

„12 years old, Jew, Signed Out to England 5/10/39“

**The Fate of Eva Mosbacher
and her Parents**

Christoph Gann,
Translated by Michael Paskert

Cover Photo: Eva Mosbacher's Passport (Stadt/AN, C21/VII Nr. 108)

Rear Cover: Letter from Eva Mosbacher to her Parents on July 29, 1939

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Acknowledgements and Bibliography

I would most like to thank Professor Hans Oleak for relinquishing the letters and documents of the Eva, Hedwig and Otto Mosbacher family, and also for making accessible the correspondence between Else and Franz Heurich and the Heinemann family in Johannesburg and in the USA. I thank John Lindgren for the Photos of Eva Mosbacher and the friendly accommodation. I would further like to thank Gunther Friedrich (Nuremberg State Archives), Gerhard Jochem (Nuremberg City Archives), Karin Köhler (Meiningen City Archives), Johannes Mötsch (Meiningen State Archives), Hilary Ritchie (Addenbrooke's Hospital Cambridge), Brigitte Schmidt (Munich City Archives), Helen Stringer (The Perse School for Girls, Cambridge), Julia Mackinder (Wimbledon) and Beatrice Schwarz (Mellrichstadt) for their information and support.

All photographs and documents not otherwise credited come from private collections.

The Nuremberg City Archives (Stadtarchiv Nürnberg) is abbreviated as „StadtAN“.

This publication imposes no expression of opinion on behalf of the Thuringian State Centre for Political Education. The author carries responsibility for textual assertions.

Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen

Regierungstraße 73, 99084 Erfurt

www.lzt-thueringen.de

2014

Table of Contents

Introduction	5
A Jewish Wedding	7
Jews in Meiningen and Nuremberg	10
English Help for Children	29
Eva's Journey to England	37
First Deportations	51
Constricted Entry Requirements	60
The Final Months	65
Eva's Fate	71
References	75

Introduction

„It's such a pity about my sister. She was such a thoroughly decent and just person, a consummate and devoted comrade. She deserved a better end, which was likely slow, somewhere in Poland; a death of hunger. I dread to think a possible martyrdom.

And yet, what a feeling for a MOTHER to know, that she entrusted her child in stranger's hands, without knowing how and where the child would grow up.

Hopefully they both died quickly and without agony. The uncertainty of how and where they rest makes our grief all the worse. And the shameful, sorrowful circumstance that no one could extend a helpful, brotherly hand, because the barricades, the man-made paragraphs they interposed, barred the path to freedom.

Actually, and please don't think of me as vicious and consider this in the right light, is it not shameful that in a small city only few had the courage and character to risk something? In a city where someone lived for so many years? You can be glad that you belonged to the group of the few, but on the other hand, what a bunch of vermin...”

Hermann Heinemann wrote these bitter sentences from Johannesburg on November 11, 1946 to Franz Heurich, a friend in Meiningen, Germany.

Hermann Heinemann's sister Hedwig and her husband Otto were deported from Meiningen to Belżyce, Poland in May 1942. They were victims of the Nazi mass murders. Their daughter Eva was brought to safety exactly three years earlier by the Refugee Children Movement (RCM).

Eva's letters to her parents and extensive documentation of the desperate attempts of this Jewish family to leave the country have been preserved, thanks to the efforts of Franz Heurich. They give insight into the inhumane measures of the Nazi dictatorship and the vain hope of escape. Franz Heurich hid these documents until the end of the war. Thereafter, he stayed in contact with Eva, her uncles, and her grandmother. Valuables and other items found their way back to Eva's family. Numerous documents remained by Franz Heurich. His son-in-law, Dr. Hans Oleak, brought five folders full of documents back to Meiningen in May 2009, for the research of Jewish history. This was the beginning of further investigations. The author was able to come in contact in Cambridge with the son of Eva's foster mother, and obtained some photographs from that time. In London, Eva's fate would also become clear.

Hedwig Mosbacher wrote in the summer of 1939: “I know with great probability that no one waits for us, neither here nor there. But there is no other choice than trying every-

thing to immigrate to another country. For a long time, there has been no choice. Starting and adjusting is the same everywhere.”

A Jewish Wedding

Bekanntmachung: Herr Fabrikbesitzer Paul Heinemann und seine Gemahlin haben aus Anlaß einer Familienfeier in hochherziger Weise den Betrag von 60 Millionen Mark mir übergeben, von welchem 50 Millionen Mark an alleinstehende, erwerbslose, alte Personen verteilt werden sollen, während der Rest von 10 Millionen Mark für das Kinderheim am Bibrasberg bestimmt ist.

Indem ich auch an dieser Stelle für die reiche Spende den allerherzlichsten Dank öffentlich ausspreche, bitte ich alle diejenigen, welche bei der Verteilung Berücksichtigung finden möchten, sich bis zum 5. September ds. Js. bei unserem Wohlfahrtsamt — 3. 15 — schriftlich oder mündlich melden zu wollen.

Meiningen, den 1. September 1923

Kessler, Oberbürgermeister.

„The factory owner Paul Heinemann and his wife, on the occasion of their family celebration, in a generous manner, have presented me 60 million Mark. Of this donation, 50 million Mark will be divided among unmarried, unemployed, elderly persons, while the remaining 10 million Mark are for the children of Bibrasberg.” Meiningen Mayor Kessler thanked the Heinemann couple for this donation with an announcement in the Meiningen daily newspaper, the *Meininger Tageblatt*.

At that time, high inflation was predominant. The tariff on stationery was 30,000 Mark. The top price for a pound of rye flour was fixed at 79,000 Mark.

The occasion for the donation was the wedding of their nearly 21-year-old daughter Hedwig to the 29-year-old businessman Otto Mosbacher of Nuremberg. The Jewish wedding ceremony took place on September 2, 1923 in the hotel “Sächsischer Hof” in Meiningen. The rural Rabbi Leo Fränckel presided.

According to Jewish custom, the Rabbi blesses the chalice with wine, says a bless-

ing over the chalice, and the couple drinks the wine, symbolizing their life together. The groom places a ring on the right index finger of his bride and said “According to the laws of Moses and Israel, be my wife.” After the reading of the marriage contract, blessings resounds. The couple drinks once more from the wine chalice and the groom stomps on a glass as a reminder of the destruction of Jerusalem. Then they celebrate.

The town hall wedding has taken place in April. The father of the bride and Justizrat Dr. Jacob Simon, an uncle of the groom, were witnesses.

Statt Karten.

Otto Mosbacher
Hedwig Mosbacher
geb. Heinemann
Vermählte

Nürnberg-Meiningen, den 2. September 1923.

Announcement in the Meiningen Daily Newspaper

The Family of the Bride

The father of the bride, Paul Heinemann, came from Gotha. At the end of the 19th century, he and his brothers Bruno and Hugo founded the stationery plant Brothers Heinemann, Meiningen.



Letterhead of the company “Heinemann Bros., Meiningen“



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Hedwig Heinemann

Paul Heinemann married Betty Kaumheimer of Roth near Nuremberg in May of 1900. Their daughter Hedwig was born on September 21, 1902 in their apartment at 22 Leipziger Street.

Their sons Hans and Hermann followed in 1908 and 1911.

The economic success of the company was hampered by the early death of Hugo Heinemann in 1903.

During the First World War, in July 1915, Bruno and Paul Heinemann received the Badge of Honor for service in the war in the band of non-combatants. In the same year, they bought the house at 11 Leipziger Street.

Paul Heinemann soon became a prominent member of the Jewish congregation. In December 1918, he became part of the board of directors, and the accountant. The new chairman was Jacob Simon.

Moreover, Heinemann became city council member and otherwise committed himself to the finance committee and committee for the theatre and orchestral affairs. He was also one of the few members of the Meiningen Music Society, formerly the orchestra, founded in 1919. In the elections of September 1922, he was confirmed as city council member, but failed in the new elections of 1923. Subsequently, he became chairman of the South Thuringian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and was on the board of the technical school of commerce. In January 1929, he undertook the position of chairman of the Jewish congregation. Jacob Simon was bitter over his electoral defeat. Eventually, Heinemann also became a Handelsgerichtsrat on the chamber for commercial matters at the district court of Meiningen.

Family of the Groom

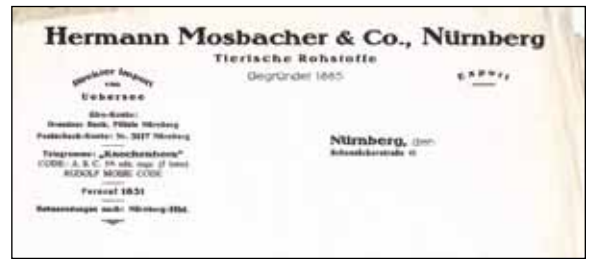
The groom Otto Mosbacher came into the world on January 12, 1894 in Nuremberg, the fourth child of the businessman Hermann Mosbacher and his wife Clara, born Simon.

His father Hermann came from Segnitz and was the son of a wine dealer. In 1885 he founded the company Hermann Mosbacher & Co. in Nuremberg, which dealt with animalistic raw materials (bones). Two years later, he married Clara Simon in Bamberg. She was the sister of Jacob Simon and came from Hildburghausen. Otto Mosbacher attended the commercial school. He later took over the business of his father, who died in 1927.



StadtAN, C21/VII Nr. 108

Otto Mosbacher



Letterhead of Hermann Mosbacher's Company

The married couple of Hedwig and Otto Mosbacher lived at 4 Emilien Street in Nuremberg, located near the Wöhrder Wiese (Wöhrder Meadow). Their daughter Eva Elisabeth Berta was born in their apartment on October 22, 1926. Eva started school on 2 May 1933 and attended primary school at Feldmarschall-Hindenburg-Platz (former and present Rathenauplatz). In her medical questionnaire Eva's parents indicated that she learned walking at the age of one and speaking at one and a half years and she was a fidgety child.

Jews in Meiningen and Nuremberg

The oldest known evidence of Jews in Nuremberg is the chronicle of Bishop Otto von Freising. According to the chronicle, numerous Jews fled to Nuremberg after the persecution of 1146 in Cologne, Mainz, and other cities. A central document of Jewish history in the Middle Ages connects Meiningen to Nuremberg. On the occasion of the dedication of a synagogue in Nuremberg in 1296, on the site of today's *Frauenkirche*, the Jewish descendant Isak ben Samuel from Meiningen drafted a memorial book. Today, this "Nürnbergischer Memorbuch" is the oldest of its kind still preserved. Within the book are listed accounts of the abuses against Jews in many cities. It also contains the first evidence of Jews in Meiningen in the year 1242-43. Isak ben Samuel and his family were murdered in the wide-reaching pogrom of 1298. The names of 628 killed Jews were recorded in the memorial book by his followers. There were also abuses in Meiningen at that time. Harsh persecution in both cities followed in 1349. In 1499, Jews were deported out of Nuremberg, and were not awarded citizenship again until 1850.

Over the centuries in Meiningen, there was less evidence of individual Jewish citizens. In the 18th century arose a large Jewish community in the neighbouring village of Walldorf. While there were only 29 Jewish out of the 6215 citizens in Meiningen in 1844, the number in Walldorf in 1833 stood at 537 (alongside 944 Christians).

For a long time, Jews were legally discriminated against. In the duchy Saxony-Meiningen, the duchess Luise Eleonore remitted the tolerance commission on January 5, 1811, in order to pave the way for equality. She believed it would require better education for Jews. So that the Jewish population did not increase, families were only allowed under the law to pursue marriage for one son. Furthermore, it was put about that no one was allowed to be insulted for the practice of his religion. Examples of the mutual support and tolerance of the Christians and Jews should have been openly expressed and made an example for imitation. First in May 1856, the ban on marriage between Jews and Christians was abolished, in order to raise children as Christians. The last restrictions fell in 1868/69.

In the Kingdom of Bavaria, one edict concerning Jews was remitted on June 10, 1813. Despite improvement, many restrictions persisted. In Nuremberg in 1859, an Israelite Religious Society was founded, out of which the religious community followed in 1862. Total equality was obtained in 1868. The number of Jews in Nuremberg rose between 1867 and 1925 from 1,254 (1.61% of the population) to 8,603 (2.2%).

The first Jewish congregation in Meiningen was founded again only in 1866. Before that time, the Jewish Meiningers belonged to the congregation in the neighbouring village of Dreißigacker. From that village descend-

ed the banker's family Strupp as well as Moses Sachs. After his studies at the Yeshiva in Fürth, he became the first German Jew to immigrate to Palestine, and became a resident of Jerusalem around 1830. The Prince Hermann von Pückler-Muskau and the writer Ludwig Bechstein immortalized Sachs in their works as the "beautiful Rabbi".

At the time of the dedication of a new synagogue in 1883 under the liberal Duke Georg II, approximately 450 Jews lived in Meiningen. This corresponded to approximately a 4 percent segment of the population. Quotations from the Duke regarding Jewish enmity captured enduring attention: "In regard to the efforts of the aberration of anti-Semitism to gain entrance to our home, the Meiningen Israelites can count on me."

Actually, as early as from 1906, the Jewish congregation requested the municipal authorities to provide regular supervision of the street in front of the synagogue at least before the high holidays, for the safety of their church service.

Unlike some anti-Semites asserted, many Jews took part in the First World War. There were 73 Jewish soldiers from Meiningen and 53 front-line soldiers, nine of whom died. Of the Nuremberg Jews, the number of veterans amounted to 1,543, and the record of 178 soldiers killed in action was kept in a memorial book.

Theatre and Music City Meiningen

In the 19th century, Meiningen achieved a Europe-wide reputation as a cultural city, not only due to Duke Georg II, but especially thanks to a Jew, Ludwig Chronegk. He came to Meiningen in 1866 as an actor, and soon became director and manager of the theatre. He was the organizer of the legendary guest appearances of the Meininger acting troupe, which went as far as London, Moscow, and Vienna between 1874 and 1890.

The *Österreichische Wochenschrift* (Austrian Weekly Newspaper) wrote of Chronegk's death in 1891: "With his works as with his death, Ludwig Chronegk shattered the position of anti-Semitism. A favourite shot of the anti-Semites is the accusation that the



Ludwig Chronegk

Jews undermine the German spirit in the arts as in the literature. Ludwig Chronegk, however, was one of the worthiest representatives of the German arts.”

Ironically, in 1880 the conductor, pianist, and composer Hans von Bülow became the commissary of the Meiningen court orchestra. He was one of the initial signers of Berlin teacher Bernhard Förster’s anti-Semite petition, in which the rescission of Jewish equality was demanded. It also claimed Jews should not be allowed to be judges or teachers, so that “the people’s perception of authority will not be confused and their sense of justice and fatherland will not be shattered.” Moreover, it was argued the immigration of Jews should be restricted. Among the initial signers was the well-known court chaplain and anti-Semite Adolf Stöcker. The newspaper the *Thüringer Post* took advantage of the fact that a locksmith by the name of Lumpe (rogue) cosigned and wrote—through the omission of a comma—“the Gentlemen Lumpe Stöcker, Förster“. The *Fränkische Kurier* regretted that “unfortunately, a name from Nuremberg [was] also among the petitioners”. According to the pattern, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* assessed the petition a failure in April 1881, considering that only 250,000 of 43 million Germans signed the petition. It was to be assumed “that everyone who did not sign the petition declared himself against the anti-Semites.”

The Meiningen court orchestra were always directed by famous musicians. At the beginning of the 18th century, this included Johann Ludwig Bach, following Bülow, Richard Strauss, and Max Reger, among others.

Johannes Brahms was also associated with the orchestra, and conducted the premiere of his Symphony in E-Minor in the Meiningen Theatre in 1885.

The Rise of the National Socialist Party

“The goal of national socialism is a transformation of Germany... The crucial issue of this struggle is and remains the Jewish question.” So remarked the radical anti-Semite Julius Streicher at the founding of the Nuremberg chapter of the Nazi Party in October 1922. One year later, Streicher founded the anti-Jewish hate paper *Der Stürmer*, which appeared weekly.

After the temporary ban of the Nazi Party, a re-establishment came about at the end of February 1925. In the following month, eight men established a chapter in Meiningen. The first Reich’s Party Rally took place in Weimar in 1926. In Thuringia, in contrast to in Bavaria, Hitler did not have a gag order. He spoke in Meiningen in January 1927. As it was later publicized in a commemorative publication for the 10-year anniversary of the chapter, after Hitler’s speech only one single fellow joined the chapter and already left it the following day. In Thuringia, the Nazi Party became part of a federal state government for the first time in 1930, and Wilhelm Frick became Secretary of the Interior. On April 19, 1931 Hitler appeared once again in Meiningen. He professed himself as an antidemocrat and compared his movement to a wave,



Adolf Hitler in Meiningen (19. April 1931) Foto: A. J. Röbber.



Concentration of troops in Meiningen, 1931. This photo was part of the compilation *“Germany Awakened: Growth, Struggle and Triumph of the National Socialist Party.”*

which would continue to recur until the dam of the resistance was broken.

After the Thuringian state elections on July 31, 1932, the Nazi Party placed Fritz Sauckel at the head of the government. Sauckel appealed for a boycott of Jewish businesses already in December 1932. Jacob Simon, who was the chairman of the Thuringian State Israelite Congregational Association, wrote in his memoirs (completed 1933): “Through the agitation of the National Socialists, the position of the Jews has experienced a setback, the worst in 50 years, in the form of boycotts,

degradation, and propaganda. That through this treatment, every individual has suffered, either consciously or unconsciously, explicitly or emotionally, is beyond dispute.”

On January 8, 1933, Hitler was named Citizen of Honour in Meiningen. On January 30 he became Chancellor of the Reich; Frick was named Reich Secretary of the Interior.

First Measures Taken Against the Jews

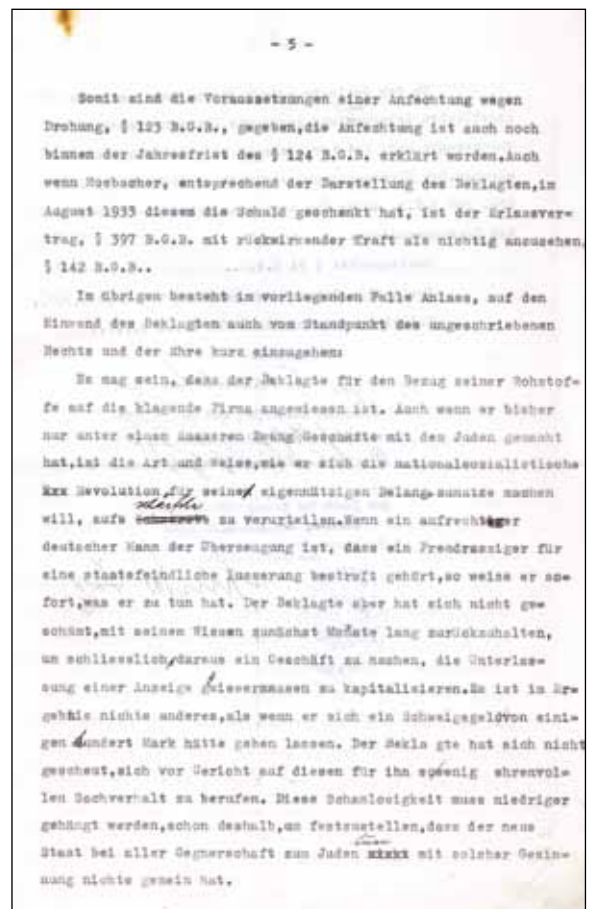
On April 1, 1933 a boycott of all Jewish businesses across the entire Reich was called for. Six days later, the “Arierparagraph,” a Nazi law precluding non-Aryans from becoming public servants, was established. Officials “not of Aryan descent” were placed in retirement. Exceptions were those who “were officials as early as August 1, 1914 or fought in the Great War on the front for the German Reich”. There were also restrictions for other occupations. At the same time, it was decided that the current term for jurors and commercial judges would end on June 30, 1933, instead of at the end of March, 1934, as scheduled. This also pertained to Paul Heinemann’s practice as commercial judge. Jacob Simon was forced to vacate his notary office in September 1933.

Hermann Heinemann was the first of his family to see no future in Germany. He immigrated to South Africa at the end of 1933.

Otto Mosbacher had the experience with his company in 1934 that his rights could in fact be enforced in court. However, the hos-

tility toward Jews would also play a role in the civil rights proceedings. Mosbacher had delivered goods to a manufacturer and had to sue in the local court of Nuremberg for the outstanding sum of 304.60 Reichsmark. The debtor claimed that Mosbacher, who was “of a Jewish nature,” had said to him in regard to the Reichstag election, that “Hitler knew how one captures the peasantry, the youth; he infested the entire population.” At the request of the debtor to compose himself, Mosbacher added, “That is the truth.” In August 1933, there was a new meeting. At Mosbacher’s notice that he would be suing for payment, the defendant answered, “And I’ll report you to Mr. Streicher.” Consequently, Mosbacher waived the fee. Mosbacher contested the judgment regarding both the statement about Hitler and the content of the second conversation. The local court granted his lawsuit on April 21, 1934. The judge, local court judge Dr. Deisenhofer, left open whether the defendant had threatened with Gauleiter Streicher. In the verdict, it was stated, “Moreover, that a notice to the Gauleiter regarding Mr. Mosbacher emerged as an affliction goes without saying. If Mosbacher had not made disparaging remarks regarding the Führer in March 1933, he would in any case expect that following the accusation of the defendant he would be taken in protection custody or be involved in a trial and that he would be forced to suffer personal and commercial inconvenience.” The intent of the statement had been an unlawful threat. The verdict contained comments from the standpoint of honour: the defendant “had to this point done business with the Jew under

threat, and how he took advantage of the national socialist revolution for selfish interests is highly condemnable. If an upright German man is of the conviction that a member of a foreign race should be punished for a subversive statement, he knows right away what he has to do.” Instead, the defendant had asked for hush money, in a sense, and did not hesitate to “refer to this dishonest task before the court. This indecency should be condemned, therefore, to determine that despite its gener-



Decision of the Local Court of Nuremberg, Az. III A 640/1934 from April 21, 1934, Page 5

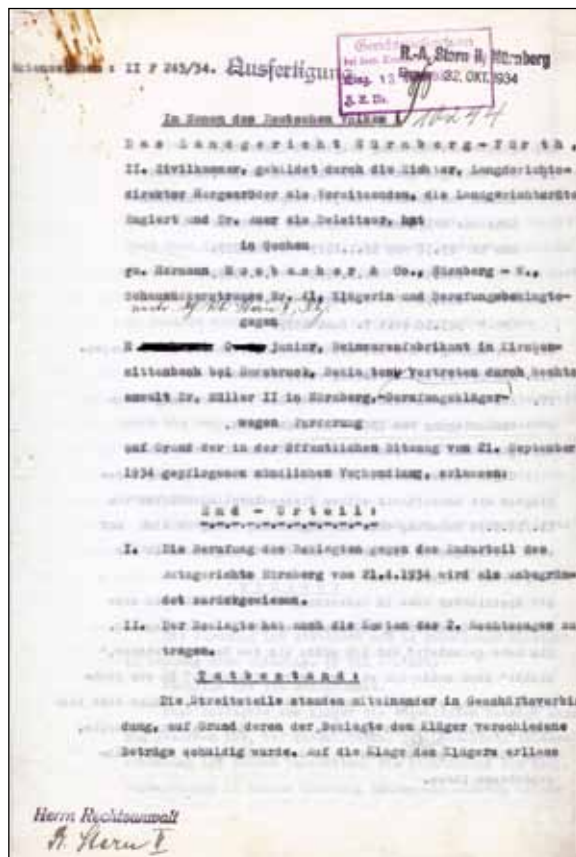
al antagonism towards Judaism the new nation don't agree with this mentality."

The defendant appealed the decision. His lawyer explained that "the circumstances of this process... [have been] exceedingly peculiar". The trial judge had explained to him by telephone that the process had to "be settled without sensation, in one form or another." The lawyer also made clear that Mosbacher did not feel threatened, and moreover that it is "a well known fact that a Jew, when it comes to matters of money, very rarely feels intimidated". Mosbacher had "offended in a most rotten fashion the Führer and the new nation, which had given him a possibility of existence, and protected him." Mosbacher's lawyer, Bernhard Stern, Jewish himself, opposed the appeal.

The district court of Nuremberg-Fürth overruled the appeal on October 5, 1934. The three judges of the court followed the deliberations of the local court emphatically and assessed the behaviour of the defendant as morally reprehensible.

"Nuremberg Laws"

The ostracism of the Jews found a definitive legal basis in the "Nuremberg Laws". These laws were pronounced during the Nuremberg Rallies in September 1935. After the "Reich Citizenship Law", Jews were no longer citizens of the Reich, rather only German nationals. The "Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour" forbade "marriage between Jews and German citizens or those of congeneric blood." Jews were not al-



Decision of the Nuremberg-Fürth District Court from 5-10-1934, Page 1

lowed to employ German women under the age of 45 in their households. In November the definition of who qualified as a Jew followed. Grandparents became a focus. At the same time, it was ordered that Jews could neither vote nor occupy a public office. The Jewish officials that remained would be placed in retirement by the end of the year.

The Meininger medical officer of health Dr. Edgar Krueger dedicated himself in the following year in *Der Stürmer* to the question "which marriages between German-bloods, Jews, and mixed-bloods would not be allowed," so that he could "rule out any ambi-

guity.” He explained that “we can distinguish from five different types of people: ‘German-bloods,’ ‘second degree mixed-bloods’ (those with one Jewish grandparent), ‘first degree mixed-bloods’ (with two Jewish grandparents), ‘mixed-bloods’ who are equivalent with ‘full-Jews’ (with three Jewish grandparents), and ‘race-Jews’ (with four Jewish grandparents). Therefore there are “25 possible marital relationships between these five different categories of men and women.” With the aid of schemata, Krueger made clear which of the pairs were acceptable, conditionally acceptable, acceptable with a special permit, or forbidden.

The children were encouraged to “etch [the Nazi raciology] into memory” as soon as possible. Jewish students were considered as “an exceptional impediment to the national socialist education in the German consciousness,” as the *Meininger Tageblatt* wrote on September 17, 1935. In the article, the newspaper appreciated the racial segregation in public schools encouraged by the Reich Minister of Education.

As Jewish schools already soon experienced an influx of students. In 1933, one quarter of Jewish students went to Jewish schools. By 1935, that proportion would increase to 45%, and to over 60% by 1937. In the middle of November 1938, Jewish children were banned from general school attendance. In 1936 Eva Mosbacher changed to the Jewish primary school in Nuremberg, in 1937 to the Jewish secondary modern school in Fürth.

Jew-Baiting and “Jew Companions”

The hatred of Jews generally became strengthened. Individual Jews were openly affected. At a propaganda demonstration of the SA on the Meininger market square in August 1935, three Jewish traders were met with such hatred. The loud battle cries of “Deutschland—erwache!” (Germany—wake up!) and “Juda—verrecke!” (Judah—die!) resounded through the streets, as the *Meininger Tageblatt* reported. One Obertruppführer, or senior troop leader, yelled “Support the SA in their fight—kick the Jews out of the temple, defeat the reactionaries!”

Another Jew specifically affected by hatred was already placed in “preventive custody” after a protest rally was held in front of his house.

Despite the Nazi propaganda and the agitation of *Der Stürmer*, there were some non-Jews who maintained contact with Jews. Such people were openly pilloried. Some of these people were lawyers, like the Meiningen lawyer Dr. Willy Drosner. *Der Stürmer* wrote of him in 1937 “So again a German lawyer has been found who accepts Jewish coins and works for a foreign race! Who has no racial pride! We hope that the citizens of Meiningen and the surrounding area will give the Jew-comrade Dr. Drosner the response he deserves.” This didn’t deter Dr. Drosner, however, from representing Jewish clients “against members of the German nation” in 1939. In Meiningen, one could also find announcements under the heading “A Bit of News, that

Die Nürnberger Gesetze

Welche Eheschließungen sind zulässig und verboten?

(Von Med.-Nat. Dr. Krueger, Weimingen.)

Trotz vieler Veröffentlichungen in der Tagespresse über die Frage, welche Ehen zwischen Deutschblütigen, Juden und Mischlingen geschlossen werden dürfen, herrscht hierüber noch allgemein große Unklarheit. Vor allem werden die Begriffe „Deutschblütig“, „Rassjude“ und „Mischling“ oft nicht ganz richtig verstanden.

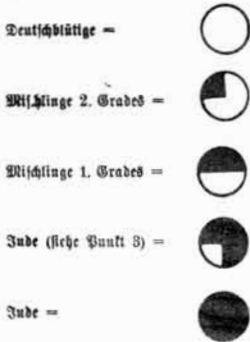
Deutschblütig ist jeder, der vier deutschblütige Großeltern nachweisen kann.

Rassjude ist, wer vier jüdische Großeltern hat.

Mischlinge gibt es drei Arten:

1. Mischlinge, die unter ihren vier Großeltern einen Juden (oder eine Jüdin) haben. Das sind Vierteljuden. Wir nennen sie Mischlinge zweiten Grades.
2. Mischlinge, die unter ihren vier Großeltern zwei Juden (oder Jüdinnen) haben. Das sind Halbjuden. Wir nennen sie Mischlinge ersten Grades.
3. Mischlinge, die unter ihren vier Großeltern drei Juden (oder Jüdinnen) haben. Diese werden nach dem Gesetze den Volljuden gleichgestellt und als solche angesehen.

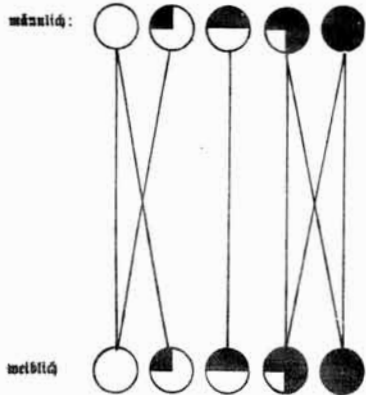
Wir unterscheiden also zwischen fünf verschiedenen Arten von Menschen:



Zwischen diesen 5 verschiedenen Arten von Männern und von Frauen sind 5 mal 5 = 25 verschiedene eheliche Verbindungen möglich. Jede solche Verbindung ist hier durch einen Strich zwischen den 2 Kreisen dargestellt. Das Gesetz teilt diese 25 Verbindungen in 4 Gruppen.

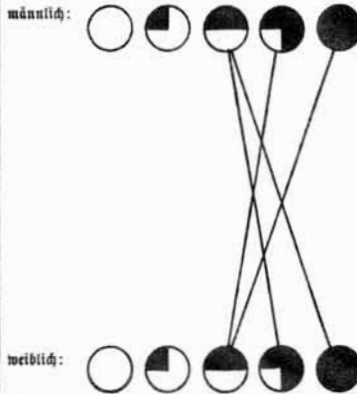
1. Zulässige Ehen

Nach den Bestimmungen der Nürnberger Gesetze sind folgende Ehen zugelassen: (siehe obige Zeichen)



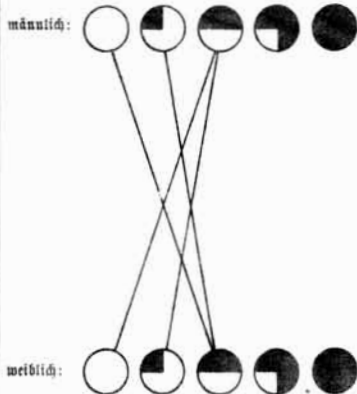
2. Bedingt zulässige Ehen

In diesen Fällen wird der jüdische Mischling zum Juden!



3. Mit besonderer Genehmigung zulässige Ehen

Diese Ehen bedürfen der Genehmigung des Reichsministers des Innern und des Stellvertreters des Führers oder der von ihnen bestimmten Stelle. Bei der Entscheidung sind insbesondere zu berücksichtigen die körperlichen, seelischen und charakterlichen Eigenschaften des Antragstellers, die Dauer der Anknüpfung seiner Familie in Deutschland, seine oder seines Vaters Teilnahme am Weltkrieg und seine sonstige Familiengeschichte.

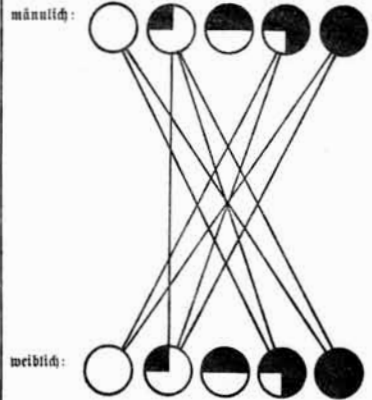


Wer dem Stürmer die Treue hält, hält sie dem Volke!

Die Judenfrage lernt man kennen durch den Stürmer

4. Verbotene Ehen

Eheschließungen dieser Art sind durch die Nürnberger Gesetze verboten.



Geht nicht zu jüdischen Ärzten!

Sittlichkeitsverbrecher Dr. Alexander in Altona

Seit 15 Jahren warnt der Stürmer die deutschen Frauen: „Geht nicht zu jüdischen Ärzten!“ In vielen Hunderten von Beispielen haben wir den Wahrheitsbeweis dafür erbracht, daß sich jede deutsche Frau und jedes deutsche Mädchen in größte Gefahr begeben, wenn sie die Hilfe eines Judenarztes in Anspruch nehmen. Tausende und Abertausende von deutschen Frauen hat der Jude in seiner Eigenart als Arzt schon geschändet und verdorben für alle Zeiten. Wohl hat das nationalsozialistische Deutschland einem großen Teil dieser jüdischen Verbrecher schon das Handwerk gelegt. Aber immer noch gibt es bei uns jüdische Ärzte, die in ihrem Beruf nur ein geeignetes Mittel sehen, Rassenhände zu begeben.

In Altona wirkte der praktische Arzt Dr. med. Abraham Alfred Alexander. Im Sommer 1935 kam zu ihm ein junges Mädchen in die Praxis. Es wußte nichts von einer Judenfrage. Es wußte auch nicht, daß der Jude im nichtjüdischen Mädchen nur ein Tier sieht, mit dem er tun kann, was er will. Und so kam, was kommen mußte. Jud Alexander vergewaltigte das Mädchen mehrmals.

Die Verbrechen des jüdischen Arztes wurden der Polizei bekannt. Jud Alexander kam in Haft und hatte sich nunmehr vor der Großen Strafkammer I des Altonaer Landgerichts zu verantworten. Er wurde wegen schwerer Sittlichkeitsverbrechen zu 2 Jahren Zuchthaus und 4 Jahren Ehrverlust verurteilt.



Sturm 23/5 (Brigade 29 Berlin) auf Propagandafahrt



Propaganda-Postcard

the People Cannot Understand”. For example, that a grocery store in the Hildburghausen district buys chocolate and candy from “the Jews Tannenbaum from Meiningen”, or that the dairies from Bad Kissingen receives “cheese products from the Jewish firm Brandis & Oberbrunner in Meiningen”. Letters to the editor were also published. One reader complained that despite the demand of *Der Stürmer* that “Germans go only to German doctors,” one Meiningen, whose husband worked at the Thuringian state bank, allowed her child to be treated by the “Jew doctor” Paul Oestreicher. And moreover, “How

great is their friendship with the Jew that she rides in his car together through the city.” This report appeared in the same 1936 issue in which medical officer of health Krueger’s article appeared.

Jewish Businesses

The National Socialists had more and more success with their goal to suppress the economic life of the Jews. Of the over 50,000 Jewish retail stores at the start of the Nazi regime, only 9,000 remained in 1938. Jew-

Sie geht zum Judenarzt

Lieber Stürmer!

Wie oft hast Du schon geschrieben: „Deutsche geht nur zu deutschen Ärzten!“ Aber es gibt immer noch welche, die ohne die Hilfe fremdrassiger Ärzte nicht auskommen wollen. Zu ihnen gehört die Frau des Angestellten der Thüringischen Staatsbank **Mag Bentgraf** in der Gartenstraße 23 zu **Meiningen**. Sie läßt ihr Kind nicht von einem deutschen Arzt, sondern von dem **Juden doktor Desterreicher** behandeln. Wie groß ihre Freundschaft zu dem Juden ist, geht auch daraus hervor, daß sie mit ihm im Auto durch die Stadt fährt. Kr.

Letter to the Editor “She goes to the Jew-Doctor”; *Der Stürmer* Nr. 42/1936

ish shops were listed in “Stürmer showcases”. Next to issues of the paper would hang directories of Jewish shops, doctors, and more. Such was the case of the showcases at the Meiningen townhall, which bore the inscription “The Jews are our misfortune—and you still buy from Jews”. To the annoyance of the Meiningen Nazi Chapter leader Rompel, there were some members of the “Nazi Women’s League” who shopped in Jewish stores. He objected to this at a party meeting. At a clearance sale of the Meiningen boutique *May und Sohn* in early 1936, two women noted the names of the organization’s members who shopped there. As it was stated in a po-

lice report, no one is stopped from entering this Jewish store. This proves the fact “that the company May und Sohn occasionally had to close its shop due to congestion.”

The paper company Heinemann Bros, Meiningen had to declare bankruptcy at the end of January 1936. They were liquidated at the end of 1938. The long-time accountant Franz Heurich, who was a friend of the Heinemanns’, had to be fired.

He then became the accountant for the business of Herbert Heinemann, whose cousin was Hedwig Mosbacher. Otto Mosbacher had to abandon his company in Nuremberg in November 1938.

Desire to Immigrate

Since the beginning of 1937, the Mosbachers began to think of an exodus to the USA. Hedwig's brother Hans had already followed their brother Hermann to South Africa in 1936. The Mosbachers hoped to find relatives or other helpful people in the US, who could give them the required guarantee.

In America, the condition of the Jews in Germany was constantly reported. The American Jewish Committee published a Handbook in 1933, which contained the text of the anti-Jewish laws. In an expanded issue in 1935, the especially terrible condition of the Nuremberg Jews was empha-

sized. There were the most shops with signs such as "Deutsches Geschäft" (German business) as well as "Juden sind hier unerwünscht" (Jews are not wanted here). Practically every Restaurant and Café was closed to Jews. Due to Streicher's agitation, many signs stood on Frankish spots that read "Juden betreten diesen Ort auf eigene Gefahr" (Jews enter this place at their own risk). Furthermore, a boycott of Jewish stores was carried shortly before Christmas 1934, which took place in almost 120 German cities. In Nuremberg, a boycott also took place near Christmas 1937.

The New York Times designated Julius Streicher as "The Nuremberg high priest of anti-Semitism" in September 1936. It report-



StadtAN, C21/VII Nr. 108

Hedwig Mosbacher



StadtAN, C21/VII Nr. 108

Otto Mosbacher

EDUCATION • IMMIGRATION • PEACE • RELIGION • SOCIAL LEGISLATION • SOCIAL SERVICE



NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

INCORPORATED

1819 BROADWAY

NEW YORK

TELEPHONE • CIRCLE 6-3175

CABLE ADDRESS • COUNJEW • N. Y.

May 6, 1938

Sehr geehrter (geehrte) Otto Mosbacher

Hiemit bestaetigen wir den Empfang Ihres Briefes in dem Sie uns bitten, Ihre Verwandten in den Vereinigten Staaten ausfindig zu machen.

Wir werden uns in jeder Beziehung bemuehen Ihre Verwandten zu finden und sie zu veranlassen Ihnen die noetigen Buergerschaften zu geben, sodass Sie in der Lage sind nach Amerika auszuwandern.

Da Amerika ein sehr grosses Land ist, dauert es oft mehrere Wochen ehe wir eine Antwort von unseren verschiedenen Zweigvereinen, in deren Gebiet Ihre Verwandten moeglicherweise wohnen, erhalten. Bitte fassen Sie sich in Geduld falls Sie laengere Zeit nichts von uns hoeren da unser Schweigen nur bedeutet dass wir unsere Nachforschungen noch nicht beendet haben.

Wir ersuchen Sie auch sich an keine andere Organisation zu wenden, da derartige Schreiben immer wieder ans uns weiter geleitet werden.

Indem wir Ihnen versichern, dass wir Ihrem Ansuchen unsere vollste Aufmerksamkeit zuteil werden lassen, verbleiben wir mit vorzueglicher Hochachtung,

BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL CASE WORK,
National Council of Jewish Women

Lucie Henoch

ed on a closed meeting on the brink of the Reich Celebration. Streicher explained to foreign anti-Semites in attendance that in the last analysis extermination was the only real solution to the Jewish problem. He was not merely speaking about Germany alone, but of the solution of a “world problem”. To achieve a “final solution,” one must go the bloody path. To secure the safety of the whole world. Streicher was quoted as saying, the Jews must be exterminated.

The National Council of Jewish Women of New York, to whom Otto Mosbacher turned to for help, shared on May 6, 1938 that they had attempted to find his relatives. They told him to remain patient. They also counselled him not to write to any other organizations, as they “always write to us for help.”

At the end of July 1938, Mosbacher wrote many identical letters to strangers in Los Angeles, who shared the name of Mosbacher:

“Above all I beg your pardon if I take the liberty of applying to you. Having learned

that my family name is well represented in your city I thought there is a possibility to state a relationship between our families. I may add that my family Mosbacher is descending from Marktbreit a / Main, you know perhaps the country BAVARIA. I should be very pleased if this way should lead to the fact that our families have a common great-grandfather. [...] As you know, the circumstances have changed very heavily against us since 1933 and the very gravity of the present situation induces me to go abroad. [...] I take the liberty of applying to you and should be particularly grateful for your assistance to take my request into serious consideration helping me to come over to U.S.A. I have been told that it needs an affidavit above all, otherwise no entrance will be allowed. [...] We don't want to be a burden to anyone. [...]”

The affidavit Mosbacher refers to is a declaration of suretyship. An answer to Mosbacher's letters failed to materialize.

At that time, Mosbacher contacted US-Companies with which his business had contact. A company in Chicago answered, saying that due to the laws, they could not promise employment to a foreigner. Many identical inquiries were met with the same response.

On August 27, 1938, the Mosbachers were registered on the visa application waiting list at the American Consulate in Stuttgart, under the number 17112. They were told they would receive a summons for a formal application when “satisfactory proof that a guarantee of your livelihood in America exists is produced, and if it is your turn.”

One month earlier, a conference was held in Evian regarding the refugee problem. But

Amerikanisches Konsulat Stuttgart-N, Königstraße 19a	
An: Mosbacher,	Otto
(Name)	
Nürnberg - O	Emilienstr.4
(Adresse)	
Sie sind unter der Nummer 17112	AUG 27 1938
in der Warteliste der Visumantragsteller eingetragen, und sollten jede Adresse-änderung prompt mitteilen.	
Wenn zufriedenstellende Beweise über die Sicherstellung Ihres Lebensunterhaltes in Amerika hier vorliegen, und wenn Sie an der Reihe sind, wird Ihnen eine Vorladung zur formellen Antragstellung zugeschickt werden. Die Vorladung wird ca. 4 Wochen vor dem Untersuchungstermin zugeschickt werden.	
Bei sämtlichen Zuschriften ist Ihre Wartenummer anzugeben.	

Note from the American Consulate in Stuttgart to Otto Mosbacher, regarding Registration on the Waiting List

no country was willing to increase admission for Jewish refugees.

Demolition of the Nuremberg Synagogue and the Novemberpogrom

The situation in Germany grew ever worse. In Nuremberg, the central synagogue on Hans-Sachs-Platz was demolished. It was dedicated in 1874 and housed 546 seats for men and 389 seats for women. At the beginning of the demolition on August 10, 1938, Gauleiter Streicher incited a rally:

“The time has come, in which the Jewish question will be radically solved, because humanity can find no other alternative. Today we demolish a synagogue and no more will

be erected. We live in a great time. The seed we have sowed is realized. The die is cast...”

In November, there was an attack on Jews and their synagogues in all of Germany and Austria. As the trigger for this pogrom on the night of November 9-10, the Nazis exploited the assault of a German legion secretary vom Rath by a young Jew in Paris on November 7, 1938. Vom Rath succumbed to his injuries on November 9th. Propaganda Minister Goebbels called the leaders of the Nazi-Party to action. Over the course of the night, over 90 Jews were killed, at least nine in Nuremberg alone. Nearly every synagogue was set afire or otherwise destroyed, and shops were demolished. The synagogue of the orthodox assembly “Adas Israel” in Nuremberg, last used by the Jewish congregation, was also set aflame. In Meiningen, due to the dense construction of the area, the synagogue was not



Bundesarchiv, Bild 146-1995-012-00A Weber CC-BY-SA

Julius Streicher during the Rally before the demolition of the Nuremberg Central Synagogue at Hans Sachs Square on August 10, 1938



Archiv Fotostudio Jahn, Meiningen

Synagogue in Meiningen after the 1938 November Pogrom

set afire, but vandalized within. Other vandalized buildings included the house of Rabbi Fränckel, who married the Mosbachers.

During the pogrom, Jewish men from all over Germany were snatched from their homes, and some were beaten and arrested. Approximately 30,000 of these men were transported to the Buchenwald, Dachau, and Sachsenhausen concentration camps. Hundreds didn't survive imprisonment. The others were released within a few weeks or months. While Otto Mosbacher was spared, his three years older brother Dr. Kurt Mosbacher was taken to the concentration camp in Dachau. He was a lawyer in Munich and a war-injured front line soldier. On December 6, 1938, he was released and immigrated to England by way of Switzerland and France with his wife Nelly and his 15-year-old daughter Hannelore ("Hanni").

71 Jews from Meiningen were transported to Buchenwald. The Meiningen chief pros-

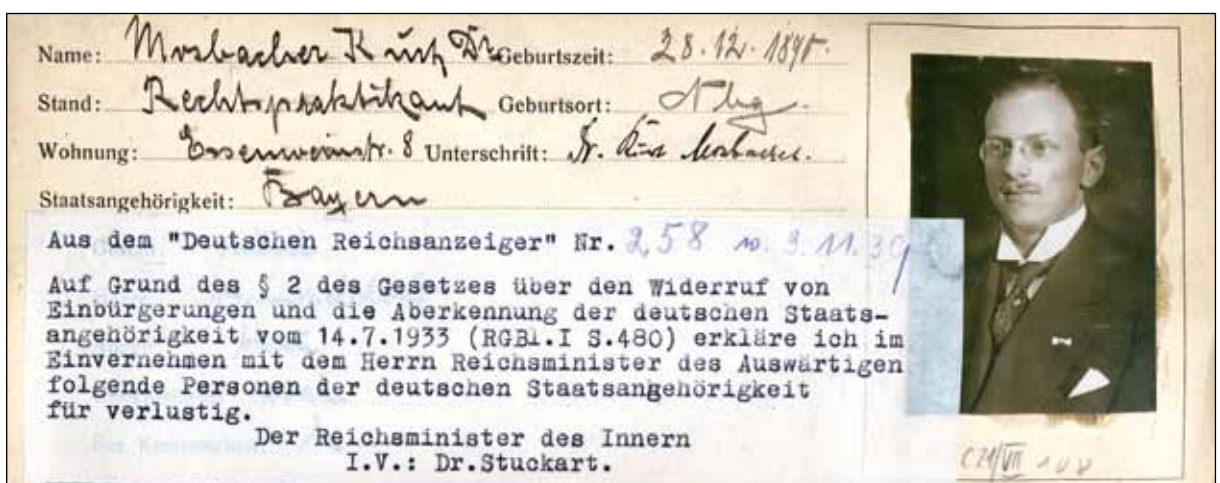
ecutor wrote the attorney general in Jena on November 10, 1938:

"The first transport in Meiningen was executed this afternoon by the police in an omnibus, with strong participation from the people, who shouted and whistled."

Of the deported were Paul and Bruno Heinemann, as well as Bruno's son Herbert. Paul Heinemann wrote his daughter Hedwig a postcard to Nuremberg from the Buchenwald concentration camp. All was well and he hoped the same for her. He was released on November 23, 1938. Bruno and Herbert Heinemann could return to Meiningen on December 9, 1938.

Of those evacuated from Meiningen were three fatalities, traders Nathan Eliaschow, Magnus Heimann, and Heinrich Ortweiler, aged between 56 and 77 years. Nineteen other Jews from other Thuringian cities lost their lives in Buchenwald by mid-December 1938.

The Meininger Tageblatt reported of the



StadtAN, C21/VII Nr. 108

Passport for Dr. Kurt Mosbacher with Reference to Ensuing Denaturalization in 1939



Postcard from Paul Heinemann to his Daughter Hedwig from the Buchenwald Concentration Camp

events, without going into detail. As did an article from the Nazi Party district leader Köhler with the title “The Jews are our Misfortune!: The outrage found expression in every respect. And if one or another spiritual person thinks that missteps have been made, that person has no understanding what fervour or justifiable outrage is.”

A planned rally at the market square was cancelled by decree of the Reich leadership. District leader Köhler wrote of the pogrom, that the “Jewish wretchedness has made every Meininger stronger and more determined in the stand against Judaism.”

The pogrom was followed by numerous anti-Jewish ordinances. On November 12, 1938 “the Jew’s German citizenship in its entirety”, was imposed the payment of 1 billion Reichsmark in reparations. This was due to “the hostile attitude of Judaism in regard to the German Reich and people and so as not to recoil from the cowardly murderous deeds.” This concerned Jews with wealth of more than 5,000 Reichsmark. They had to pay 1/5 of their wealth. This did not apply to

the Mosbachers, as their possessions did not amount to 5.000 Reichsmark.

With the “Ordinance for the Suppression of Jews in the German Economy,” the establishment of a retail outlet or independent trade was forbidden to Jews beginning January 1, 1939.

Goebbels, as President of the Reich Chamber of Culture, ordered on November 12, 1938 that Jews would no longer be allowed entry to theatres, movies, concerts, or exhibits. It was “no longer permissible to take part in presentations of German culture.” They were only allowed to take part in events of the Jewish Culture Association, which took place in only a few cities.

An ordinance from December 3, 1938 enabled the compulsory sale of Jewish business enterprises. Jews were no longer allowed to buy property. The purchase and free exchange of gold, platinum, or silver items, in addition to gemstones was forbidden.

The Meininger Tageblatt wrote on January 16, that the “liquidation of Jewish property in Meiningen”, was currently carried out in

accordance with economic principles. On the property of the synagogue, which was demolished, a residential building would be erected. It was also mentioned who would acquire the property of the Buchenwald victim Eliaschow and Rabbi Fränckel. Conclusively, it was written, "For the foreseeable future, the entire Jewish estate will be in Aryan hands, as complies with a basic requirement of our time.

"Aryanization Scandal" in Nuremberg

In Nuremberg and Fürth, there was a special kind of aryanization from November 9, 1938. Karl Holz, the deputy to Gauleiter Streicher, suggested in vain an internment of the Jews. He could implement, however, the sale of Jewish property. The sales were made at a fraction of their worth. The beneficiary would be the Frankonia Region. It was planned to build a new school. Holz frequently profited from the properties himself. This was the case for the Mosbacher's property at 41 Schanzäckerstraße. For notary certification, which often happened in the middle of the night, two notaries in Fürth and three in Nuremberg were chosen.

Haste was imperative, because a Reich-wide ordinance requiring Jews to obtain a permit for the sale of their property was approaching. But the operations were discovered. Field Marshall Hermann Göring, who carried the responsibility for Hitler's "Jewish question," established an "examining board for the resolved aryanization in the Franko-

Übersicht		0153673
über die Entjudung des Grundbesitzes im Gau Franken im Vollzug des Sonderauftrages des Herrn Reichsmarschalls Göring		
Lfd. Nr.	Akten-Nr. 232.	
Bezeichnung des entjudeten Grundstücks oder Grundstücksanteils:	Anwesen HeEr. 41 Schanzäckerstraße in Nürnberg.	
Jüdischer Grundstückseigentümer:	Mosbacher Otto Alfred Jar., Kaufmann in Meiningen, A u f s e e r Paula Sara, Kaufmannsfrau, früher in München, nun im Ausland, Mosbacher Eduard Jarael, Fabrikbesitzer, früher in Nürnberg, nun im Ausland, und Mosbacher Kurt Jarael, fr. Rechtsanwalt in München.	
Einheitswert:	22 600 RM.	
Verkehrswerte i. S. d. Erl. d. KWM. v. 23.10.1939-III L. 33081:39		
a) normales Verkehrswert:	a) 21 500 RM.	
b) mäßiger Verkehrswert:	b) 19 000 RM.	
Veranlaßter Einstufungsvertrag vom:	Urkunde des Notars Keppel in Nürnberg vom 22.4.40 Nr. 256.	
Freigegeben am:		
Nach der VO. über den Einsatz des jüd. Vermögens genehmigt am:	6.11.40	
durch:	Oberbürgerm.d.St.d.RPT.Nürnberg.	
Deutschblütiger Erwerber:	[REDACTED], Kaufmann in Nürnberg.	

0153674	
Vereinbarter Kaufpreis:	21 500 RM.
zu leisten durch:	
a) Barzahlung auf Sonderkonto Nr. 79 136 (Mosbacher Klara Sara) d. Stapostelle Nürnberg-Fürth in Höhe von:	a) 21 500 RM.
b) Übernahme dringlich gesicherter Schulden in Höhe von:	b) -----
Der auf Sonderkonto d. Stapostelle Nürnberg-Fürth überwiesene Kaufpreisteil wurde wie folgt aufgeteilt:	
1) 70% d. h.: verwendet	1) 15 050 RM.
a) zur Wegfertigung dringlich gesicherter Schulden in Höhe von:	a) -----
b) zur Zahlung sonstiger Schulden usw. in Höhe von:	b) 15 050 RM.
2) 30% d. h.:	2) 6 450 RM.
bievon	
a) an die Eigentümer ausbezahlt:	a) -----
(Grund:)	-----
b) zur Verfügung des Herrn Reichsmarschalls als Festgeld angelegt	b) 6 450 RM.
Als Verwaltungsgebühr wurden 2% des Kaufpreises berechnet, d. h.	430 RM.

Overview with Information on the Property of the Mosbacher Family, from the Task of the Examining Board (Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Bestand Staatspolizeistelle Nürnberg-Fürth 10)

nia district from November 9, 1938 to February 9, 1939, in the context of established grievances.” The verification extended to hundreds of legal transactions.

In regards to Mosbacher’s property, the “linearization agency” of Nuremberg prompted another buyer to buy the property at the end of April 1940. The record from Holz was declared void. Thirty percent of the sale price went to Göring. Kurt Mosbacher’s share went to the Reich. Because of his immigration, the decay of assets was imposed on him. Otto Mosbacher also did not receive the money he was due. It went to an secure account.

Further Searches for Help

After the pogrom, Otto Mosbacher made renewed contact with the businesses and people with whom he had already written. On November 19, 1938, he wrote a company in Chicago with reference to the terrible situation and the “special circumstances of the sad events of last week.” He desperately needed a sponsorship. The company refused, citing the 12,000,000 unemployed in America.

Betty and Paul Heinemann, who were preparing to join their sons in South Africa, supported their daughter. They asked the Adolf and Ruth Brandis family, who left Meiningen for Chicago in the fall, for help. They promised to obtain papers from friends for Bruno and Meta Heinemann, as well as the Mosbachers. They asked for the utmost silence, otherwise all their friends would come and it would not be so easy. Eventually, they found

a businessman from Chicago, who would guarantee the Mosbachers’ financial security for their immigration. He would support them financially as long as it was needed.

They thanked the Brandis family for their great help. The sponsor did not want direct contact with the Mosbachers.

The drastic measures taken against the Jews raised the pressure on foreign governments. Nevertheless, the Mosbachers knew they would have to wait another two years for a US entry permit. In February 1939, they wrote to their distant relatives Hady and Sigmund Rosenfeld in Los Angeles that immigration to another country would be “very difficult,” because “most countries are cautiously refusing.” Hady Rosenfeld immigrated in 1936 and baked her “Nuremberg gingerbread” there.

Of the 236,000 Jews that had fled since 1933, nearly 45 percent fled to North and South America, approximately 57,000 to Palestine, and 50,000 to Great Britain.

Otto Mosbacher’s mother Clara died on December 24, 1938 in an Israelite hospital in Munich. He opined, “We would be happy that she was spared from being separated from her children, because the future will be especially difficult for all of us.”



Businesscard from Hady Rosenfeld’s Business

United States of America (
 State of Illinois (
 County of Cook (S S
 City of Chicago (

J. K., being duly sworn on oath, deposes and says;

That he resides at [redacted] Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

That he is a citizen of the United States by birth, having been born in Chicago on September 9th, 1909.

That he supports only his wife.

That he is the president of the K. Company, [redacted] Street, Chicago, Illinois, and his present annual income is \$8,533.56; that he has \$14,700.00 insurance with the Union Central Life Insurance Company; \$5,000.00 insurance with the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York; \$1,000.00 insurance with the Equitable Life Assurance Society; that he has a checking account with the Upper Avenue National Bank of Chicago, with present balance exceeding \$2,700.00; that he attaches hereto evidence of the aforementioned facts; including income tax return and receipt for payment of tax;

That he desires to bring to the United States the following persons: Otto Mosbacher, born January 12, 1894, at Nuernberg, Bayern; Hedwig Mosbacher nee Heinemann, born September 21, 1902, at Meiningen, Thueringen; and one minor child, Eva Mosbacher, born October 22, 1926, at Nuernberg, Bayern; that they are now residing at Nuernberg, Bayern, Emilienstr. 4.

That he is a law-abiding citizen, never having been convicted of any crime or misdemeanor, and not affiliated in any way with groups who are contrary to organized government; that he is a responsible individual, and fulfills all his obligations.

That he hereby promises, agrees, and guarantees to receive properly and take care of the above mentioned upon their arrival to the United States; that he will support them and provide for them in every way; that he will give them financial assistance for as long a period of time as they will need it; that he guarantees that they will not become a public charge.

That he makes this affidavit for the purpose of appealing to the Honorable American Consul General to issue visas to Otto Mosbacher, Hedwig Mosbacher, and their minor child Eva Mosbacher, so that they may come to the United States and join with the affiant, who is most anxious to have them here.


 J. K.

Subscribed and sworn
 before me this 30th
 day of December
 1938.



Notary Public.

English Help for Children

The pogrom of 1938 led England to a comprehensive rescue operation for children. Between May 1936 and November 1938, 471 German children had already found accommodation, barely half of which were Jewish or of Jewish ancestry. After the anti-Jewish attacks on November 9, 1938 in Germany, the representative of the Council for German Jewry suggested to Prime Minister Cham-

berlain to grant refuge for nearly 5,000 Jewish children. After their education, they would immigrate to other countries. The parliament decided on November 12, 1938 that unaccompanied German children would be allowed entry. The first Kindertransport arrived in England on December 2, 1938.

The parents had to register their children with their Jewish congregation in order



United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Foto # 42322B

Arrival of the first German Children's Transport in Harwich on December 2, 1938

to take part in the convoy. The applications were gathered by the National Representative Agency of German Jews. In England, the organizations Children's Inter-Aid Committee and Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, which merged in March 1939 into the Refugee Children's Movement (RCM) were particularly responsible. The parents transferred responsibility for their children until they could be together again. After examination, the RCM sent the records to the Home Office for the receipt of the entry visas. When the entry visa was received, the religious community would seek an exit

visa from the police. The RCM organized the trips and accommodations with families and homes in England.

The bureaucratic effort delayed the process. A request was sent from the Reich Ministry of the Interior on December 31, 1938, "in the interest of facilitating the immigration of the Jewish children and youth," it was ordered for the passport authorities "to use utmost haste."

The families learned from the National Representative Agency of the German Jews, Department of Immigration, usually a few weeks before the departure date, that

Kinder in England
 Art der Fürsorge / Von Julian Israel Lehmann, London

Einer der Hauptzweige des jüdischen Hilfswerks überhaupt ist die Arbeit für die Unterbringung von Kindern, deren grundsätzliche Bedingungen bereits ausinandergesetzt wurden. Danach ist das Komitee verantwortlich für zwei Kategorien von Kindern, die „Garantierten“, d. h. diejenigen, für die vor ihrer Ankunft in England bereits ein Heim gefunden wurde und für die Freunde oder Verwandte die volle Sorge bis zum 18. Lebensjahr übernommen haben, und die „Nichtgarantierten“, für die ein solches Heim erst noch in England gesucht werden muß, und deren Einwanderung vorher nicht in Betracht kommt.

Noch vor einem Jahre beschränkte man sich im allgemeinen auf das Hereinbringen von Kindern, deren Eltern keine Existenzmöglichkeit mehr hatten, oder die aus besonderen Gründen ihre bisherigen Schulen nicht mehr weiter besuchen konnten. Man hatte damals aber immer noch die Möglichkeit, vor der Ankunft des Kindes alle dazugehörigen Fragen zu lösen, so daß im allgemeinen für die Zukunft des Kindes schon gesorgt war, ehe es die englischen Küsten erreichte. Später änderte sich diese Lage durch die gebotene Eile bei der Herausbringung der Kinder. Der Andrang zu den Kindertransporten erhöhte sich außerordentlich, und so entschied man sich, ganze Gruppen von Kindern nach England kommen zu lassen, ohne daß vor der Ankunft schon Heime für sie gefunden waren. In diesen Fällen der sog. „nicht-garantierten“ Kinder mußte vorerst das Komitee die finanzielle Verantwortlichkeit tragen. Es vertraute auf die Freigebigkeit des jüdischen Publikums und seine Gastfreundschaft, und sein Zutrauen wurde aufs glänzendste gerechtfertigt. Hunderte von Kindern wurden im ganzen Lande von Familien aufgenommen. Die Mehrzahl dieser Angebote bezog sich jedoch auf jüngere Kinder, viele stellten gleich die Bedingung, daß die Kinder nicht älter als 5-6 Jahre sein dürften. Solche Voraussetzung war verständlich. Die Pflegeeltern waren der Meinung, daß ein junges Kind sich leichter der neuen Umgebung anpassen werde, nach kurzem also völlig heimisch in Schule und Haus sein würde. Das alles mag richtig gewesen sein, aber wahrscheinlich waren diese jungen Kinder nicht einmal derart hilfsbedürftig wie ältere. Trotzdem waren und sind diese Kinder am schwersten unterzubringen.

Das Dovercourt-Lager, in dem die Kinder zunächst untergebracht wurden, bis man ein Heim für sie gefunden hatte, ist jetzt noch von 430 Knaben im Alter von 14 bis 17 Jahren besetzt, für die man noch keine Aufnahme gefunden hat. Solange man sie nicht in Heimen und Privathäusern unter-

gebracht hat, bleibt die weitere Annahme von Kindern sehr beschränkt. Dabei sind die Schwierigkeiten tatsächlich nur finanzieller Natur. Denn das Home Office hat ja keine Grenze für Kinder unter 18 Jahren gesteckt, es läßt eine beliebige Anzahl im Lande zu, vorausgesetzt das Vorhandensein zuverlässiger Garantien und -der Gewähr, daß es weder dem Lande zur Last fällt, noch später ein öffentliches Amt annehmen und daß diejenigen nach Ablauf der Garantie das Land wieder verlassen, denen nicht eine besondere Erlaubnis zum Bleiben erteilt wird. Das Komitee aber kann nicht mehr Kinder in das Land bringen, als es dazu notwendigen Gelder hat, um für ihren Unterhalt zu sorgen. Seine Verbindlichkeiten reichen je noch über das 18. Jahr hinaus, wo es entweder für Ausbildung bzw. Arbeit oder für die Kosten der Weiterwanderung aufkommen muß. Für jedes Kind also, das nicht in einem Privathaushalt untergebracht werden konnte, ist der Fond des Komitees für mehrere Jahre zuständig. Jedes Kind aber, das in einen Privathaushalt gebracht wird, entlastet diesen Fond.

Zwischen 14 und 17 Jahren

Aus diesem Grunde erging besonders die Bitte an die Komitees in der Provinz, alles zu tun, was in ihren Kräften steht, besonders den Jungen zwischen 14 und 17 Jahren Aufnahme zu gewähren. Hier genügt nicht einfache Gastfreundschaft. Diese jungen Leute müssen für ihr künftiges Leben in einem Berufe ausgebildet werden, den sie in dem Lande ausüben können, in das sie zu gehen beabsichtigen. Der Erfolg jeder Auswanderung hängt von dem Weg ab, den die jungen Glieder der Gemeinschaft gehen, um ihren Anteil an dem Neuaufbau des wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens einer Gemeinschaft zu nehmen. Alles was im Zusammenhang mit dieser Arbeit getan wird, kann nicht nützlich sein, als die Möglichkeit, den jungen Leuten Gelegenheit zu bieten, selbst für ihre Zukunft zu sorgen.

Die Wahl der Ausbildung bleibt im allgemeinen den Pflegeeltern überlassen. In vielen Fällen wird es möglich sein, den jungen Menschen in einer Lehrlingsstelle in einem Handels- oder Fabrikbetrieb des Ortes unterzubringen. Solche Stellungen dürfen nur unter folgenden Bedingungen angenommen werden:

1. Die Zahl der sonst in dieser Firma üblichen Lehrlingsstellen muß neben der Stellung des Neunkömmlings in gleichem Maße inngehalten werden, es darf also durch seine Einstellung keinem englischen Jungen eine Ausbildungsstelle entzogen werden.



Eva Mosbacher (November 13, 1938)

Article from the Jewish Daily Newspaper Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt from May 20, 1939 regarding the Emigration to England

their child would be able to join one of the next convoys. They were informed of the exact date through the welfare agency of the local Jewish congregation only a few days before departure.

The children were not allowed to bring valuables on the trip. For the convoy from Vienna, an information sheet instructed the chaperone to say goodbye in front of the train station and that they were not to set foot on the platform. Public farewells should be avoided. Elsewhere, separate waiting halls were used. Between 30 and 500 children travelled in every transport.

Foster Parents

Twelve-year-old Eva Mosbacher would also be brought to safety by the Kindertransport, at the request of her parents. Her 25-year-old cousin Herta Daube lived in the university-city of Cambridge since 1936. She made contact with the Cambridge Refugee Children's Committee. Important people in the search for foster parents for German child-refugees in Cambridge and the surrounding area included Greta Burkill, Sibyl Hutton, and Hil-da Sturge.

Herta Daube informed the Mosbachers in the middle of February 1939, that Mrs. Signe Lavén, headmistress of an orthopaedic institute, and Dr. Ethel Lindgren, an anthropology professor, were willing to host Eva. Dr. Lindgren had an eight-year-old son, John. She lived in the country outside of Cambridge. Herta Daube wrote further:

“The women themselves are Christian,

but would like to give Eva the opportunity to visit the Synagogue in Cambridge on Saturdays and holidays. They would send her to the best

29, Chesterton Hall Crescent,
Cambridge,
12.2.39.
Meine Lieben,
Heute die endgueltige Zusage, dass
Eva sehr gut hier untergebracht werden kann. Wei-
Da n, Miss Laven und Frau Dr. Linkon, die einen
Jungen von 9 Jahren hat, moechten Eva in ihr Haus
aufnehmen und bei sich behalten, bis Ihr Euch
wieder mit ihr vereinen koennt. Sie haben eine
Garantie unterzeichnet, in der sie sich verpflich-
ten fuer ihren Unterhalt bis zu ihrem 18. Lebens-
Jahr zu sorgen. Die Damen sind vermoegend und
Bekante der Frau des Masters von unserem College
Sie wohnen etwas ausserhalb Cambridge, mitten auf
dem Land (Eva wird, wie der Junge, ein Stueckchen Gar-
ten fuer sich haben.) Die Damen fahren taeglich mit
dem Auto nach Cambridge. Miss Laven gehoert ein or-
thopaedisches Institut, Dr. Linkon ist Dozentin fue
Anthropologie an der Universitaet. Der Junge und E-
va wuerden jeden frueh mit dem Auto in die Schule
gebracht und zusammen heimgefahren. An dem Jungen
wird sie eine gute Gese ltschaft haben. Die beiden
Damen sind sehr nett und fein. Die Tatsache selbst,
dass kein Jemand aufnehmen wollen, sagt ja genug
und sie wollen dass Eva ganz gleichberechtigt mit
dem Jungen bei ihnen wohnt. Die Damen selbst sind
christlich, wollen aber Eva die Gelegenheit geben,
Samstag und an Feiertagen die Synagoge in Cambrid-
ge zu besuchen. Sie wollen sie auf die beste Schule
hier schicken, wass ihr fuer spaeter ungeheuer
nuetzen wird. Von dort aus kann sie dann jede Ausb-
ildung bekommen und auch, wenn es einmal sein muss
Geld verdienen. Auch die vorgeschriebene Kleidung
fuer die Schule und das ganze Drum und Dran, das
bei guten Schulen hier sehr teuer ist, ueber-
nehmen die Damen (Deswegen geht Ranni z.B. auf e-
ine billigere Schule) Es ist, wie Ihr Euch denken
koennt, sehr schwierig ein Kind so gut zu plavieren
bei meinen Bemuehungen haben mich etliche Fra-
de sehr tatkraeftig unterstuetzt. An sie und Miss
Laven und Dr. Linkon schreibt bitte umgehend um
Euch zu bedanken. Die Leute sind wirklich ruehrend
und sie verstehen alle, wie schwer der Katschluss
fuer Euch sein wird und sie hoffen alle, dass die
Trennung nicht lange ist. Wenn sich Kiki nicht so
un-erhoert benehmen wuerde, koennte Euch David ja
sogar die Erlaubnis fuer einen Zwischenaufenthalt
hier verschaffen. Die Adressen: (1)
Miss Laven, Swedish Gymnasium, Union Rd., Cambridge.
(Bedankt Euch bei ihr auch fuer Dr. Linkon, die ver-
reist ist in Lappland) (2) Mrs. Burkill, Chaucer Rd.,
Trumpington Rd., Cambridge. (3) Mrs. Hutton 1 Chauce-
Rd., Trumpington Rd., Cambridge. (4) Miss Sturge,
183 Huntington Rd., Cambridge. Bedankt Euch bitte
sehr bei diesen wundervollen Leuten. Ihr koennt
auf Deutsch und mit der Maschine schreiben. Sagt,
dass Ihr von mir gehoert habt, dass sie sich in
so besonders hilfsbereiter und liebermuer-
iger Weise fuer Eva bemueht haetten, und dass es E-
Euch den Abschied etwas erleichtert zu wissen, d a
sie unter so lieben und feinen Menschen leben
wird. Ausserdem hofft Ihr ja sie bald wieder
zu Euch nehmen zu koennen.
Ich beantworte gerne jede Frage.
Herliche Gruesse
Eure Herta

In England braucht Eva wollener Unterwesch

Letter from Herta Daube to the Mosbachers from February 12, 1939.

school. The people are really moved, and understand how difficult this decision must be for you. They all hope that the separation does not last long.”

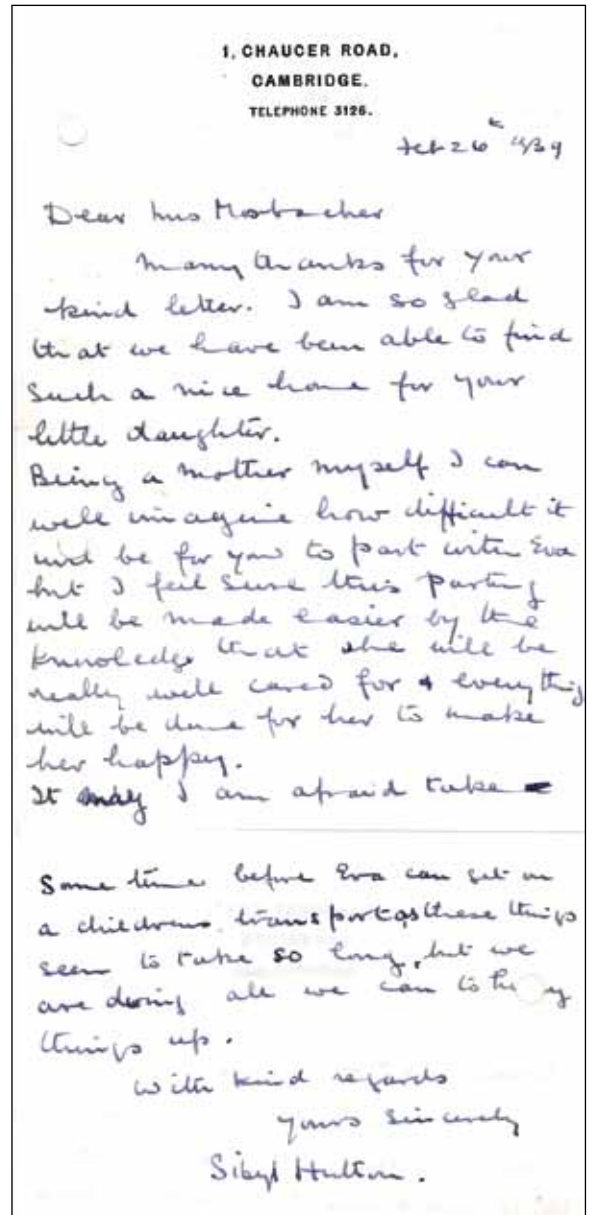
How Mosbachers perceived the information about the future foster mothers can be seen from comments they made later in front of friends: “One of the ladies happens to be an anthropologist, of all things, the other runs a gymnastics institute—and they’re both Aryan. But on the one hand, we can be happy that the child will live in good conditions. Especially since relatives of my husband live in Cambridge; having family in the area is not an advantage in every case, but in this case it’s certainly a reassurance.”

The Mosbachers thanked the helpful women: “We feel it is tremendously soothing to know, that there are still good, loving, helpful people in the world who are so understanding and have the courage to make that understanding, love, and self-sacrifice known.” It was for them “as parents an unexpected, perhaps most serious decision, to leave [their daughter] so early in strangers’ care.” The separation, which would last an indeterminate length of time, seemed easier with the knowledge “that EVA would always be surrounded in her home with love and care.”

Signe Lavén responded that Eva’s arrival hopefully would not be delayed by formalities. She told them that hundreds of English children were separated from their parents, who worked in India and elsewhere, where there was no suitable school system. She hoped that Eva would be happy living with them until she could be reunited with her parents. Mrs. Hutton of the committee in-

formed them it would be awhile before Eva could be placed on a convoy. She would do everything she could to expedite the process.

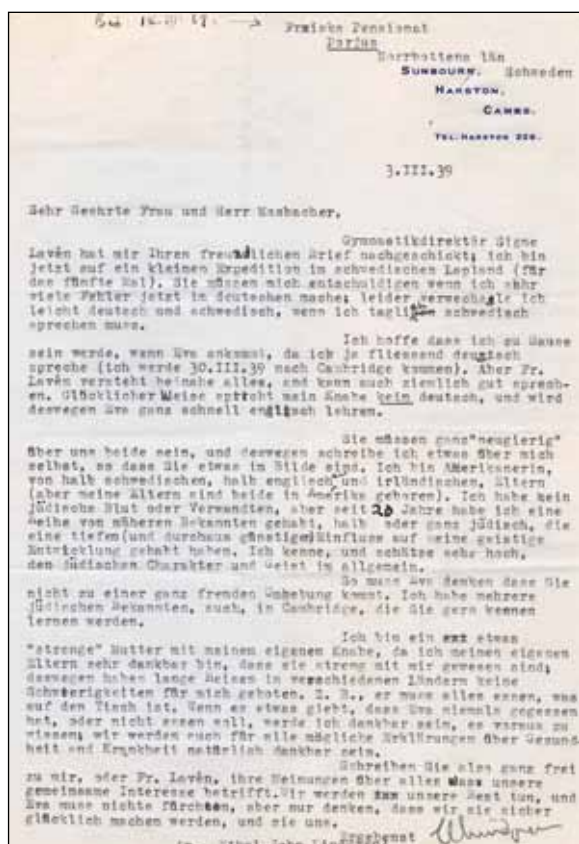
At the time, Dr. Lindgren was at an expedition to research reindeer in Lapland. She wrote that her son could speak no German



Letter from Sibyl Hutton to the Mosbachers from February 26, 1939.

and Eva would therefore quickly learn English. She was herself an “American, from part Swedish, part English, and Irish parents.” And further: “I know and appreciate the Jewish character and spirit in general. Eva should not think that she is coming into a completely foreign environment. I have many Jewish acquaintances, also, in Cambridge, whom she will meet.” Moreover, she labelled herself as a “somewhat ‘strict’ mother”.

The Mosbachers responded that they were also strict parents: “We believe that only a person who is accustomed to a humble, fair upbringing from youth on will fill their place in life. Without trying to sound like a vain or conceited mother, one can say that Eva is a well predisposed child, and will do absolutely anything to make sure that she won’t inconvenience you. As for food, you need not make any special considerations regarding religious obligations, as we don’t lead a religious household.”



Letter from Dr. Lindgren to the Mosbachers from March 3, 1939



Dr. Ethel J. Lindgren

Obligatory Names and Hitler's Threat

A further considerable intrusion into the lives of the German Jews was the obligation to assume the name "Sara" or "Israel", which began January 1, 1939. This applied to every Jew that did not already have a "Jewish" first name. At the pressure of the Swiss, the passports of German Jews were marked with a "J" since October 7, 1938. In this way, the immigration of Jews as tourists could be prevented.

In his Reichstag speech on January 30, 1939, the sixth anniversary of the Nazis' rise to power, Hitler spoke of the "Jewish question" and the reaction of foreign countries. Hypocritically, he called it a "shameful act, how the entire democratic world dripped with compassion for the poor tortured Jews but remain merciless considering the duty to help." Then Hitler openly threatened:

"I would like to be a prophet once more today: if the financial Judaism in and outside of Europe successfully plunges the world into another world war, the result would not be the communization of the Earth and therefore the victory of Judaism, but the extermination of the Jewish race from Europe."

On April 3, 1939, Hitler gave the instruction to prepare for an offensive war with Poland.



Der Stürmer published a special edition in May 1939 about "ritual murder" and tied it to Prejudices of the Middle Ages. Karl Holz, who from 1925–1938 was editor-in-chief, explained that the special edition was published because in this context the Jew shows himself as genuine devil and satan.

Immigration of Eva's Grandparents Betty and Paul

Hedwig Mosbacher's parents Betty and Paul Heinemann could start their immigration to their sons in South Africa in March 1939. Their son Hermann wrote from Johannesburg to his cousin Herbert in Meiningen: "To date, we have only received a letter out of Rotterdam from our two 'travellers', and what a confident, very different letter, in a word safer and more self-assured; hopefully this transformation continues." The joy was accompanied by thanks for those remaining in Germany: "it will be greatly sorrowful to be there, because we are all so close – everyone with one another."

Hermann Heinemann suspected that his father had too high expectations for his life in South Africa. They could only provide for him a "simply peaceful, comfortable home, enough to eat drink and smoke, but even that would be it." He hoped "his father no longer longed to be the commercial lawyer; those times have passed." But soon "at least one Heinemann family would be reunited."

Otto Mosbacher wrote once again in March 1939 to companies and people who shared his last name. After a few days, one man from New York responded, who was related to the family of Dr. Emil Mosbacher from Nuremberg. Because he had no family relation to Otto Mosbacher, however, so the issuance of an affidavit would not be appropriate. An 86-year-old man from Los Angeles regretted that he couldn't help, because an affidavit would not be granted to a man his

age. A man from California wrote that, to his knowledge, no new applicants had the chance to obtain an entry permit for the next four or five years. He and his friends had already been granted the maximum number of affidavits. He came to America himself 50 years earlier as a boy, and knew nearly nothing about his relatives in Germany. If he could help he would without hesitation, related or not. Otto Mosbacher begged him for an affidavit nonetheless, preferably with the declaration that they were cousins. An uncle of his father immigrated many years earlier and probably died in San Francisco. His father's cousin lived in New York and later Chicago, but there was no trace. The Californian restated that he could not be of help. He could only allege they were cousins if it were true. He didn't want to lie to the US government.

At the beginning of May, the Mosbachers had to give up their valuables. This was ordered in accordance with the ordinance of February 21, 1939, which stated that Jews would have to turn in items of gold and silver, in addition to other items. There were few exceptions, for example wedding rings and two sets of cutlery per person. The Mosbachers turned in three gold rings, a gold pendant, and silverware to the appropriate city pawnshop in Nuremberg. The proceeds, 45 Reichsmark, went into an insurance policy of the bank chain "Meiningen-Zella-Mehlis" in March 1942. The Mosbachers did not have control of the account.

Eva's Journey to England

The Mosbachers' separation approached. They learned in the middle of April 1939 that Eva could be on one of the next convoys. The Nuremberg Jewish Congregation told them Eva should be ready to leave at the beginning of May. She was issued her passport on April 29.

They learned more information about the trip on May 6. The train would leave from Nuremberg in the night from May 9 to 10 at 02:50. The Mosbachers informed the foster mothers in Cambridge. Their daughter was "of course exceedingly happy, that she will soon be with you. The knowledge that she will receive a good, warm-hearted reception relieves us at the time of our parting."

On the night of the departure, the Mosbachers brought their daughter to the train station. They didn't know when they would see her again. Two boys and one other girl from Nuremberg also boarded. When the train was "between Dettelbach and Würzburg," Eva began to write a long letter to her parents. She used the pet names "Viechle" for her mother and "Molly" for her father: "My dear Viechle and Molli!

The worst is already over and I think you two were very brave. I was not without tears even though I tried hard. Hopefully you have slept a bit so that you aren't so exhausted; It's enough as it is."

She found some "very nice company" on the train. There were children from Munich, who spoke with "quaint Munich accents". She

also met an acquaintance, Ruth Koschland from Fürth, who was three years older. Her brother had already travelled to England on an earlier convoy.

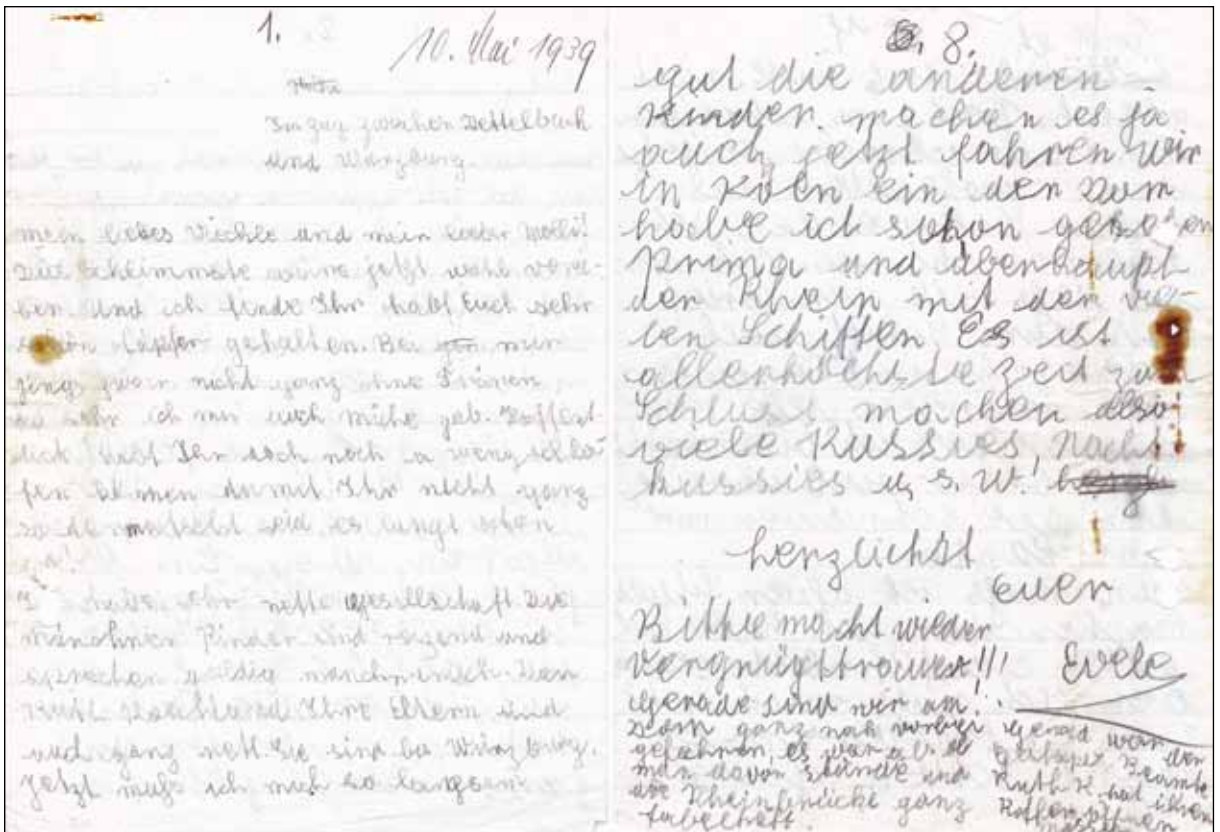
In Frankfurt am Main, the children had to change trains. Eva was relieved that there was a luggage carrier, since she had the most luggage of all the children, as she wrote. She also had a lot to eat: bread, cakes, bananas, and oranges. The children went through the gate and showed their tickets. Employees of the supervising organisation called them, counted them, and took their tickets. In Frankfurt, they were joined by more children. Eva reported: "We saw a few goodbyes, which were awful."

When they boarded the train, their passports and ID cards were taken. Eva said of the chaperons: "The girls are really very nice, of course very determined and energetic, that is also necessary." When someone in the train came by with coffee, Eva asked unsuccessfully for milk or cocoa. Since she was thirsty, she bought water in Wiesbaden. Eva wrote: "of course the moron came by an hour later with milk. So I arranged to have one this afternoon." Eva bought a copy of the *Kölnische Illustrierte* (Cologne Illustrated Magazine). "I needn't have bothered," she wrote, "because there wasn't much to read." The issue contained pictures of Hitler's Reichstag speech from April 28, in which he talked about the relationship with England.

Of the two Mark that Eva got on the trip, she gave the conductress one Mark for Winter Aid, because she was only allowed take ten pfennig with her. From the “fat, hard-working leader,” she learned that “after Cologne, instead of the custom agents, comes the Gestapo. We’re having an arch jamboree and are quite ecstatic. There are more conductresses there, and every one has something to do. They’re all going back over the border. The Gestapo agents were [there] right away. Ruth K. had to open her suitcase.” It was inspected to see if she had any illegal valuables.

Eva later wrote that there was a 6-month-old baby on board: “You can be happy, that I’m already 12.” The average age of the more than 40 children on Eva’s convoy was approximately 13 years of age. The oldest were 17 years old. There was an equal number of boys and girls. Some of them were siblings. Like the 13-year-old twins Clarissa and Walter Nathan from Munich.

Eva told her parents that all of the kids said she was crazy because she wrote so much. The others only wrote a postcard. She gave her letter to the conductress in Emmerich. They were already near the Holland border.



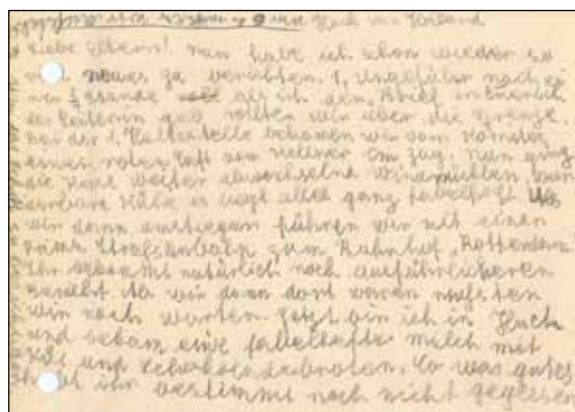
First and Last Pages of Eva's Letter from May 10, 1939

Die Kindertransporte von Deutschland nach England im Mai 1939.

<u>S a v e r n (sonder Neurenberg) Jansen</u>				
1	Krebs, Fritz	Gaukoenigshofen	18.2.28	Gaukoenigshofen 5490
2	Nathan, Walter	Muenchensheimstr. 19	4.10.25	Muenchen 5378
3	Heuneyer, Edmund	Muenchen, Thorwaldenstr. 5	20.11.24	" 5438
4	Sturm, Guenter	Augsburg, Bahnhofstr. 18	11.3.30	Augsburg 5388
<u>Meisler</u>				
5	Nathan, Carlisee	Muenchen, Aimmillerstr. 19	4.10.25	Muenchen 5377
6	Heuneyer, Ruth	Muenchen, Thorwaldenstr. 5	17.9.23	Deulau 5437
7	Kochland, Ruth	Muerth, Karolinenstr. 6	19.11.23	Muerth 5428
8	Marx, Guse	Schweinfurt, Huebertstr. 19	30.1.24	Schweinfurt 5147
<u>Neurenberg Jansen</u>				
9	Birnbaum, Adolf	Dennerstr. 2	6.5.22	Neurenberg 5102
10	Birnbaum, Herbert	"	17.10.26	" 5121
11	Heilbrunner, Hana	Quaenherstr. 44	6.1.29	" 5063
<u>Meisler</u>				
12	Mehr, Inge	Virohovstr. 9	17.12.28	Neurenberg 5008
13	Heebacher, Eva	Millenstr. 4	20.10.26	" 5376
14	Vorhaus, Luise	Feltraerstr. 30	26.8.23	" 5389
<u>Baden</u>				
15	Janus, Herbert	Pforzheim	3.10.21	Pforzheim 5056
16	Kuppenheim, Gerhard	Silferdingenstr. 20	28.11.22	" 5179
<u>Hannheim</u>				
17	Rosenberger, Inge	Tullastr. 10	21.11.28	Hannheim 5102
18	Beer, Lore	R. Wagnerstr. 53	16.10.28	" 5442
19	Liebermann, Ruth	Kirchenstr. 4	6.2.22	" 5481
20	Rosenberger, Ruth	Tullastr. 10	14.6.28	" 5101
21	Siesel, Alike	Mittelstr. 10	20.6.25	Hannaf 5087

- 2 -

First Page of the List of Names from Eva's Children's Convoy



Postcard from Eva from May 10, 1939 from Hoek van Holland

Eva looked out the window and saw “alternately windmills and wonderful cows; everything is absolutely marvellous.” She depicted further, that she later boarded “a super tram” and rode to the Rotterdam train station. After a waiting period, it went on to the coastal town Hoek van Holland.

From there, ferries and large steamships to Harwich at the English coast set sail. Eva wrote that she had to wake up at six

o'clock to board the ship. The trip was very calm: “it was wonderful on the ship, and you could barely notice it was moving.”

From Harwich, she took a train to London. The children then went to Liverpool Street Station and were taken to a large hall. Eva only had to wait a few minutes before her aunt Nelly Mosbacher greeted her. Mrs. Hutton from the refugee organisation also came from Cambridge.



United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Foto # 02725

German Children in Harwich on December 2, 1938

Arrival in Cambridge

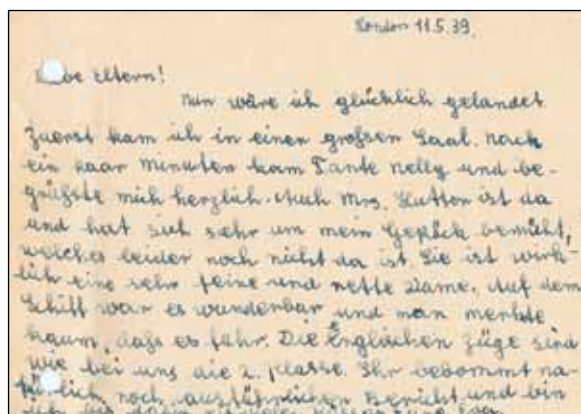
At 17:15, Eva and her aunt arrived in Cambridge by train. They were awaited by her uncle Kurt Mosbacher and her aunt Paula Aufseesser. Paula and Hugo Aufseesser emigrated two months earlier from Munich to join their daughter Herta in England. Eva saw for the first time the two Christian women who would care for her from then on. Dr. Lindgren and Mrs. Lavén drove her by car to Harston, Eva's new residence. On the way, they picked up Dr. Lindgren's son John.

Harston is 6 miles away from Cambridge.

The parents first received a telegram from Dr. Lindgren and Mrs. Lavén: "Eva arrived safely delighted to have her."

Eva wrote her parents that it was marvelous. The residence lay in a delightful garden; otherwise there were far and wide no other houses.

Mrs. Lavén gave her the book "Swiss Family Robinson" by Johann David Wyss. She wrote inside, "To Eva Mosbacher on her first day in England." Eva asked her parents, "What does 'Swiss' mean?" She read only English books and newspapers: "For the words I don't know, I think of my own and



Postcard from Eva from London from May 11, 1939



Telegram from Lavén and Dr. Lindgren from May 11, 1939



Signe Lavén with John Lindgren



Dr. Lindgren's House in Sunbourn/Harston

make a completely different story. Everyone says I speak English 'very well', even though it is completely untrue. And as I know you Molly, you're laughing to yourself."

The house staff was very nice and all called her "darling and Evchen". Eva said, "On the first afternoon Miss L. gave me a kiss – and patted me on the head, she does that a lot. I think she really likes me." Eva longed for her

parents: "It would be really wonderful if we could all be together! Hopefully I can bring you both here sometime."

Dr. Lindgren wrote the Mosbachers that Eva was charming and had a very good English accent. She slept very well the first night and seemed happy. Her own son was delighted and excited. She planned a trip to America and hoped that she could do something for

the Mosbachers. She had friends in America, who dealt with refugees.

Eva confessed to her parents that she was heartbroken at first. There was no question of her feeling happy. She delighted herself in her parents' letters: "I read them so often until I know them by heart and consider them sacred." She asked her parents to show her letters to their relatives in Meiningen. But she asked her parents not to send any more sweets, because everyone thought she didn't get enough.

Eva wasn't happy with Mrs. Lavén's opinion that she should cut her braids. Eva complained to her parents:

"I think in this case I have to ask someone else, because she isn't my mother and certainly not my vice mother. And she never will be, because I don't like it at all, even though she already gave me the second kiss, as long as I am here. I would rather have one from my Viechle or my Molly, I could really use one right now." In June, the braids were cut and she looked "rather decent."

Perse School for Girls

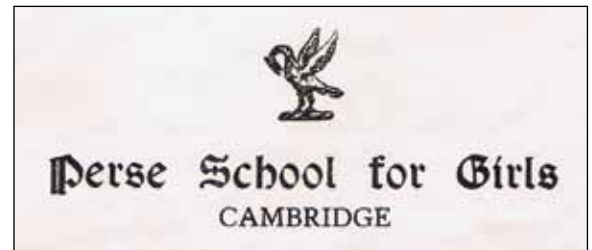
On May 15, 1939, Eva started at her new school. The Perse School was strictly for girls.

Eva, without taking an entrance exam, started in a higher class, the Upper IIIa class. Physics, geometry, and history were all new subjects for her. Along with another student from the Rhineland, they received additional lessons.

Eva liked the other students: "You've never seen anyone as nice as they are. Whenever

er someone needs a ruler, it's already there. Then, they lend someone a book without being asked. After lunch, they always invite me on a walk, even though I'm not the best company." School began at 9 o'clock, and Eva travelled there everyday. Dr. Lindgren bought the necessary blue school uniform.

The nearby guesthouse "La Ruche," in which one was only allowed to speak French, also belonged to the school.



Perse School

Trouble in the Homeland

The Mosbachers assumed there would be a waiting period of 1.5-3 years before they could immigrate to the United States. They also had no chance for asylum in South Africa or Australia. Hedwig Mosbacher wrote in the summer of 1939 to an acquaintance that immigrated to New Zealand: "I know for certain that no one is waiting for us, neither here or there..." She inquired what someone needs for clothing, etc. in New Zealand, and if "it makes sense to bring my old 'Biedermeierzimmer'?"

They considered temporarily moving to England. Eva's mother had the chance to get a position as a cook, with the help of Dr. Lindgren. Hedwig Mosbacher took a cooking and pastry course for several months in Munich, and had years of experience in domestic economy and childcare. The job situation was worse for male refugees, however. But Otto Mosbacher did not want to live at the expense of others.

Eva was also experiencing some problems. Dr. Lindgren wrote to Nuremberg on June 12, 1939 that everything was still going well with Eva, although she sometimes had trouble with her son John: "They are both only children, and have to learn the art of sharing and cooperation in order to enjoy life." However, perhaps they had to search for another foster family. Mrs. Lavén thought of giving up her practice for health reasons. Dr. Lindgren was thinking about moving to Stockholm in October. She offered to bring Eva with her. However, she would have to adjust to a new country and a new language. In the case that Eva

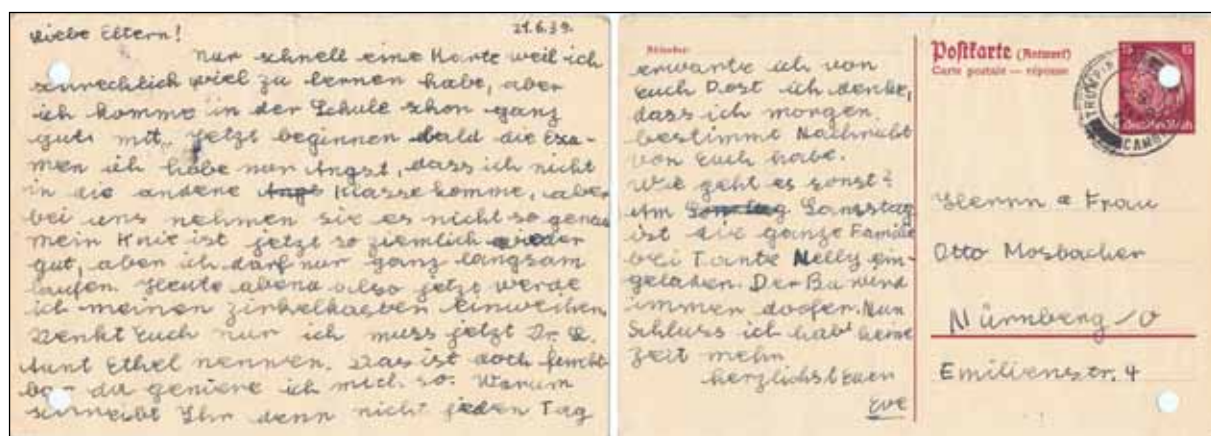
could live with her relatives in England, Dr. Lindgren was willing to pay.

The Mosbachers regretted the uncertainty. Eva would first spend the summer vacation at her Uncle Eduard's in Birmingham. Because of the size of the family, she could not stay there permanently. Her parents also did not want her to stay with her cousin Herta in Cambridge, because only a meagre income was available and an orthodox household would be led. Staying with her Uncle Kurt's family would also not be a solution, because they wished to travel to the US. The Mosbachers didn't want Eva to travel to Sweden, however, so the only remaining option was another foster family.

Luckily, Dr. Lindgren shortly gave the all-clear. Lavén didn't want to give up her practice yet after all. The Mosbachers were relieved. Eva hadn't been told anything about that. She had other concerns: "Now I have to call Dr. Lindgren 'Aunt Ethel'. It's dreadful and it embarrasses me."

Next, Eva lived temporarily with her Aunt Nelly and Uncle Kurt in Cambridge.

Mrs. Lavén moved into an apartment next door. Eva shared a room with her cousin Hanni. She wrote her parents that she often got "terrible homesickness, and I have no one to whom I can express myself. If I write to you about what's bothering me, it helps, but not much. When I was first at Aunt Paula's I had a good cry. And when you tell me not to tell someone what's bothering me, I can't because the tears just well up." Eva also reported of an argument with her foster mother. There was a bit of a "stupid fight" because she didn't eat her porridge. Otherwise they were "tre-



Eva's Postcard to her Parents from June 21, 1939

mendously nice". Dr. Lindgren sent her candy from London and wrote "We all missed you last night. I hope you a little too. Love from Aunt Ethel." Eva commented: "Isn't that sweet?"

Too Many Parental Admonitions

Eva kept her parents constantly up to date. Dr. Lindgren spoke with her in German and said she was no longer allowed to read the newspaper: "because I could live so much happier. I read them anyway. Then she told me I wasn't allowed to study so much, but instead I should sleep more. When she was as old as I am, she always studied until 10 o'clock and she never got her health back, she told me. If my Molly had heard that, I think he would've fainted."

Then again, Eva complained about too many parental admonitions: "I have to decide

so much for myself and give so many explanations so that such bagatelles as you tell me go without saying. Of course if you were here, I would ask you everything, but that unfortunately can't be. You can be sure that I do everything as you would."

She wasn't worried about exams, except that she wouldn't move onto the next class: "Then I would have to stay in school until I was 19." "Committee children" had to stay in school longer than the others. She was happy that her Uncle Eduard planned to support her parents in their immigration: "I see you already as if you're here walking around with me in England, after I picked you up from the train. You can't imagine how I'm looking forward to seeing you, if only half the time were already over."

Meanwhile, she was also having an argument with her parents. Eva wanted to support a friend in Germany. Therefore, she visited Mrs. Hutton of the committee and wrote her parents: "It is a difficult path for me, but the other people had to go for me. And it would

be terrible if someone thought that I was leading this wonderful life, while the others couldn't. It is so much more difficult for you to do something, but I should also do what I can." The Mosbachers were angry about this solo effort, however. Eva justified herself: "Molli can not possibly believe that I'm trying to show off. It's a terrible feeling, to think that one lives in paradise and the others cannot. Dear Aunt Nelly is so nice and is writing to Mrs. Hutton to say that it isn't necessary to do anything. Then everything is butter. And I hope you aren't mad at me any longer, because I recognize my mistake that I hadn't asked you before."

After the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany learned of the Mosbachers' intended immigration to America, it asked for more information. It had to be guaranteed that Eva received the correct Visa in England. The Mosbachers answered that they had registered their daughter with the American Consulate. They were not invited to a visa interview, however.

At the end of July 1939, Eva received her school report. Despite receiving praise from the school director, she was unsatisfied. One had to memorize many works, for instance Shakespeare poems, which she wouldn't have understood if she read them in German. She

MOVEMENT FOR THE CARE OF CHILDREN FROM GERMANY
BRITISH INTER-AID COMMITTEE

Telephone: MUSEUM 2900 Ext. 66. BLOOMSBURY HOUSE,
BLOOMSBURY STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1.

PLEASE QUOTE LP/MI/RB/7458. 4th July 1939.
28439 D Form I MI Eltern U.S.A.

Sehr geehrter Herr Mosbacher,

Wir erfahren von Ihrem Kind Eva,
dass Sie mit Ihrer Familie nach den Vereinigten Staaten
auszuwandern beabsichtigen. Wollen Sie uns bitte die
folgenden Angaben so bald als moeglich senden:

Wann haben Sie registriert
Bei welchem Konsulat
Ist Ihr Kind rechtzeitig registriert worden
Welche Registrierungsnummer haben Sie
Sind Sie schon zu einem Visa-Interview geladen worden
Haben Sie schon fuer die Uebertragung der Papiere
Ihres Kindes nach England gesorgt

Wenn nicht, senden Sie sofort an das Konsulat bei
dem Sie registrieren haben, den Gegenwert von
1 Dollar mit der Post und schicken Sie uns den
Postabschnitt, wir werden dann die Uebertragung ver-
anlassen.

Sobald wir diese Angaben haben, werden wir alles
Notwendige veranlassen, damit Ihr Kind hier das Visum erhaelt.

***Bitte auch Namen und Adresse, sowie Verwandtschaftsgrad und
Staatsangehoerigkeit des Affidavitstellers.**

LP.
Mrs. Lorna Phipps.
Re-Emigration Department, Room 66.

Letter from the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany to Otto Mosbacher from July 4, 1939

was happy however, to have a bicycle, with which she rode “down the main road that has 10x as much traffic as in Nuremberg.”

Special Relationship

The Mosbachers wished for help from their prominent, distant relatives, the Morgenthau family, to immigrate to the USA. The origins of the family traced back to the 18th century, in the area of Bamberg. One part of the family moved to America in 1866. Henry Morgenthau, born in Mannheim in 1856, was a statesman and diplomat in America. He was a member of the peace delegation in Versailles in 1919. Since 1883, he'd been married to Josephine Sykes, whose mother Helen Himmelreich was the daughter of Sara Brüll.

They were related to the Mosbachers through this relationship. Sara Brüll's sister Babette was the grandmother of Otto Mosbacher's mother Clara. Otto Mosbacher's great grandmother was the sister of the great grandmother of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., who was the US Secretary of the Treasury beginning in 1934.

Otto had searched since 1938 through the National Council of Jewish Women to come into contact with the Morgenthau. In error, he operated under the assumption that they were related through the wife of Morgenthau, Jr. He therefore received in April 1939 the news that no relationship existed. After he clarified his mistake, it was recommended he contact Mrs. Morgenthau directly. He did so on June 24, 1939 asking for their support in relocation to the USA, given their distant relationship and the difficult situation since 1933.



Letter from the Council of Service for Foreign Born from December 18, 1939

When no response was received, he wrote once again on November 13, 1939. He trusted that Mrs. Morgenthau would help them in some way. His family was tremendously thankful for her helping hand to achieve the long-awaited goal. He hoped he would soon receive a response, with good news.

This time he did receive an answer, albeit through the Council of Service for Foreign Born, with a letter from December 18, 1939 that was first received on March 20, 1940. They had searched in vain to get affidavits from the Morgenthau family. The family received thousands of requests and could not comply, with the exception of close family.

Holiday in Birmingham

Eva spent her summer holiday in Birmingham. She was picked up from the train station by her Aunt Erna, who had a “highly elegant” car, the likes of which one could seldom find in Germany. She felt very well, but could not suppress her homesickness. She urged her parents to immigrate and said they would feel much happier in England than in Nuremberg, even if they would have to give some things up. The English were indescribably charitable. And, “You still have to begin the process even if it would be a difficult path, but once we’re together, we’ll all be happier. It is often very difficult for me, but I hope the difficult times will soon pass. And you also have to remem-



StadtAN, C21/VII Nr. 108

Erna Mosbacher



StadtAN, C21/VII Nr. 108

Eduard Mosbacher

ber that whenever you think of how difficult it would be, I know exactly how it feels.”

She asked to write more: “Whenever one receives such wonderful letters from home, one becomes a different person.”

Eva excitedly depicted a trip to the source of the River Thames and the visit to the theatre in Stratford, in which only Shakespeare plays were performed: “I have never seen anything so beautiful and interesting. It’s a pity that you couldn’t have been there. Maybe you can see once too.”

She and her cousin Hilde were often invited to visit other children. Her parents also heard, however, whenever Hilde was “nasty” to her and said “shut up”—“that’s a very mean English expression.” She thought a lot about her parents. On August 30, 1939 she wrote: “From day to day I hope that everything will be okay. Now, head high and look forward!”

Start of the War – End of the Children’s Transport

On September 1, 1939 the Wehrmacht attacked Poland—the Second World War began. Great Britain and France declared war on the German Reich two days later. This meant the end of the Children’s Transport, with which barely 10,000 children came to England. 100 children from Nuremberg alone took part in the convoy; this was nearly half the number of Jewish children who lived there in November 1938. Children from Meiningen and other Thuringian states reached England in this way. Because of the war, chil-

**REF REGISTRATION
REGIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

REFUGEE—FEMALE

APPEAL DECISION

(1) Surname (Block capitals) MOSEBACHER

Forenames Eva Elisabeth Sara

Alias _____

(2) Date and place of birth 22. 10. 26. in Nurnberg.

(3) Nationality German.

(4) Police Regn. Cert. No. 902, 245. Home Office reference, if known _____
Special Procedure Card Number, if known _____

(5) Address "Annelsay House",
Union Road, Cambridge.

(6) Normal occupation _____

(7) Present Occupation School-girl.

(8) Decision of Tribunal Let subject to 6a & 9a. } Strike out which do not apply.
Exempt from 6a & 9a. }
Exempt from 6a & 9a. }

(9) Decision of Advisory Committee Exempted from 6a & 9a } Strike out which does not apply.
Exempted from 6a & 9a. }

* (2021) 1048500 10th 5/41 4070 G & S 704

Reasons for Decision.

Brought to the U.K. by the Inter-Aid Committee as a refugee child.
Given good report by the person who is now responsible for her, and with whom she has lived since May, 1939.
Nothing detrimental reported.

Regional Advisory Committee Eastern Civil Defence
Region.

Signature [Signature] Chief Constable,
Secretary.

Date 3 APR 1943

The National Archives, HO 396/62

Regional Advisory Committee Registry Card for
Eva Mosbacher from 1943

dren of 16 years or older had to speak with the police and become registered. Approximately 1,000 of these children were detained for some period of time. Eva was spared detention because of her age.

On the day the war began, Eva returned to Cambridge and lived with Mrs. Lavén in a four-room apartment. She had a beautiful view of the river from her room. It looks like the “Wöhrderwiese”, she wrote her parents in memory of Nuremberg. In a letter on September 11, 1939 she congratulated her mother on her birthday and hoped the next would take place somewhere else. She also remem-



Eva in Scout Uniform (June 1943)

bered to wish her parents a happy anniversary. Direct contact was no longer allowed. Letters could only be sent through the International Committee of the Red Cross. Eva could occasionally send letters to acquaintances in Switzerland or Holland. She also celebrated her 13th birthday without her parents. She received a confectioner's cake and a uniform blouse and fountain pen, among other gifts. She celebrated with her relatives and wrote her parents: "So I spent my birthday very beautifully, but it would have been better if I could have celebrated with you."

Dr. Lindgren returned from her trip to America. Her son John did not return with her. She wanted him far from Europe due to the war.

Eva became a member of the scouts and was very excited. She once again thought about the future and her parents: "Yesterday I was once again invited—very aristocratically. It's a pity that you can't see your Eve when I can experience so much that is new and wonderful. When I'm older and am earning money, I can show you and offer you so much that you will be amazed." She was also doing very well in school: "I have never been so excited to go to school in my whole life. Everyday we have physical education and I'm now very agile. [...] I invested in a diary so that you can read through everything later."

First Deportations

The Nazi persecution of Jews reached another level. In conquered Poland, the first ghetto was established in October 1939. Jews from Vienna and other cities were deported to the Lublin area. Jews from Szczecin and Stralsund were similarly deported to the Bełżyce ghetto in February 1940.

It was no longer possible for German Jews to flee. In a secret report from the district president of Upper and Middle Franconia on November 7, 1939, it was written:

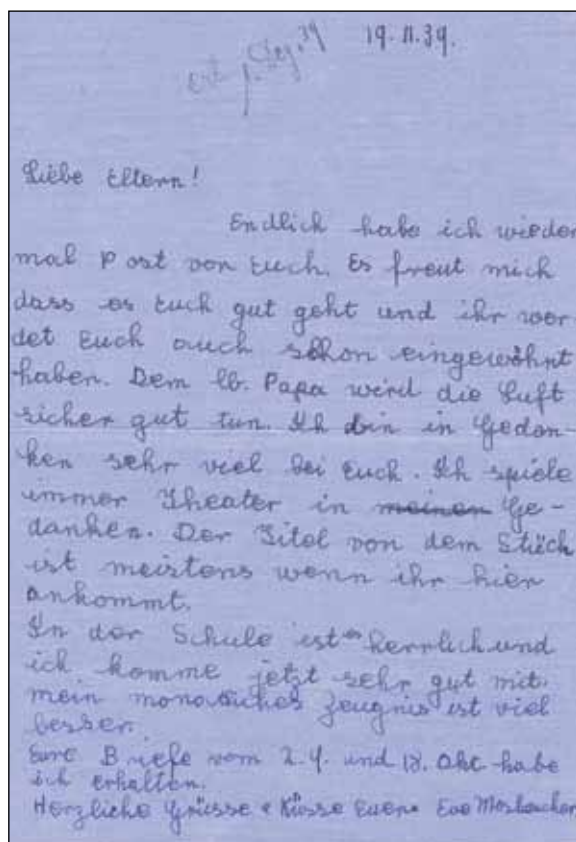
“it appears that they experience many difficulties, as immigrations to most countries is restricted. There is no ship connection to North America or Palestine, where Jews are still allowed to immigrate. [...] The applications for issuance of immigrant passports proves that an eagerness to quickly emigrate from Germany still exists among the Jews.”

Relocation to Meiningen

At the beginning of November 1939 the Mosbachers moved from Nuremberg to Meiningen. They found accommodations in the apartment of Hedwig's Aunt Meta and Uncle Bruno Heinemann at 8 Leipziger Straße, which was called “Straße der SA” at the time. Eva considered the move a good idea, but thought at a distance that they wouldn't be able to find any room for their wardrobes or other things. She knew the apartment from an earlier visit. She wrote her parents on No-

vember 19th: “The air would really do papa well. I think about you a lot. I play theatre in my thoughts. The title of the play is mostly when you'll come here.”

The burdens of the parents is shown in a letter from her mother to the distant relatives the Rosenfelds, living in Los Angeles, written on November 18, 1939: “My dears, I have wanted to write to you again for a long time, but you can understand that the events of the past few months have given us a lot to think and ponder about, so that one can only think



Eva's Letter to her Parents from November 19, 1939

about the most important things. In addition, there was the move, which required a lot of work. We're living here with Uncle and Aunt together and wait until we can migrate further." She complained about the distant relatives, who did not answer Otto's letter "after the November events" of 1938, "which amounted to a cry for help." And further: "I can honestly say than when in these times and such circumstances one worries about the details, it has in my opinion little sense and purpose, to continue to approach these people. I believe they do nothing but speak of good will with beautiful words, but actions are few and far between."

Otto also complained, in front of the 86-year-old Mosbacher from Los Angeles. "It seems that the unaffected abroad cannot im-

agine the circumstances of our actual lives."

Eva would also celebrate Hanukkah, the Jewish Festival of Lights, without her parents. Instead she spent the Christmas holiday with both of her ladies in the small village of Chedworth in a nearly 400 year old house. On Christmas, she received from Dr. Lindgren and Frau Lavén a pair of silk stockings, a dressing gown, and some money. "Is that not terribly lovely," she wrote in a letter to her Uncle Eduard, "I want to know how many Jewish children have something so wonderful." She hadn't heard from her parents in quite awhile.

Because she could no longer send any letters to Germany, she worried her parents would "think that I had forgotten them and want nothing to do with them [...]".

ed. 37/2/11

Mark A to D.	Report	Grade in %	Science	Art	Physical	Character
Grammar + Composition	Cr. Very fair. Eva must be careful over the correct use of <u>indefinite</u>	B	Neat work	Drawing	Music	B+ Good Good. D.C.P.
Literature	B. Fairly good. Eva shows interest and is able to follow the work well. C.R.					Fairly Good. Reading still better. ⁱⁿ taller large understandings should be nearer C.A.
Reading	Improving, but Eva must read more slowly. C.R.					C. Improved. C.H.H.
Dictation	B+. Well prepared and greatly improved. C.R.					a very great improvement this term. H.M.
History	B+. Quite good. Eva must now try to take a more active part in the class work. G. H.M.L.					It's becoming lighter and more ^{robust} supple. M.H.R.W.
French	C+. Improvement shown this term. G.W.					Conduct. Good.
Arithmetic } Geometry }	C. Eva seems to work - and, but she is very slow to grasp new principles ^{and} still					
Geography	B. Sometimes Good. D.H.					
			Progress. Improvement shown			
						Eva schuldische Pfote, es ist spät und ich muss in. Bett.

Eva's Report Card from December 1939

Ray of Hope

The Mosbachers received pleasant news from the US consulate in Stuttgart. They were informed by letter on January 5, 1940 that they expected to fill a quota in the next few months. They could submit proof that their immigration “would not be a burden on the public.”

Because the letter was originally sent to their former residence, they first received it at the end of February. In the interim, they found a new warrantor, who lived in New York. He was a friend of Kurt Mosbacher.

File No. 811. 11 AMERIKANISCHES KONSULAT Stuttgart, Postfach 948 Form 8D

JH
25/40

Datum: January 5, 1940

Name des Antragstellers:
Herr & Frau Otto Mosbacher
HUBENBERG-0
Hallenstr. 4

Quota-Liste: Deutsch 17118

Wohnort: Euerberg-0

Legte Adresse des Antragstellers, falls die frühere nicht mehr zutrifft:

Da voraussichtlich für jede der obgenannten Personen im Laufe der nächsten Monate eine Quotennummer zur Verfügung stehen wird, steht es Ihnen frei, auf Ihr eigenes Risiko, alle Unterlagen, die sich in Ihrem Besitz befinden oder die Sie sich noch beschaffen können, dem Konsulat zu übersenden, um zu beweisen, daß Sie der Öffentlichkeit nicht zur Last fallen werden, falls Sie die Erlaubnis erhalten nach den Vereinigten Staaten einzuwandern. Alle diesbezüglichen Unterlagen sollten von Ihnen oder von einer bevollmächtigten Person gesammelt und dem Konsulat gleichzeitig eingereicht werden, wobei dieses Schreiben als Ermächtigung dazu dienen und ebenfalls mitgesandt werden soll.

Nach Erhalt werden die Unterlagen sobald wie möglich geprüft und insbesondere, soweit dieses im voraus möglich ist, ob sie den gesetzlichen Bestimmungen genügen und zufriedenstellend sind. Falls die Unterlagen den Anforderungen entsprechen, werden Sie entsprechend benachrichtigt, wenn nicht, wird Ihnen mitgeteilt, aus welchem Grunde dieselben als nicht genügend oder unzureichend betrachtet werden, und falls möglich, werden geeignete Vorschläge gemacht werden. Es kann jedoch keine Versicherung gegeben werden, daß ein Visum erteilt wird, bevor nicht Ihre Nummer tatsächlich in der Reihe ist und Sie persönlich mit Ihren Dokumenten beim Konsulat geprüft worden sind um festzustellen, ob Sie auf Grund ständiger Bestimmungen der amerikanischen Einwanderungsgesetze in die Vereinigten Staaten zugelassen werden können.

Ungefähr 4 Wochen nach Ihrer Nummer auf der Warteliste schrittweise an die Reihe kommt, werden Sie eine Vorladung zur persönlichen Vorstellung mit dem Konsulat erhalten, vorausgesetzt, daß die in Ihrem Fall eingereichten Unterlagen als genügend erachtet sind. Dieser Zeitraum von 4 Wochen dürfte genügen, um Ihnen die Beschaffung der übrigen erforderlichen Dokumente zu ermöglichen, wie z. B. eines gültigen Reisepasses, Geburtsurkunden, politische Führungszeugnisse, usw. Diese Dokumente sollten nicht an das Konsulat eingereicht werden, wenn Sie nicht besonders dazu aufgefordert werden. Ein Einwanderungsvisum ist nach erfolgter Ausstellung gewöhnlich 4 Monate gültig, d. h. der Inhaber desselben hat 4 Monate Zeit, um seine Reisevorbereitungen zu treffen und in die Vereinigten Staaten einzureisen. Insbesondere muß die nötige Vorbereitung, welche Sie vor der tatsächlichen Ausstellung eines Visums für Ihre Einwanderung treffen sollten, gänzlich auf Ihre eigene Verantwortung.

Es ist unmöglich genau zu schätzen, wann Sie eine Vorladung erhalten werden, oder wann Ihnen ein Visum ausgestellt werden kann, da diese von der Zahl der übrigen Personen abhängt, welche zwischen zum Empfang eines Visums berechtigt sind und welche bereits früher registriert wurden oder nach dem Einwanderungsgesetz bevorzugt behandelt werden müssen.

Anmerkung: Halten Sie das Konsulat auf dem Laufenden über Veränderungen Ihres ständigen Wohnortes. Notizen Sie immer Ihre Registrierungs-Nummer, wenn Sie an das Konsulat schreiben, und fügen Sie einen frankierten Briefumschlag für die Rückantwort bei.

21 März 1940 Für den Generalkonsul:
[Signature]
Amerikanischer Vizekonsul

Letter from the American Consulate in Stuttgart from January 5, 1940

The Rosenfelds also wanted to help. They wrote from Los Angeles as “first cousins” to the US consulate in Stuttgart that they would care of the Mosbachers after their arrival. As evidence of their bank balance, they enclosed a letter from the Bank of America and the California Bank. They did not have the necessary income for an affidavit, however.

In the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, the central authority for Jewish persecution, they planned for the concentration of the Jews to “suitable locations” within each province. A list of such suitable locations went to the state police offices in February 1940. The of-

Hady's Famous Confections
224 SOUTH SPRING STREET
Phone MU. 1479 Res. MO. 19354
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
January 2, 1940.

U.S. Consul
Stuttgart.

rei Affidavits Otto Mosbacher born January 14, 1904 Euerberg
Hedwig Mosbacher born Septemb. 1902 Meiningen
Eva Mosbacher born October 22, 1926 Euerberg
living now Strasse der S.A. 8 Meiningen Thuringen.

Dear Sir,

referring to applications for visas Otto, Hedwig and Eva Mosbacher former time in Euerberg now living in Meiningen, who are our first cousins, we wish to inform you that all of these members of our family will reside with us on their arrival and to substantiate our ability to take care of them we enclose herewith two letters from the Bank of America and the California Bank Los Angeles showing our deposits there. Also enclosed is a certificate that we have a baking business making special Euerberg Lebkuchen.

We hope that this letter will help to bring a speedy completion of their applications.

Very truly
Yours
[Signature]
Hady Roswille Rosenfeld

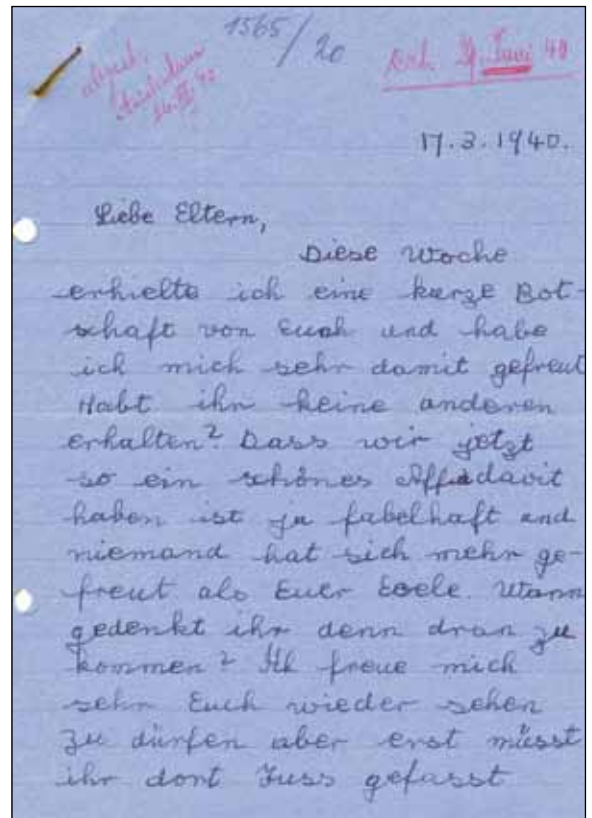
Letter from the Rosenfelds to the US Consulate in Stuttgart from January 2, 1940

fices were told to report of any misgivings to an influx of Jews into the listed cities. For the Jews in Thuringia, Meiningen was designated. Erfurt, Magdeburg and Halle were specified for the province of Saxony; Munich, Regensburg, Bamberg, Fürth, Aschaffenburg, and Augsburg for the state of Bavaria. According to a May 1939 census, 136 Jews lived in Meiningen. A larger number lived in Thuringia and the administrative region Erfurt in the cities of Eisenach (206) and Erfurt (261). The implementation of the plan was not discussed at that time.

Eva asked by letter, forwarded by her aunt, for “more happiness:” “especially when I know that you walk around with such miserable faces—it makes it hard to laugh. So please laugh during every difficulty, like I do.” She was then 1.6 m (63 in.) tall and “somewhat rounder,” but her figure was still there. The officially approved letters had to be short. So Eva wrote on February 29, 1940 to her parents: “I can’t write anything else—the censor forbade it—have a lot of work for exams—grandparents are well, kisses BUNNY.” After her parents received the letter in April, their response followed: “Dear, good bunny, it is the anniversary of your departure. We are connected by constant thoughts. Stay healthy, sincerely your parents.”

Eva planned to stay in England after her parents immigrated, until they got comfortable: “Because I wouldn’t immediately find such a beautiful life as I have here. Hopefully you don’t think that I don’t want you back.” Her exams went well; she even received distinction in grammar.

The Mosbachers sought from the Meinin-



Eva's Letter to her Parents from March 17, 1940 (First Page)

gen Jewish cultural association and the Leipzig district office of the National Association of German Jews certification of delivery of their duty to render recoupment charges, which was necessary for immigration.

On June 11, 1940, the Hilfsverein informed the Mosbachers that they could “expect to receive their visas as soon as the new quota year (end July-begin August 1940),” due to their registration date. The formerly independent Hilfsverein was now part of the National Association of German Jews, and supported the emigration.

In a letter from June 15, 1940, the American embassy asked the Mosbachers to send in

Der Vorstand der Jüdischen Kulturvereinigung
Meiningen.

Beschreibung:

Die Jüdische Kulturvereinigung Meiningen bestätigt, dass
Herr Otto Israel Mosbacher mit seiner Ehefrau Hedwig Fern geb. Heinemann
Wohnhaft in Meiningen, StraÙe der D. A. R.
geboren am 12. Januar 1894 bzw. am 21. Febr. 1902
ihren ortsrechtlichen Beitragspflichten gegenüber der Jüdischen Kultur-
vereinigung in Meiningen bis zum 31. Dezember 1940 erfüllt haben.

Meiningen, den 24. Mai 1940

Der Vorstand der Jüdischen
Kulturvereinigung in Meiningen.
*Der Vorsitzende der Vereinigung
Hedwig Fern Mosbacher*

Certificate from the Board of the Jewish Cultural Association in Meiningen from May 24, 1940

Jedes Fragebogen sind zwei Durchschriften auf weißen Papier beizufügen.

Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland e.V. Datum: 12. Juli 1940
Berlin W.35, Lützowdamm 30 Unkostenbeitrag 50 Pfg.

FRAGEBOGEN
(Bitte möglichst genau mit der Schreibmaschine auszufüllen)

Name: Mosbacher Vorname: Otto Familienstand: verh.
Geburtsort: 12.1.94 Geburtsort: Münsterberg Staatsangehörigkeit: deutsche
Wohnort: Meiningen Wohnung: StraÙe der D. A. R.
Mitglied der Jüdischen Gemeinde: ja
Beruf (Spezialität und Stellung im Beruf): selbständ. Kaufmann
Berufsausbildung: selbständige Handelslehre
Berufsausbildungsort:
Bisherige Beschäftigung:
Gegenwärtige wirtschaftliche Lage:
Sprachkenntnisse: engl., franz. Welche Pläne haben Sie dort?
Gültiger Paß: USA Visum und Datum der Ausstellung:
Welche Mittel stehen zur Verfügung? Passage
Erfahrungen:
Beziehungen im Ausland (Adressen möglichst angeben):
1. Verwandte (Vernachlässigte?)
Dr. Kurt Mosbacher, 429 North Island Avenue, 500 Atlantic (Wash. D.C.)
Edmund Mosbacher, 37 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.
2. Freunde: Hedwig Mosbacher, 175 Belmont Avenue, N. York, N.Y.

Angabe des oder zweier der sich am liebsten bevorzugenden Mittel der Ausreise (möglichst genau)

Transportmittel	Weg	Wann	Wohin	Wann	Wohin	Wann	Wohin
SEAFRE	<u>amerikanischer Paß</u>	<u>27.7.40</u>	<u>USA</u>	<u>27.7.40</u>	<u>USA</u>	<u>27.7.40</u>	<u>USA</u>

Bezuögende Bemerkungen: ausfüllen auf blankem weißem Registrierungsblatt (17. August 36) in deutscher Sprache

From Otto Mosbacher's Completed Hilfsverein Questionnaire from July 12, 1940

Mosbacher, Otto, Hedwig

111.11 - 7

12. Juli 1940

AMERIKANISCHE BOTSCHAFT
KONSULAR-ABTEILUNG
Berlin, den 15. Juni 1940

Bezugnehmend auf die Ihnen vor einiger Zeit zugesandene
Benachrichtigung, wurden Sie gebeten, hierfür je zwei scheinliche
Beweismittel, die sich in Ihrem Besitz befinden mögen, unter
Benutzung beiliegender Zweiter Ausfertigung dieses Schreibens
der Konsular-Abteilung zwecks Prüfung durch die Post einzusenden.

Es gehen Ihnen rechtzeitig weitere Mitteilungen zu,
und um der Konsular-Abteilung unnötige Arbeitsbelastung zu
ersparen, wurden Sie höflichst ersucht, von Anfragen in
Verbindung mit Ihrer Visumangelegenheit abzusehen.

Falls Ihre scheinlichen Beweismittel sich bereits in den
Händen der Konsular-Abteilung befinden, wurden Sie gebeten,
nur die zweite Ausfertigung dieses Formulare einzusenden.

Letter from the American Embassy from June 15, 1940

Nicht vom Auswärtigen auszufüllen

KONSULAR-ABTEILUNG
DER AMERIKANISCHEN BOTSCHAFT
BERLIN W, Hermann-Göring-StraÙe 21.

Herrn - Frau - Fräulein Mosbacher, Otto, Hedwig

Unter Bezugnahme auf den hier eingereichten, von Ihnen
ausgefüllten Fragebogen, enthaltend Ihr Ansuchen um Vormerkung
zwecks Einwanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, wird
Ihnen mitgeteilt, daß Sie unter dem Datum des
August 27 1940 auf der deutschen

Warteliste unter Vormerknummer Office Nummer
eingetragen sind.

Falls Sie mehrere Male Ihre Nummer bescheinigt erhalten
haben, gilt selbstverständlich nur die niedrigste Nummer.

Sie werden rechtzeitig verständigt werden, wann Ihre
Nummer auf der Warteliste an die Reihe gekommen ist.
Dieses Schriftstück ist sorgfältig aufzubewahren.

Die Vormerknummer ist nicht die Quotennummer.

Letter from the American Embassy regarding Registration on the German Waiting List

complete means of evidence. The Mosbachers filled out questionnaires for the Hilfsverein in the middle of July.

They advised the Mosbachers to wait to book passage on a ship. It was unclear whether their immigration would have to be made through Russia/Japan or through Lisbon. Furthermore, the US constricted entry requirements considerably.

Eva spent the summer with her cousin Herta's family. She wrote on June 18, 1940: "I am now in a small village in Wales with Herta and her family. I might have to go to the village school." In front of her holiday home snaked a river, in which she could however not swim. Eva did not witness the German

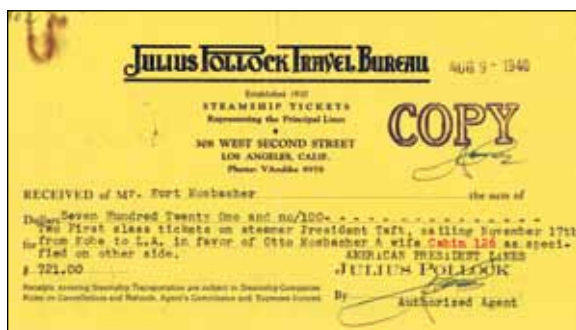
air attack on Cambridge in the night from 18-19 June. She returned to Cambridge in the middle of August.

The Mosbachers had new hope in August 1940. They received their reservation confirmation for their place on the steamer President Taft of the American President Lines for November 17th from Kobe to America. Kurt Mosbacher, who had successfully travelled from England to the US in December 1939, paid for the tickets.

The Mosbachers waited in vain for their summons to the US embassy. The advice centre of the National Association for German Jews, Division of Immigration, informed Otto Mosbacher on August 12, 1940 "that the immigration practices of the US consulate are becoming ever more obscure. It can only be said at the moment that very few visas can presently be issued, because of the underlying constricted immigration requirements."

The Mosbachers had to cancel their tickets at the end of September 1940.

They congratulated their daughter on her 14th birthday once again from afar: "When



Travel Agency Receipt from August 9, 1940 for the Payment of the Ship Tickets

we're reunited, we can catch up on every-thing." Eva still believed in her parents' imminent journey in October: "You should look forward to your trip. Hold your heads high, think about nothing, and hope for a better future. [...]" After she heard of the cancellation of their trip, she wrote: "Don't be sad—everything will be beautiful one day. Taking sewing lessons, by the time, see you again I will be able to make clothes. Yours Bunny."

To Eva's letter, in which she hoped to be able to go to her uncle Kurt in America and celebrate a reunion, her parents answered at the end of the year that they also "look for-



News from the Mosbachers to Eva from August 25, 1940

ward to being united once again.”

Eva learned about California in school and wrote her uncle, “it must really be a heavenly place”—and “if I can’t go now, I may never be able to see America in my life.”

Next Steamer in October

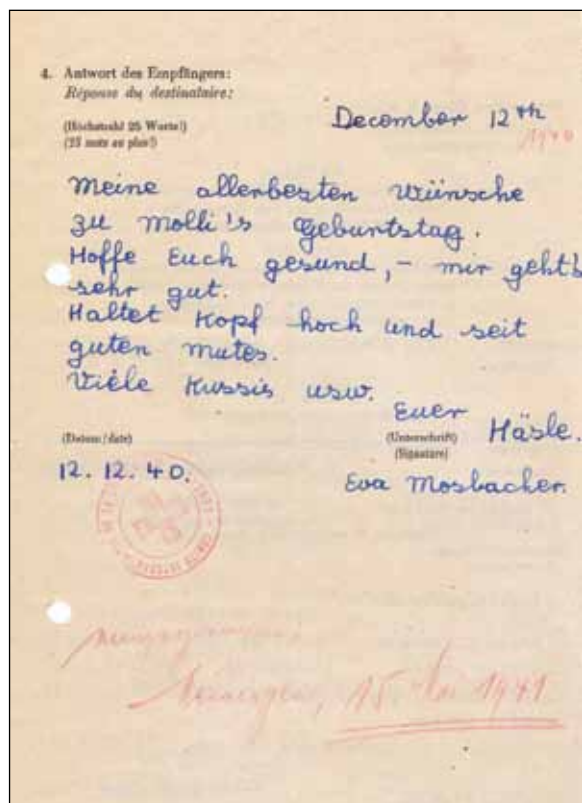
On January 16, 1940, the Mosbachers received news from the US embassy, according to which “Persons, for whom it would be possible to undertake a trip despite constrictions” in traffic to the US “should determine their journey plan and must submit proof

thereof”. Before any booking confirmation is presented, “your visa opportunities will be given no consideration.”

Kurt Mosbacher paid for the ship passage of his brother’s family aboard the American Export Lines. In the same month, they received the certificate from the immigrant advice centre in Dresden, in which they “demonstrated serious intent to emigrate to the United States of America.”

At the Meiningen employment agency, they offered security clearance. Since November 1938 they had not applied for any wage income.

As a firm booking of seat on the ship had



News from Eva to her Parents from December 12, 1940



Copy of the Letter from the American Embassy from January 14, 1941

been neglected, the Mosbachers learned in March 1941 that they could sail with the steamer Excalibur on October 10, 1941 from Lisbon to New York. They desperately attempted to find an earlier ship at the ship agency in Lisbon, but in vain.

Eva also seemed distressed by the late trip: “We need to have a lot of patience. Live well, hope for a better future.”

The Hilfsverein informed the Mosbachers about the required documents and the travel possibilities to Lisbon. They could take the skyway from Berlin. Luft-Hansa retained the right, however, “to confiscate seats from the owners of “J”-passes if they are otherwise needed.”

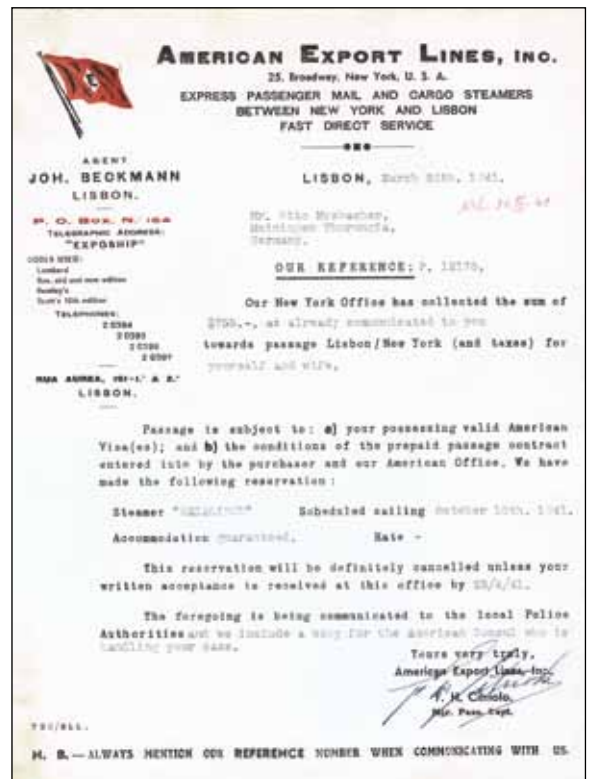
In March 1941, Bruno Heinemann, who was living with the Mosbachers, died. “He certainly has remained well and has been spared,” they wrote to Eva. Before the trip to Lisbon, they wanted to visit their home city of Nuremberg once more. She and her parents counted the days before their expected reunion.

Meanwhile, the Erfurt synagogue congregation required Otto Mosbacher to pay the “Immigrant Tax” in the sum of 750 Reichsmark.

Because of his assets ratio, the tax was later given back. They obtained an estimate for the relocation of their possessions at the forwarding agency.



Assessment of the “Emigrant Fee” through the board of the Erfurt Synagogue Congregation from February 24, 1941



Reservation Confirmation from the American Export Lines from March 26, 1941

Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland Abt. Wanderung (HILFSVEREIN)

Vom Herrn Reichsminister des Innern durch Verfügung vom 31. 10. 1924 Nr. II 7781 als gemeinnützige Auswanderungsberatungsstelle für jüdische Auswanderer anerkannt

Beratungsstelle für die Länder Sachsen, Thüringen, Anhalt und für die Provinz Sachsen

Leipzig, den 8. Mai 1941.

Walter-Blümel-Str. 10 III

Herrn

Otto Mosbacher

Meinungen

Strasse der S.A. 8

Hei/Ne.

Betrifft:

(Bei Beantwortung unbedingt anzugeben)

Auf Ihre Schreiben vom 24. und 29.4.41 erwidern wir:

- 1.) Nachdem Sie die Passagen bei der Export-Lines für den 10.10.41 akzeptiert haben, (wir nehmen an, dass Sie rechtzeitig der Linie von der Annahme der Plätze Mitteilung gemacht haben,) und nachdem die Abschrift des Briefes der Export-Lines vom 26.3.41 dem Konsul überreicht wurde, kann vorläufig nichts weiter geschehen, als abzuwarten, bis Sie die Ladung vom Konsul erhalten. Wir bitten Sie, uns sofort zu unterrichten, wenn Ihnen eine solche Ladung zugeht.
- 2.) Abgesehen von der Passagebescheinigung und der Vorbereitung der für den Konsulats-Termin notwendigen Papiere ist im Augenblick nichts zu besorgen. Wir machen aber darauf aufmerksam, dass das vom Konsul verlangte Führungszeugnis und der Wohnungsschein neuesten Datums sein sollen. Diese beiden Dokumente werden also zweckmäßigerweise erst bei der Nachricht der Ladung beantragt.
- 3.) Bezüglich der Reisemöglichkeiten Berlin-Lissabon können wir Ihnen im Augenblick keinerlei Auskünfte geben, da infolge der derzeitigen Unmöglichkeit portugiesische Transitvisen zu erhalten, Gruppentransporte für USA-Fahrer ab Lissabon nicht abgefertigt werden können.
- 4.) An sich ist der Luftweg Berlin-Lissabon nach wie vor zu benutzen jedoch behält sich die Luft-Hansa das Recht vor, die Plätze ~~XX~~ von Inhabern von "J"-Pässen zu beschlagnahmen, wenn diese anderweitig gebraucht werden.
- 5.) In Ihrem Brief vom 29.4.41 gehen Sie irrigerweise davon aus, dass Ihr Brief vom 4.2.41 und unsere Schreiben vom 11.2. und 5.3. nicht bei den Akten waren. Ihr Schreiben vom 4.2.41 ist in unserer Darstellung des Falles mit Brief vom 25.4.41 an die Bezirksfürsorgestelle mit Durchschlag an Sie deshalb nicht erwähnt, weil er praktisch keinen Aufschluss über den Sachstand gab. Sie schreiben nichts weiter, als dass Sie sich mit Ihren Verwandten schriftlich in Verbindung gesetzt hätten hofften, wegen der neugebuchten Passagen bald Nachricht zu erhalten. Sie fügten noch hinzu, dass eine Erledigung des Falles, wie wir sie vorschlagen, nicht in Betracht käme.
Unser Schreiben vom 11.2.41 bestätigte nur den Eingang des vorerwähnten Briefes und wiederholten wir die Bitte, uns weiter unterrichtet zu halten, und in unserem Brief vom 5.3.41 teilten wir Ihnen den Eingang des JOINT-Kabels an unsere Zentrale mit, wonach § 450.-- für Sie eingezahlt seien. Wir erbatnen darin weiter Ihren Bericht, den wir trotz unserer Erinnerung vom 10.4.41 nicht erhalten haben.

Hochachtungsvoll!

BERATUNGSSTELLE LEIPZIG ERNST ISRAEL HEILBRUNN

Fernsprecher: Leipzig 14201 - Bankkonto: Bankhaus Kroch Jr, K. a. A., Leipzig, Goethestraße 2, Sonderkonto Hilfsverein
Sprechstunden Montag, Dienstag, Donnerstag, Freitag 9-1 Uhr, am Mittwoch u. Sonnabend auch für Auswärtige keine Sprechstunden

Letter from the Hilfsverein from May 8, 1941

Constricted Entry Requirements

The USA tightened the entry requirements once again in June. The applications were delivered to Washington. It required another warrantor. The American embassy in Berlin ceased processing visas until further notice.

The Hilfsverein declared the Mosbachers October trip as “extremely doubtful.” It attempted to support the imminent visa issuances through its relief organization in the US. While Eva told her parents about a mediocre exam, they told her about their situation at the beginning of August: “We’re very disappointed because of the ship tickets we were unable to use. Stay healthy and brave, hopefully the sun will shine for us one day.”

Otto Mosbacher received news from his brother Kurt that the American offices would temporarily only consider trips to third countries possible. But he could not finance such a trip.

In the meantime, at least Hedwig’s cousin Herbert Heinemann could leave Meiningen and travel to the US. The Mosbachers had to cancel their trip once again, for lack of a visa.

They wrote their daughter on August 31, 1941: “Naturally we are upset, especially because we hoped so long and so much to finally leave. But we need to keep our ‘head high’ as you always advise so wonderfully. Have patience, as we always try. Hopefully we’ll be offered a last chance—we genuinely hope and wish—as I’m sure you know. Give our regards and we send you, our good Evle sincere greetings and many, many kisses.” Eva’s reply from October 28 was received by her parents three months later: “I’m sad because of the delayed exit stay brave—one day we’ll be successful. Had a delightful holiday. Keep smiling kisses, your bunny.” “The first news from you since July,” delighted her parents. In July 1941 Hedwig Mosbacher expressed to acquaintances her disappointment about the little contact they were receiving: “Eva normally writes 25 words through the Red Cross, which come about every quarter-year, and the contents of the letters are really trivial.”



Message from the American Embassy from July 26, 1941 about the Stopping Process of Visa Applicants

Label Requirements for Jews

Since September 19, 1941 Jews were required to wear the Jewish star in public, beginning at the age of six. They were threatened with a fine of up to 150 Reichsmark or six weeks imprisonment for noncompliance. The Jüdische Nachrichtenblatt ("Jewish Newsheet") made the ordinance and policy public. The Mosbachers kept the article.

The district administrator for the areas of Meiningen Gommlich reported to the interior minister that the ordinance was "accepted by the public with great approval." It was complained, however, that the "half-Jews" and "mixed-blood" were excluded. When no changes followed, it had to be made clear to the Jews that "their scope of activity in Germany for all time has been cut off."

The Mosbachers received a ticket on October 14, 1941 for the fine of 50 Reichsmark. They were in the English garden in Meiningen without wearing their Jewish stars at about 7 o'clock PM two days earlier. The Mosbachers, still confident and trusting in justice, filed



From the Mosbacher's clipping out of the Jewish Newsheet with the Police Ordinance from September 1, 1941 with reference to the Issuance of "Jewish Stars" in Berlin



Fine against Hedwig Mosbacher from October 14, 1941

an appeal. Otto Mosbacher wrote: "It has exceedingly surprised me that I did not receive an immediate response on this matter. In this case, there would have been the opportunity to assure himself that I was wearing the Jewish star according to the regulation. For this reason, the presented facts should cause the fine to be declared unjust. Therefore I ask for repeal."

On November 14, the case came to trial in the local court of Meiningen. Inspector Emil Meckbach was invited as witness. The Mosbachers had no success and eventually had to pay the fine. Their request for a copy of the protocol was declared as "not usual."

In the meantime, they had to move to the

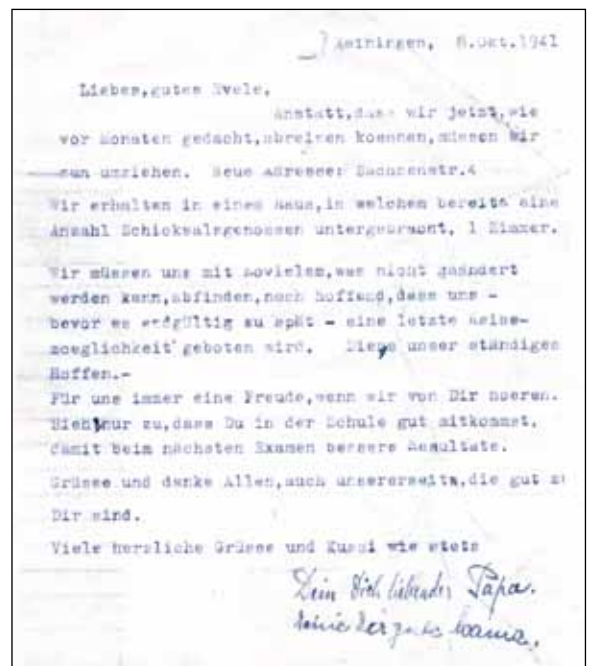
so called "ghetto house" at 5/6 Sachsenstrasse.

On October 22, their daughter's 15th birthday, they wrote that they were "very close in spirit, just stay healthy and hope that we can all be together soon. We have to move these days and now have just one room. We are happy with that and want to hope that the new efforts for our trip are soon successful. [...]"

Franz Heurich described the circumstances in the ghetto house to Hedwig Mosbacher's mother Betty after the war. Hedwig had a large room on the first floor. The room was divided by wardrobes. He went to the ghetto house everyday, even though it was forbidden. Therefore he "often hid in the ward-



Appeal from Hedwig Mosbacher from October 16, 1941



News from the Mosbachers to their daughter from October 8, 1941 regarding their forthcoming relocation in the "Ghetto House"

robe with a beating heart at the controls of the Gestapo.” The police watched the house during the day. Heurich reported further: “As one day furniture confiscations were taken into consideration, Otto sold his living room furniture and had money in reserve. The rest he transferred to me through a loan. Unfortunately, the contract was not recognized and the tax office [...] took everything and held an auction [...] We had coffee everyday with Hedwig and Otto and we often listened to the international broadcast, because the Jews didn’t have a radio.” Otto was also arrested for trying to trade his suitcase. Because this wasn’t forbidden, he was released. The policeman may have beaten him.

Moratorium on Immigration and Deportation

At the end of September 1941 the National Socialists committed mass murder in Babi Yar near Kiev, in which over 30,000 Jews were killed. In October the Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler arranged “to prevent the immigration of Jews, with immediate effect.” Exceptions were made in very few special cases. The Mosbachers hoped to immigrate to Cuba. Kurt Mosbacher’s mother-in-law Ida Pauson, who lived in Munich, had already made a reservation for a steamer to Cuba. She could not, however, financially support Hedwig and Otto Mosbacher. The Hilfsverein informed them that immigration would be doubtful, anyway. So far as an opportunity existed, they could find further passage

through them. First and foremost, the Mosbachers had to procure passports. They required police certificates of good conduct, certificates of health from the medical office, and two passport photos for the Cuban visa. In order to take their luggage, approval of the Foreign Exchange Office was necessary.

On November 4, 1941 the Cuban legation informed the Mosbachers that their entry permits had arrived.

They immediately sought the certificates of good conduct and certificates from the public health office, which stated that there were no health concerns that would hinder their immigration. The Mosbachers wrote their daughter on November 9: “We want to hope that our trip will soon be possible. But there is no way to predict anything. We can only hope that there will be no more problems. Incidentally, a special permit is needed for departure, and we hope we’ll be granted permission.”

The Mosbachers paid the expenses for the passports. But in the last moment, the pass-



Message from the Cuban Embassy from November 4, 1941 about the Entry Permit

es were not delivered. For more information, they were told to contact the appropriate Jewish organization. The Hilfsverein answered on November 20, "that passes would no longer be issued or delivered." This should be a temporary measure.

On November 29, 1941 over 500 Jews from Nuremberg as well as Bamberg, Bayreuth, Coburg, Erlangen, Forchheim, Fürth, and Würzburg were deported. Of those were Bella and Jakob Koschland, the parents of Eva's one-time travel-partner, Ruth. They were deported to the transit camp Jungfernhof at Riga. Only 17 of those deported from Nuremberg survived. Jakob Koschland was murdered on January 21, 1942 and his wife Bella on March 26, 1942.

In a report from the president of the

Nuremberg Higher Regional Court, it was stated: "Further removal of Jews should come in the next few months. The stark housing shortage in Nuremberg however, will not hardly be relieved in this way."

After Otto Mosbacher had avoided the labour service for a year due to health reasons, he was forced to serve. He informed the advice centre of the Hilfsverein on December 7, 1941: "Since the beginning of the past week, I was commanded to the labour service in the city with around 15 other Jewish men. On the first day we removed shrubbery and undergrowth, deposited in a debris space and carried away the trash. Everyday we serve from 8-12 and 1-5 o'clock." His wife had to work at the porcelain factory in Veilsdorf. At her plea that she had emigration approval to Cuba, the labour ministry replied that only a firm appointment would allow for release.

The Final Months

In December 1941 the Mosbachers learned from a National Association for German Jews newsletter that it was forbidden for Jews to have control over their liquid assets. The concerned disposal applied to furniture and household appliances, for example, which could not be brought out of the house. Typewriters, bicycles, cameras, and binoculars were recorded. Until December 15, the orders

were to report which Jews had given after October 15, 1941.

A different act ruled that Jews would have to give up their fur items in January 1942. Otto Mosbacher turned in a fur cap and fur collar, among other items.

He was issued another ticket on January 20, 1942. This time he was accused of “improperly complying with the compulsory



Stadtarchiv Meiningen

“Ghetto House” on Sachsenstraße in Meiningen

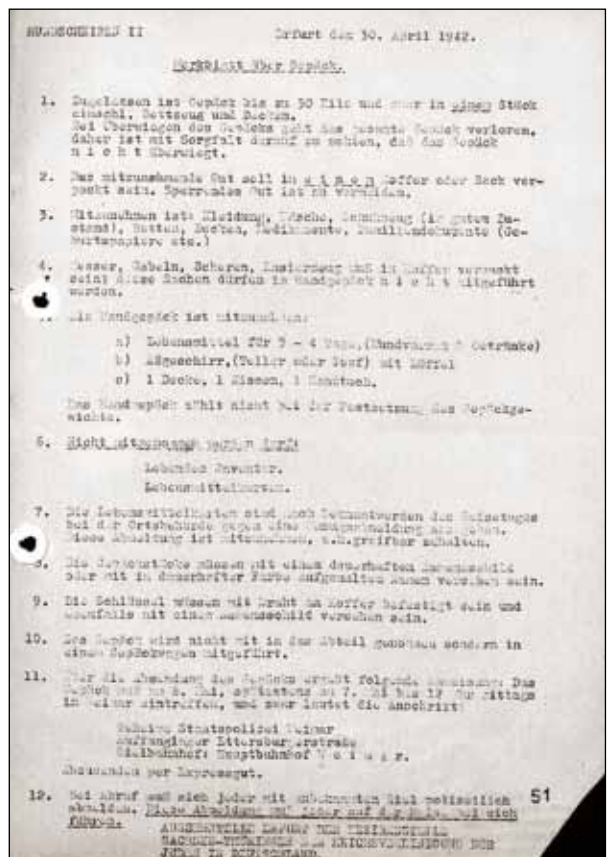
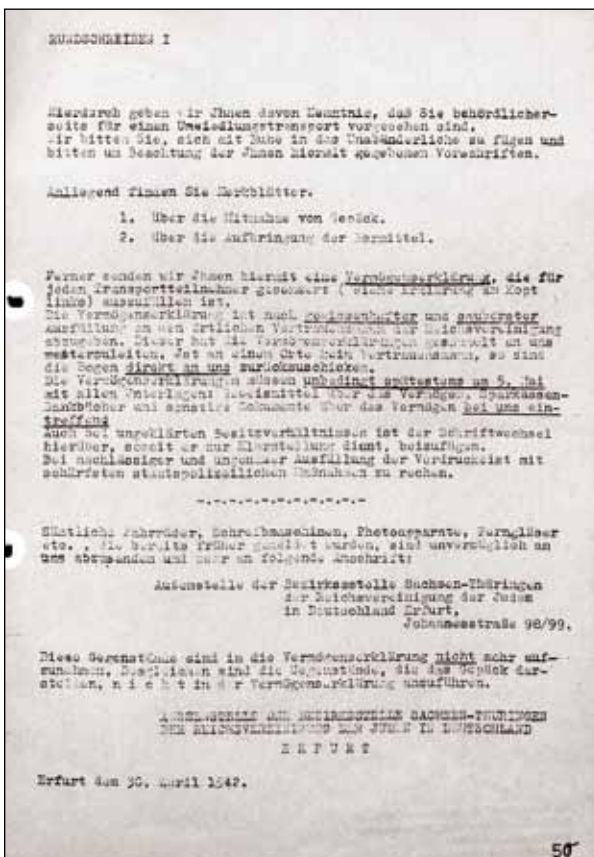
blackout the rooms used by him on January 18, 1942, until 9:15 p.m.” The fine was for 20 Reichsmark and this time was promptly paid.

In the middle of February 1942, the Mosbachers received Eva’s letter from November 25: “Sad about your fate just stay brave. It will soon be passed and we will all live happily together. Always thinking of you, your bunny.”

Eva received a good report card, went to the theatre, and had many friends. On her father’s birthday, she hoped they could celebrate his next together.

In April 1942 the Mosbachers wrote that Eva’s departure was already three years past: “a long time to be apart.” She should greet her “gracious caretaker.” The last news from their daughter, which they received on April 20, 1942, was sent on February 24: “Spent a lovely half-term. Went to the movies, had tea with friends. I always think of you. Stay healthy, cheerful, and brave. Many kisses, Bunny.”

The Erfurt branch office of the National Association for Jews published three newsletters on April 30, 1942. In the first was writ-



Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Regierung Erfurt, Nr. 30809, Bl. 50 und 51

Circulation Numbers I and II from the Erfurt Branch of the Reich Association for German Jews from April 30, 1942, before the impending deportation

ten: “We hereby give you notice that you have been designated for governmental resettlement. We ask you to calmly comply.” Each person was allowed to bring luggage weighing up to 50 kg (110 pounds). It had to be at the Ettersburger Straße detention centre in Weimar by noon on May 7. 3-4 days of groceries has to be taken as carry-on baggage.

On May 3, the Mosbachers wrote to Hugo and Paula Aufseesser in Cambridge: “My dears, we’re delighted to hear from you after so long. Hopefully everything is going well. We like to hear of Eva’s progress. We have so many thoughts and worries in this difficult time. Let’s hope and wish that the reunion is not far. Sincerely yours, Otto and Hedwig.”

They also wrote to Eva: “Dear, good bunny, we’re delighted that you enjoyed your holiday. We are trying hard to stay healthy and brave and we are with you in our thoughts. Sincere greetings with many kisses. We love you and think of you always, Mama and Papa.”

On May 9, 41 Jews were deported from Meiningen to Weimar. Franz Heurich later reported: “In Spring 1942, it came to a sad end. Very last-minute every Jew under 65 years of age had to go to the train in a mad rush. The persecution was so great that we could not collect our wits. We collected provisions for the journey. We couldn’t bring luggage, because the Gestapo was constantly visiting the house. But at night we were in the house for a few hours and could organize everything that needed organizing. The sudden removal had come upon us so quickly that I could not work for several days; I expected the worst.” Hedwig Mosbacher’s 64 year old Aunt Meta Heinemann was spared because



Last known News Exchange between Eva and her Parents

her doctor delayed her operation until after the train’s departure.

With over 500 people from all of Thuringia who would share the same fate, Hedwig and Otto Mosbacher arrived next in the livestock auction hall in Weimar.

In the early morning of May 10, 1942, exactly three years after Eva’s departure to England, the deportation train left Weimar with 513 Jews from Thuringia.

In Leipzig and Chemnitz, more Jews arrived, so that the transport comprised of nearly 1,000 people. The train arrived at the Lublin train station in the early afternoon on May 12. From there, most of the people had to walk the nearly 20 km (12 miles) to Bełżyce. 3,639 Jews lived in the ghetto there.

		- 8 -		Meiningen	
				ver-	ver-
				lassen	erfüllen
				haben	oder
				eingetragen	ver-
					fallen
220.	Seubus	Arthur	17.6.01	Verl	
221.	"	Ilse	17.7.05	Thunar	
222.	geb. Grubow	Inge	1.4.37	Meiningen	67
<u>U. S. S. R. - Stettin</u>					
223.	Abramson	Gerda	30.10.10	Verl	
224.	geb. Benjamin	Julius	25.4.09	Meiningen	
225.	"	Edith	22.2.93	Bitterfeld	
226.	geb. Gumbert	Lisbeth	27.11.07	Verl	
227.	geb. Gumbert	Kurt	10.6.08	Verl	
228.	Klawe	Berta	10.3.90	Leipzig	
229.	geb. Anschütz	Ernst	20.8.15	Verl	
230.	geb. Krawinkel	Alfred	7.8.90	Bitterfeld	
231.	Wulke	Berta	21.00	Verl	
232.	geb. Friedmann	<u>U. S. S. S. R. - Leningrad</u>			
<u>Meiningen</u>					
233.	Aul	Henricke	11.3.21	Meiningen	
234.	geb. Gumbert	Henricke	27.3.00	Bitterfeld	
235.	Siemann	Sophie	22.1.02	Verl	
236.	geb. Liebenstein	Ida	17.7.95	Meiningen	
237.	Siemann	Inge	25.12.25	Meiningen	
238.	geb. Mosbacher	Joseph	10.1.05	Verl	
239.	Frank	Irma	18.5.94	Meiningen	
240.	geb. Krawinkel	Israel	7.4.21	"	
241.	Frank	Ernst	24.8.54	"	
242.	"	Elfr.	20.8.06	Meiningen	
243.	Freundberg	Helene	3.1.97	"	
244.	"	Har	2.7.96	Meiningen	
245.	Friedmann	Deborah	20.8.32	Meiningen	
246.	geb. Gumbert	Ernst	26.11.00	"	
247.	Lang	Otto	15.1.94	Verl	
248.	"	Hedwig	21.9.02	Meiningen	
249.	Mosbacher	Julius	22.11.01	Bitterfeld	
250.	geb. Heinemann	Rosa	1.1.92	Verl	
251.	Mühlfelder	<u>U. S. S. S. R. - Leningrad</u>			
252.	geb. Friedmann	<u>U. S. S. S. R. - Leningrad</u>			

Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, Oberfinanzpräsident Rudolstadt, Nr. 694, Bl. 67

In the List of the Deported Thuringian Jews from May 10, 1942, the Mosbachers were listed under number 249 and 250

Franz Heurich sent packages with groceries and letters with money, but he never knew if they arrived. So as not to draw undue attention, he sent the mail not from Meiningen but from Erfurt or through friends from out of town.

On October 2 and 13, 1942, the SS and Ukrainian teams committed mass murder in the Bełżyce ghetto. The majority of the Thuringian Jews were likely victims. Others were sent to the Majdanek concentration

camp and were murdered there. The ghetto was converted into a forced labor camp. In May 1943, there was another massacre in the Bełżyce cemetery. In total, 1.5 million Jews were killed in the Lublin district by the middle of December 1943, including among the Meiningen Jews all the 426 Nuremberg Jews who had been deported to Izbica on March 25, 1942. Among them was Otto Mosbacher's former lawyer, Bernhard Stern. Of all those who had been deported from Thuringia and Saxony in May 1942, only five survived.

On September 10, 1942 533 Jews from Nuremberg were deported to the Terezín ghetto, and were joined by 364 Jews from Thuringia nine days later. Of the 35 from Meiningen were Hedwig Mosbacher's aunts Meta and Lina Heinemann. Meta Heinemann died on February 2, 1945. Lina Heinemann belonged to the 1,200 captured that reached Switzerland by train from Terezín on February 7. The rescue action was achieved by Swiss ex-president Musy.

1923–1943: Results 20 Years after Marriage

On September 2, 1923, shortly before her 21st birthday, Hedwig Mosbacher married 29-year-old businessman Otto Mosbacher. 20 years later, the then married couple was murdered in the racial mania of the National Socialists. The bride's parents were banished from their homeland. The trusted Rabbi Leo Fränckel, who fled to Holland after the November 1938 pogrom, was later deported



Hedwig Mosbacher



Otto Mosbacher

from Holland and lost his life on December 3, 1942. The groomsman Jacob Simon had moved from Meiningen to Frankfurt in 1938. From there he was deported to Terezín in September 1942, where he died on April 9, 1943.

Crushingly Uncertain Fate

Franz Heurich returned from war captivity in June 1946 and made contact with the Heinemann family in South Africa. Hermann Heinemann depicted in a long letter to him from November 11, 1946 how crushing it was

for his family not to know the fate of his sister Hedwig. Her father Paul Heinemann died in Johannesburg in February 1946. His wife wrote Franz Heurich: “Even on the evening before his death he tried to write ‘Hedwig’ on the blackboard. That was the biggest heart-break for him and us all.” Hermann Heinemann also wrote: “ONE will always remain a personal mystery, for which there may be no answer. In the end, Hedwig Heinemann was known in Meiningen, even if not popular, because she spoke as she thought and not for compliments. Were there no opportunities for hiding, or help or flight, in Switzer-

land for example, so that she wouldn't be detained?"

The dates of death for Hedwig and Otto Mosbacher are unknown to this day. The Nuremberg district court declared both dead, at Eva's request in July 1956, and the time of

death was listed as the day of the war's end, May 8, 1945. In Meiningen the artist Gunt-er Demnig memorialized Hedwig and Otto Mosbacher with Stolpersteine (cobblestone – sized memorials) at 8 Leipziger Straße.



Else and Franz Heurich

Eva's Fate

Dr. Lindgren wrote to a friend in June 1943 that Eva had become a responsible, attractive woman and remained faithful to her home and England, where she wanted to stay. The difficult times would lie behind her and Eva. In light of the uncertain fate of Eva's parents, they could be congratulated on the experiment on which they sent their daughter in May 1939. Eva stayed at the Perse School until July 1944.

Then she wanted to become a nurse. Her apprenticeship, which she planned to begin in September, would have to be delayed so



Eva Mosbacher in 1943

PERSE SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, CAMBRIDGE			
NAME	MOSBACHER Eva	SCHOOL No.	1726
ADDRESS			
DATE OF BIRTH	22.10.26	DATE OF ENTRY	15.5.39 FORM 4 th A
guardian			
PARENTS INITIALS & DESIGNATION	Miss Laven		
EXAMINATIONS PASSED	S.C. July '44		
PREVIOUS SCHOOL	Isrealitische Realschule in First bei Nürnberg (Germany)		

Perse School for Girls, Cambridge

Registry Card for Eva Mosbacher from the Perse School

that she could care for Mrs. Lavén, who could not live alone due to her health. Dr. Lindgren could not assume that responsibility because she had long been absent.

Eva eventually learned to become a nurse at the Addenbrooke's Hospital in Cambridge and at the North Cambs Hospital in Wisbech for two years. She could regularly send insulin to Else Heurich, Franz Heurich's wife. Eva wrote in 1948: "I'm really sorry for her, because diabetes is always terrible. But it must be worse under such circumstances. The conditions in Germany sound awful and the innocent always have to suffer with the guilty." On June 27, 1947 Eva received English citizenship.

Through the organization of her uncles Hans and Herrmann, Eva was able to travel to South Africa in 1949. She was the surprise guest at her Grandmother Betty's 70th birthday.



Hermann, Eva, and Betty Heinemann with an Acquaintance (from right) in South Africa in 1949

After five weeks, Eva had to leave once again. Back in Cambridge in June 1950 she completed her last test and worked at the Addenbrooke's Hospital until the end of September. In her training report, Eva was described as a nice, shy girl who was nice to her patients. It was also noted, however, that she had little self-confidence.

Eva planned to go to South Africa. There she stayed at last temporarily in 1956.

For many of the children who came to England with the children's convoy, there was no reunion with their parents. The termination of contact and uncertainty as to what happened to their parents was a heavy burden.

There was often neither a date nor place of death to be found. There were also no graves.

Eva's Grandmother Betty asked Franz Heurich in October 1947 not to write to Eva about her parents. She said: "The child left her home when she still had a home and she was of an age where one quickly forgets when such new impression engulf oneself, as it was during the war years in England, she's in an occupation in which all she sees the entire day long is misery and illness, so why invoke more, when nothing can be changed?"

It also wasn't easy for the children who were reunited with their parents. In the years of separation, they became alienated. For the helpful

Date of Entry	Name	Previous Occupations
	AFFILIATED	
4. 6. 1948	MOSBACHER Sunbown, Harston, Cambs.	North Cambs Hospital (affiliated training) 2 years.
Date of Birth		
22. 10. 1926	Guardian (as above) 71, Harston 226.	
Education	Boys School, Cambridge	School Certificate?
General Nursing Council for England and Wales		
Date of passing Preliminary Examination	Before entry	
Date of passing Final Examination	June 1950	
Completed her 2 years' training and was awarded the Certificate of Addenbrooke's Hospital Training School for Nurses, which was signed by:—		
	<i>T. MacShaw</i> Chairman of General Committee	
and stated that during training her conduct was—		
and her work—		
Confidential Report on completion of training		
A very nice girl, quiet and extremely kind to her patients, with gentle and shy manners.		
And little self-confidence, and became flustered in emergency, so was incapable of taking much responsibility.		
Left to take appointment in S. Africa.		
<i>P. Otley</i>		

Addenbrooke's Hospital Cambridge, AHAR7/3/2/2/8, Register of Nurses

Nurse Registry Statement for Eva Mosbacher

English foster parents, it was often likewise difficult to be separated from their foster children.

Eva's foster mother Signe Lavén died in 1955. Her other foster mother, Dr. Ethel J. Lindgren, died in Scotland in 1988. Her son John Lindgren lives with his wife in the house in which Eva spent her first visit in England.

Eva last lived in Wimbledon in the house of the Jewish lawyer Philipp Cromwell, with whom Eva was distantly related. He was born in Nuremberg and immigrated in 1934. In 1949, he was licensed as a lawyer again in Nuremberg and operated a German-English office, where he worked on redress cases.

Eva Mosbacher took her life on November 10, 1963 in a large hotel near Victoria Station in London.

In the obituary, it was noted that Eva Elisabeth Mosbacher, 37 years old, registered nurse, suffered from depression.

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