small amount to the change - the Jews supplied the burghers with haberdashery and wares that they needed. The status of the burghers, residents of the towns, improved following the establishment of new towns and the development of trade. Compared to the rest of the population, most of the burghers were wealthy and educated, but they lacked political rights.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages (in the middle of the 15th. Century), the number of Jews who began to live in outlying regions where Jews had not previously settled increased greatly. Whilst it is true that this was because the persecutions, it was also the result of economic needs, which brought about a search for new sources of livelihood. A change also took place in the structure of the communities. Following the expulsions and frequent crises, the Jews were in need of much guidance and faith. This caused a change in the status of a number of those with official roles. From the 15th. Century, the sage of the community became the leader and he regarded himself as having sole authority. This phenomenon was in accord with bestowing 'Rabbinical ordination', which became a precondition for filling the role of Dayan and teacher. The ordination bestowed on its owner the title of 'Our Teacher' and principally gave confirmation by the distinguished sage that the ordained person had Halachic knowledge and was himself entitled to teach. The stratum of new sages which was created demanded that it receive privileges and claimed a central place in the leadership of the community. The sages began to regard themselves as saintly men. This created disputes and rifts between them and between their disciples. At the same time, the regional assemblies of heads of communities continued to be held.

Between 1353-1355 the Jewish community of Worms was re-established. This stemmed from the refusal of the city's inhabitants to pay the taxes which the Jews had previously paid. The Jewish community marked the 10 Adar as a day of remembrance. Nothing remained from this community apart from its glorious name and past. Even so, one can say that it was not as celebrated as its predecessors. Its demise was in 1615, with the artisans' uprising. In the area of the ghetto of Frankfurt on Main, a riot took place which was directed against the local patricians. During the disorders, which were called 'Fettmilch' after their instigators, Jews were injured and Jewish property damaged. Order was restored in the town with the help of the local militia, but the aftermath of the riots affected other Jewish communities along the Rhine. The Jews of Worms fled the city and the rioters desecrated the synagogue and cemetery. The Jews returned a year later. The first leader of the renewed community was David Joshua Oppenheim who in 1624 founded the Rashi House of Learning.

In 1097, a year after the slaughter, the German Emperor Henry IV (Heinrich, 1050-1106) allowed Jews who had been converted to return to the Jewish fold. A short while later, a small community was established once again in Worms. In 1112, the German Emperor Henry V (1086-1125) renewed the system of privileges which had previously been granted during the reign of his father, Henry IV. The Jews of Worms, in common with the rest of the German Jews at that time, from then on concentrated on money-changing and not on commerce. At the time of the Second Crusade (1146), the local Jews had learnt the lesson of their fathers and escaped in good time to the castles in the area, where they remained until the turmoil subsided. After returning to the city, the Jewish community slowly expanded.

In the 13th. Century, the Cardinal received control over the affairs of the Jews. He equated some of their liabilities with those of the Christians (this mainly refers to penal jurisdiction). The additional significance that the change had for the Jews, is that from now on they had to pay him an additional tax, in return for which they enjoyed protection. Nevertheless, in the case of an attack on the city, the Jews had to play an active part in its defence, and so it was at the time of the siege of Worms in 1201. Worms scholars took part in the rabbinical synods (theological assemblies) which met in the Rhineland. They also played a part in formulating proposals for laws and settlements which were supposed to apply to the three communities, Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. The regulations enacted had far-reaching influence on all the Ashkenaz communities. Ashkenaz Jewry, despite its contacts with distant Jewish communities, always looked for independent methods of establishing internal leadership.

The two main foundations which guided the communities were the great Torah sages and participation of the members of the community in leadership. In all the written privileges which the Jews received from the rulers, they were given the right to live according to their laws. This right transformed the leadership of the community into an entity with legal and political legitimacy. During the same period, it was customary to form associations, which were professional or legal organisations, with legal sovereignty in certain fields, and which operated without direct connection with the central government, which functioned extremely poorly. The corporate structure in the Middle-Ages allowed rulers to treat the Jews as a sort of additional group, also corporate, which conducted its own affairs.

The more frequent the disturbances against the Jews, and protection of their physical well-being and property became a problem vital to existence, so did the status of the interceders increase and strengthen. The Jews needed intercession and diplomacy in order to receive written privileges and protection, and also in order to make proper use of the funds allocated for this purpose. In the 11th. and 12th. Centuries, a central leadership formed in the region of the Rhine, based on the assembly of heads of communities in the city of Cologne on market days. The aim was to discuss matters of public concern. The communal leader became a central character within, and outside the community. He was considered to possess qualities of being God-fearing and righteous, and to be a person of eminence. Among those who set their seal on the spiritual and religious character of the community were Rashi and the Ragma (Rabbi Gershom Maor Hagolah, The Light of the Diaspora 960-1028).

During Rashi's lifetime, the institutions and independent leadership of the community, which Rashi saw as being the basis for the life of the nation in the Diaspora, developed greatly. He demanded that the heads of the community display a high ethical standard and emphasized the duty to rebuke lack of morals. The strength of the community also formed out of Jewish solidarity in the face of a hostile Christian society, and also because of the special character of the system of decision-making that it introduced, which was based on argument, debates, and unanimous decisions. During the 12th. Century, the community institutions were formed and defined in respect of internal and external affairs, a process which started with the help of Rashi's grandson, Rabbenu Tam (Jacob ben Meir Tam, 1100-1171).

Towards the 13th. Century, the communities, which were situated within the cities, evolved into defined political entities. In Worms, the Halachic personality with the greatest influence was the liturgical poet Menahem ben Jacob. Also prominent was Eliezer ben Yehuda, the disciple of Judah 'The Righteous', the author of the "Apothecary's Book", and Baruch ben Meir and his son, Meir of Rothenburg, who was head of the rabbinical court and who died in 1281.

The Crusades

The crusades took place between the 11th. and the 15th. Centuries. Their aim was to free Jerusalem from the Moslem 'infidels' who ruled it at that time. It was a result of the increase in Christian religious fanaticism at the beginning of the First century C.E., and the expectation of the resurrection of Jesus, which had not been realized. The Crusaders consisted in the main of simple folk and impecunious nobles. Until they arrived in the Holy Land they would kill, rob, and plunder towns and villages in which were living those, who by their definition were considered 'infidels', and among them - also the Jews. Worms did not escape a similar fate to that of its sister cities on the Rhine, through which the Crusaders passed. When the terrible rumours arrived of the evil that incited mobs were inflicting on the Jews, the Jews of Worms preferred, at least at first, to shut themselves up in their houses. In their naivety they relied on help from their neighbours, and even deposited their wealth and chattels with them. Their hopes were not realized, and their neighbours, who had already joined the crusading mobs, together with the rest of the rioters, carried out the first massacre of Jews on 18 May, 1096. Remnants of the community took refuge in the Cardinal's palace. After a week, it was clear that the Cardinal lacked the ability or the means to defend the Jews. The palace was captured by the rioters, and the surviving Jews who remained perished by the sword or chose death for the sanctification of the Holy Name. The sources relate that: "...the Jews killed one another, each his kinsman, his wife, and his children, and also bridegrooms their brides, and merciful women their only sons, and all accepted with a perfect heart the judgment of heaven, and resigning their souls to their Creator, they cried "Shema Yisrael" ("Hear O Israel")... A small number of Jews agreed to be baptised. A total of some 800 persons were slain. Similar scenes were also repeated in Speyer and Mainz.

The Ideal of 'Sanctification of the Holy Name'

Beginning with the First Crusade, many Jews were confronted during the riots with the choice: to convert to Christianity or to die for the sanctification of the Holy Name. The ideal of 'Sanctification of the Holy Name' had existed for a long time and also in the Middle Ages became a central factor, at a time when no help came to the Jews. Most Jews preferred to commit suicide and kill their dear ones so as to avoid falling into the hands of the gentiles. They felt that they were fulfilling a superior commandment. Without knowing the doctrine of Determinism, they believed that God would avenge their blood. The Jews were afraid of forced conversion and the baptism of young children into Christianity. Stories of Sanctification of the Holy Name were intended to strengthen his self-image and pride, and enable the Jew to hold his head high. In the literature of the period, there is no criticism whatsoever of those who preferred conversion to death. The Sages, for their part, were concerned about cases in which confessions were extracted by force from Jews who had converted, and they tried to prevent the incrimination and imperilling of the whole of the Jewish community.

The Jews from the Crusades till the Renaissance (the 15th. Century)

After the First Crusade, the condition of the Jews deteriorated considerably. Contact between the various regions of Ashkenaz was disrupted and uncertain. Competitors of the Jews arose in various countries, mainly from Italy. Many sources of commerce were barred to them. Entry into the city was forbidden to them, while they could not become members of the guilds - trade organizations which were open to Christian artisans only. The Jew was therefore forced to change the course of his business more and more in the direction of money-lending for interest. The Christian turned to the Jew in order to obtain loans for the purpose of investment, repayment of debt or taxes. The Jew possessed the necessary capital and also the experience. Among those applying for loans were merchants, monasteries, nobles and princes. The Jews were accustomed to preserving their sources of income by charging high rates of interest, a fact which did not improve their image. In order to concentrate their capital the Jews used to set up partnerships within their extended family, which sometimes even extended beyond the borders of the state. On their part, the Christians used to provide various pledges as collateral, such as jewellery, articles and used clothing. In order to look after the property deposited with them the Jews became tailors, goldsmiths, and blacksmiths. At a later stage, they began to sell merchandise themselves.

PART I

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE HISTORY
OF THE JEWS OF GERMANY**

by Ruth Eitan

Translated from Hebrew by Stanley Hillel

In German, the solution is relatively simple. The German CH is pronounced in three different ways:

- As guttural - Rache, Woche, etc.
- As SH - weich, schlecht, etc.
- As C - Character, Chronik, etc.

Therefore, the German spelling for 'ח' and 'כ' was CH, so
as Mordechai, Jecheskel, Noach, etc.

The important question for me was the determination of the target public, to whom the transliteration is destined. Only few German speaking members of the family are still alive, and those who remain speak English and/or Hebrew. Only the English speaking members of the family have the problem of transliteration.

If I had adapted the German transliteration, as do most of the German-born experts dealing with genealogy, the CH in Mordechai would be pronounced by English speaking people the same way they pronounce chewing, Charles, Noach would be pronounced like coach, etc.

Therefore, I adapted KH as transliteration for the gutturals khet - 'ח' and kaf - 'כ' (Mordekhai, Noakh), which should be pronounced the way the German pronounce Woche, Nacht, and the Spanish pronounce Juan, sujeto, etc.

Haifa, December 1995

Zeev Eshkolot

The origin of the name ESKELES

There are three versions concerning the origin of the name ESKELES:

- The first explains that ESKELES is the Ashkenazic pronunciation of the Hebrew word ESHKOLOT - ESHKOL is a bunch, ESHKOLOT are bunches; ISH-HA'ESHKOLOT is a man having 'bunches' of wisdom and knowledge. Wise and learned people were called ISH-HA'ESHKOLOT, as surname and title of honor.
- The second opinion, as expressed by Mr. PAUL JACOBI, explains, that 13.1 R. GABRIEL BEN YEHUDA LOEB, the first member of the family who adapted the name ESKELES, married the daughter of the famous Rabbi HESHEL from Krakow. According to Mr. Jacobi, he added HESHEL'S to his name in honor of his father-in-law, and the surname of the family developed from HESHEL'S, HESKELS, ESKELES to ESKELES.
- A third version is given by ENCYCLOPAEDIA JUDAICA, explaining that R. GABRIEL was Rabbi in OLKUSZ, and that the name ESKELES derives from OLKUSZ, ELKESH to ESKELES.

It seems difficult to decide today which of these explanations is the right one. Personally, I believe, that even if either version two or three have some foundation, the reason why the name developed so quickly within the same generation from HESHEL'S or ELKESH to ESKELES, was the intention of R. GABRIEL, who was a very famous and ambitious Rabbi, to add to his name a title of honor, in tune with his standing and ambition.

Whichever is the correct explanation, the Israeli ESKELES decided 50 years ago to return to the name of ESHKOLOT.

Methodical remarks

The system of generations

Since I received a major part of the data, included in the genealogy, from Mr. PAUL J. JACOBI, I decided to adapt his system of classification and enumeration of generations. This system is based on 'Absolute Generations', equal alike for all families, bearing retrograde numbers, following each other every 30 years, each covering a life-span of 75 years. This system is neither perfect nor unanimously adapted by all experts dealing with genealogy, but it is clear and helps to understand the continuity of the generations. In reality, the span of life is not always 75 years, so adjustments had to be made and sometimes a generation is 'skipped'.

Enumeration of names

Every name has a number which never repeats. The number is composed of two parts:

- First part - the number of the generation.
- Second part - a serial number of the name within its generation, having no additional meaning.

E.g., 8.1. Gabriel Eskeles is number 1 of generation 8, not to be confused with 12.1 R. Gabriel Eskeles, 10.2 R. Berend Gabriel Eskeles, 6.2 Gabriel Eskeles, etc.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used:

R. - Rabbi b. - born d. - died
∞ - married /x - divorced
(1) - first marriage (2) - second marriage
? - unknown or doubt.

Names and transliteration

Wherever possible, I adapted the Hebrew spelling of Jewish names in their Sephardic pronunciation, i. e. Yaacov and not Jakob or Jacob, etc. But if the name was written in official documents with the German spelling, I adapted the official German version.

There is a problem of spelling the Hebrew gutturals, which exist also in other languages (German, Spanish and others), but not in English. In order to simplify the problem, I made no distinction between the Hebrew letters khet - 'n' and kaf - 's', and I shall not deal with the problem of the Hebrew letter Ayin - 'u'.

relative difficulty of intercontinental transportation and communication until the end of world war II, and also continuity of the extroverting process of the Jews, restrained relationship and almost cut the ties between the families living on different continents.

The Holocaust changed many conceptions of life for the remaining Jewry. The meaning of being a Jew and that of Jewish life became important and even imperative. Families diminished, and many had almost been extinguished. The concept of family unity became once again an important core of life. The survivors looked for others who had survived and mourned those who had perished.

In Israel, we know again the joy of large families. The most exciting and encouraging surprise for me was the discovery of a large, close and happy family in the U.S.A. I hope that this work, and the modern means of communication and transportation, will contribute to a closer relationship between all members and descendants of the family.

Jewish and non-Jewish parts of the family

In the past, there was identity between the Jewish religion and the Jewish people. Converting to Christianity meant not only deserting the Jewish community, but also rupture with the family. The convert, as well, had no longer interest in relationship with the past. But times and concepts have changed. I shall not discuss within this framework whether Jewry is a religion, a people, or both, and what should be the relationship between them. Jews all over the world, which for many reasons could not follow anymore the traditional orthodox way, have developed other contents and forms in order to continue to live as Jews - the Conservative and the Reform Jewish communities on the one hand for those who still consider themselves as religious, and the State of Israel, where religious and non-religious Jews can live as Jews. We have learned to accept that there might be different - religious and non-religious - interpretations of being Jewish. In Israel, an important part of the population does not consider itself as Jewish by religion, but is proud of being Jewish by nationality.

There is an important difference between the personal-individual approach to the phenomenon of conversion and the social approach. As individuals, many Jews - except the Orthodox - will accept Christians as their friends and even as members of their family. The main or sole aspects which will be important to them are the character and qualities of the person concerned.

But from the social or national point of view, we can not be indifferent to the fact that conversion, as well as many mixed marriages, lead to the abandonment of the Jewish community. As Jews, and especially after the Holocaust in which six millions perished, we are anxious for the future of our people and we feel sorry for every member leaving our community. However, we must accept that there have been cases in the past, and there will certainly be in the future, in which members of the family convert to Christianity for personal reasons. In spite of the sorrow we might feel, and the emotional problems being caused on both sides, we should state very clearly that the family remains a family, and that everyone of its members is and remains a part of it.

I would like to add few personal remarks on this problem of conversion to Christianity:

I am far from discussing the validity of any faith or religion at all. Everybody has the legal and moral right to believe or not to believe and to be part of any religious community. But, when I try to analyze and to understand the reasons for conversion to Christianity, I come to the conclusion that in almost all cases the sole reason for conversion was social pressure and not belief in a better or righter religion.

The main motivation was the aim for integration in the surrounding society which could not be entirely achieved - or not achieved at all - without becoming part of the dominant religious community in every country. This is generally true and correct and we have also examples in our family: the 'von Eskeles' family in Vienna and the Escales family in Germany. Another social reason is a familial one, mostly marriage between a Jewish and a Christian partner, ending in conversion, in many cases to Christianity. In the U.S.A, we have the case of Irwin Eskeles (St. Louis, MO.) who married a Catholic woman and none of them converted when they were married. But years later, eventually under the influence of the sickness of their son, Irwin converted to the Catholic faith.

About many of our ancestors there is little information, so I had to content myself with what I could find and collect. In spite of this lack, I hope that I have succeeded to describe the atmosphere and conditions in which the former generations lived. Another reason is, that in spite of my reminders, not all members of the family sent me their and their children's biographies.

There was a similar problem with the photos. In spite of many reminders, photos were received only of a part of the family members and often, some of them were of so poor quality that they could not be printed in the book.

I have not tried to stylize the different accounts or to give them a uniform shape. I hope that the variety of style and presentation, as written down by so many members of the family, will add to the colorful picture of the Eskeles family.

Biographies and memories of members of the family who were born in Germany before World War II, survived the holocaust emigrating to Israel or to the U.S.A., are relatively long and detailed. I made no attempt to shorten them because they represent a significant history of this generation.

4. Cemeteries

Unlike Christian cemeteries in which the tombs are very often liquidated after a certain time, in order to make place for new burials, Jewish graves last forever - 'until the resurrection'. Many of the graves of Eskeles family have been conserved throughout the ages in spite of bombing in wars and the Nazi regime, and most of the cemeteries are kept in good conditions by the municipalities. These milestones in our history should be known by the living and future generations and enable them to find and visit the graves of our ancestors.

This part includes pictures of the graves and/or reproduction of epitaphs, and a description of the location. Unfortunately this part, too, is not complete, thus includes all available information.

The LOEB - ESKELES family during the ages.

The first known member of the family, R. Bezalel Ben Yaacov (Loeb) lived in the 14th century in Worms, Germany, which was at the time a famous center of Jewish life. During approx. 300 years, we find among our ancestors famous and eminent Rabbis, whose names were connected with Worms, Alsace, Bohemia, Prag and Posen (now Poland), which were centers of Jewish learning. At the end of the 17th century, the family settled in Vienna, and we can from here on trace 3 main branches:

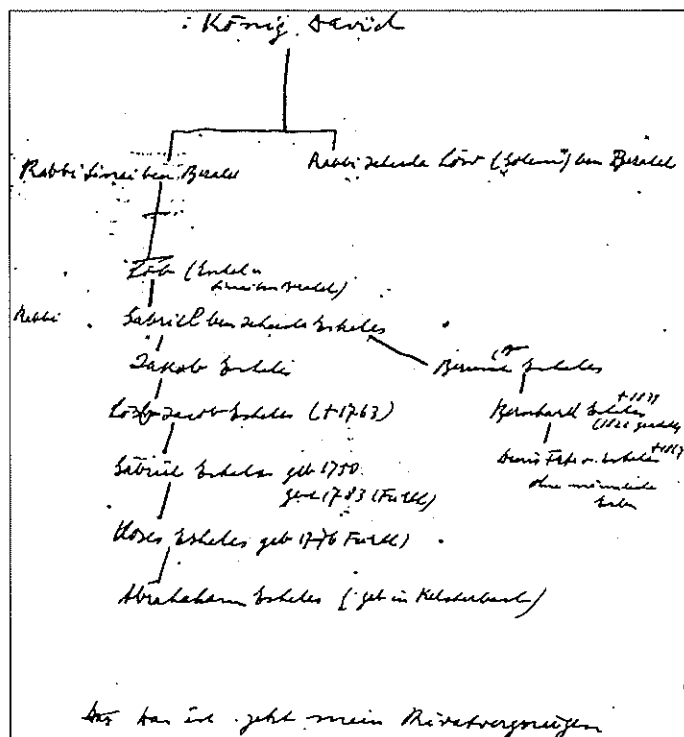
- The 'German' branch, the only one remaining, which came via Fuerth to Kelsterbach, i.e. all Lines of this genealogy, except Line 2 and 12.
- The 'Austrian' branch, Line 2, the richest and most famous branch, which converted to Christianity, had no male descendants and was therefore extinguished.
- The 'Polish' branch, Line 12, about which we have only little information and which was entirely annihilated in the Holocaust.

Evolution in Jewish life

In the past, family and faith were the main stronghold of the Jew. He worked hard to feed his family, his life was in permanent danger, and he and his religion were despised by the surrounding world. All the beauty and dignity of the Jews which have thrived in the past were introverted to their religion and family.

In the 19th century, after the french revolution brought new ideas to the world, the emancipation of the Jews in Europe began. As a result of those events, a slow and controversial process took place, and new opportunities opened to the Jews. They began to discover new fields of intellectual, social and professional activities outside their traditional world. This process lessened, of course, the importance of the two main factors of Jewish life - religion and family. Many could no longer accept the traditional code of religion and sought new meanings and forms of being a Jew. Reform movement, Zionism and conversion to Christianity, are the results of this development.

Nor did relationship in the family remain the same. If, e.g., during the first half of the 19th century most of the 'German' branch of the Eskeles family (Line 1) lived in Kelsterbach, at the end of the century almost none remained there; all had dispersed to other cities in Germany and to the U.S.A. Geographical distances between the families,



1935 - Sketch of the Eskeles genealogy made by 4.1 Otto Eskeles. On the bottom of the page he wrote: "This is now my personal pleasure".

How the genealogy came together

Sixty years ago my late father, OTTO ESKELES, began to collect data and documents concerning the family. However, he did not follow up the matter after 1935 and left only fragments, without completing the framework. I owe all information concerning generations 13 - 100, prior to 1700, including the YIKHUS LETTER, to Mr. PAUL J. JACOBI, who did a very extensive research on Jewish families in Germany and put at my disposal his work on the LOEB - ESKELES families. I would like to thank Mr. Jacobi in the name of all members and descendants of the family for his help. To the best of my knowledge, almost all data are correct, and there is written evidence to support them.

The chain of descent from KING DAVID to R. Bezelel Ben Yaacov, the first ancestor included in the LOEB-ESKELES genealogy, was published by R. WEINSTOCK in the 19th century, and it was based on a YIKHUS LETTER, now in the possession of the Brooklyn Admor of the ZANS Khassidim. There is no conclusive evidence pertaining to the foundation of this chain. However it is partly based on biblical accounts and oral tradition passed from teachers to pupils.

The parts of this book

1. History of the Jews in Ashkenaz (Germany)

This part was written by Ruth Eitan from Haifa University, in order to give the reader an understanding of the historical background. I have added few remarks concerning the influence of the general historical events and developments on the Eskeles family.

2. Genealogy Charts

The charts include all available and up-to-date information on the different lines of the family. The 'Main Line' is almost entirely based on the information given to me by Mr. PAUL J. JACOBI, the later lines are based on information I collected from the family, from municipalities, from Yad Vashem and from the Red Cross Tracing Center.

With few exceptions, I have included only direct descendants in these charts, otherwise the number of pages would have increased too much.

3. Biographies

I have tried to include all available information about the late and living members of the family. In spite of my efforts, this information is not complete for several reasons:



Herrn
 Nikolsburg, 7/8. 1934.
 Berlin W15
 Meinekestrasse 3.
 R. Gabriel ben Jehuda Löb Eskeles muss Reschais
 nicht als Landstrabbiner von Nikolsburg sein
 Er ist in Nikolsburg von Jahr 1690 - 1718. Er ist
 nicht als Rabb. in Prag und Wien. In seinem
 Namen Rabb. in Olkutz, unprov. 1684. Das ist
 (Lewenstein d. c. 1018) über seinen
 Priester in Metz und in Wien. Ein
 Haneln, ed. Kaufmann 7.321 ff. Lituanien
 unter anderem: Michael: Op. hachajim 657: Maffin
 2. 7.358 ff. Tirm. Spitzkopf (gest. 4. Febr. 1718)
 2. 7.378) der Tuschewang d. c. 9. 376. - Tirm.
 Tuschewang ist R. Baumbach (Blenhard) Eskeles, Talm.
 des Gabriel Eskeles und Enkel des R. Jona

1934 - Postcard sent by Rabbi Dr. A. Willman of Nikolsburg, Moravia, to 4.1 Otto Eskeles in reply to his inquiry.

1. August 1934

An den
 Vorstand der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Nikolsburg
 Nikolsburg i/ Mähren
 .-.-.-.-.-

Um das Jahr 1700 herum hat in der dortigen Jüdi-
 schen Gemeinde ein
 Gabriel Eskeles Ben Jehuda - Loeb
 als Rabbiner gewirkt. Ich wäre Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie mir mit-
 teilen könnten, wieviel Söhne er gehabt hat und wo diese hinge-
 kommen sind. Ich selbst bin ein Nachkomme vom Moses Eskeles, der
 im Jahre 1776 geboren worden ist und später in Fürth i/B. lebte.
 Es liegt mir daran, festzustellen, ob direkte verwandschaftliche
 Beziehungen zwischen meinem Vorfahr Moses Eskeles und dem oben
 genannten Gelehrten bestanden haben.

Ich danke Ihnen im Voraus bestens für Ihre Bemühun-
 gen und verbleibe
 mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

1934 - Letter sent by 4.1 Otto Eskeles to Jewish community of Nikolsburg, Moravia, inquiring about the relationship between 7.1 Moses Eskeles and 12.1 R. Gabriel Eskeles.

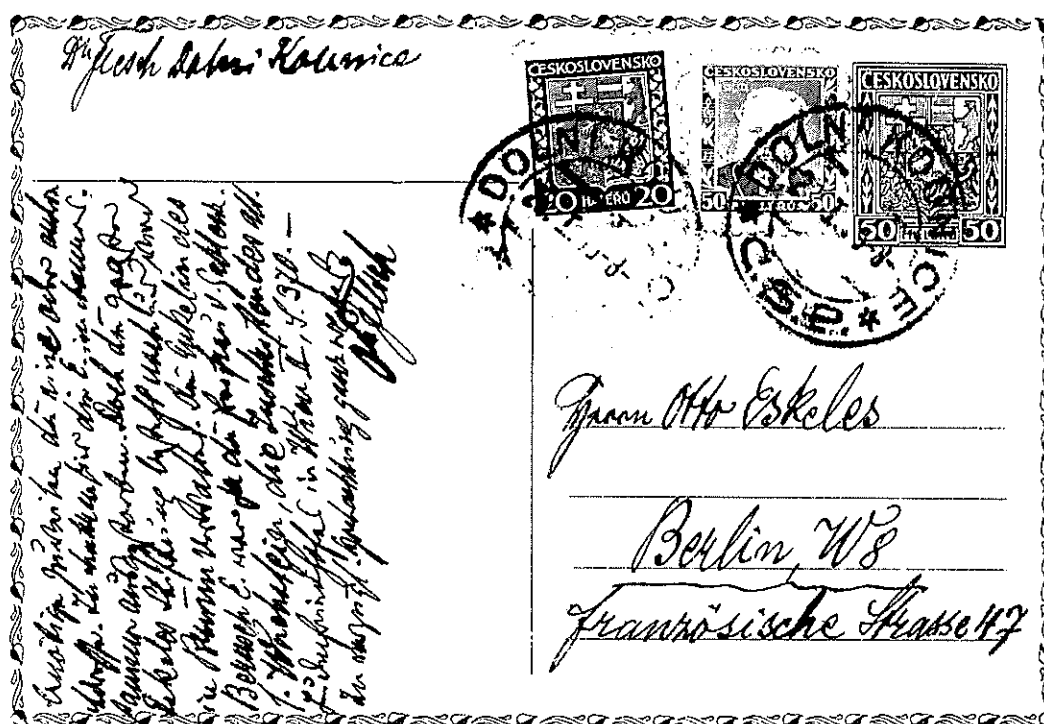
PREFACE

Dear members and descendants of the Eskeles family,

In 1988 I have submitted to you the first part of the genealogy. Today, almost 8 years later, I have the pleasure to present to you the complete edition. Complete, but not final because there is no 'final' in genealogy. Generations come and go, marry and also divorce sometimes, people change their residence, even if it is less frequent than in the past. Therefore, I intend to send once a year an addenda, which will include additions and changes.

This book represents the research which I began ten years ago and which, to the best of my knowledge, contains almost all available data. From the beginning I decided not to content myself with my own ancestors, but to try and find out everything about all the Eskeles and their descendants.

If I have succeeded to a certain extent, it is thanks to the help of other members of the family, who assisted me with enthusiasm and efficiency, Mr. HARALD FREILING from Frankfurt/Main who, with his pupils of the Integrated High School of Kelsterbach did a wonderful research on the Jews of Kelsterbach, as well as many municipalities in Germany, who made great efforts in order to provide me with the requested data and, and last not least, Mr. PAUL J. JACOBY from Jerusalem, who guided me in my work and put his research on the family at my disposal. I would like to express my gratitude to all of them.



1935 - Postcard sent by Rabbi Dr. Flesch of Dolni Kounice, Moravia, to 4.1 Otto Eskeles in reply to his inquiry.

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*In memory
of my mother Olga Eskeles
who died when I was a young child*

*of my father Otto Joseph Eskeles
who began this research in 1930*

*and of Dr. Paula Eskeles
who was for me a second mother*

THE

ESKES

GENEALOGY

