

Fallen Stars: The Holocaust in Uherské Hradiště

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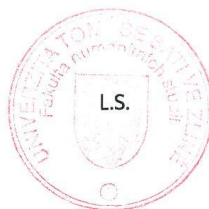
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ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářské práce zkoumá motivy, které vedly místní obyvatele Uherského Hradiště k spoluúčasti na zničení celé místní židovské komunity v období druhé světové války. Důležitost židovské komunity v Uherském Hradišti je podtržena jejich nemalým podílem na rozvoji města nejen z pohledu historického a společenského, ale také ekonomického a politického. I přes neustálou přítomnost antisemitismu, jak v období před válkou tak i po ní, většina místních obyvatel si buď neuvědomovala anebo nepřiznala svoji spoluúčast na holocaustu. Namísto toho se jí rozhodli ignorovat nebo zapomněli. Až v poslední době si začali někteří obyvatelé cenit židovského odkazu ve městě.

Klíčová slova: Židé, židovská komunita, antisemitismus, holocaust, druhá světová válka, Uherské Hradiště, Německo, Československo, Morava

ABSTRACT

This bachelor's thesis examines the motives that led the local residents of Uherské Hradiště into complicity in the destruction of the local Jewish community during the Second World War. The importance of the Jewish community in Uherské Hradiště is documented through a description of its considerable influence on the town's development, not only from historical and social perspectives but also economic and political. Despite the pervasive anti-Semitism in Uherské Hradiště in the decades both before and after the war, most local residents neither recognized nor acknowledged their complicity in the Holocaust. Instead, they opted to ignore or forget. Only recently have some residents begun to embrace the Jewish heritage of their town.

Keywords: Jews, Jewish community, anti-Semitism, Holocaust, World War II, Uherské Hradiště, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Moravia

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INTRODUCTION

“At the beginning no one of us could imagine that it will be matter of life and death. Nobody from my family believed that. That is why all my relatives in their unknowingness went to the concentration camps and never came back.” Stella Fischl (Berger)

Stella Fischl is one of the few Jewish inhabitants of Uherské Hradiště¹ who emigrated before the deportations. She lost many relatives and friends who stayed behind, unaware of the Final Solution planned by the Nazis. The hardest time of her life was when she and her husband, also Jewish, heard about the horrors happening in Nazi concentration camps.² After the war, Stella and her siblings learned that their mother, among other family members, had been put to death in a gas chamber.³ Fischl’s story captures the harsh reality of the Holocaust in Uherské Hradiště, as experienced by both victims and survivors.

The Jewish community was an important part of Uherské Hradiště society for several centuries. Their undeniable contribution to the town is worth remembering, especially in light of their sacrifice. A minority of Jews from Uherské Hradiště joined the resistance or emigrated before the war, but the vast majority stayed, only to be transported first to a ghetto in Uherský Brod, then to Theresienstadt, and subsequently to different death camps in the east.⁴ Only a few Jews from Uherské Hradiště survived the Holocaust, but among them, most did not return to their homes. Of those who did, few chose to stay, finding the environment in post-war Uherské Hradiště generally inhospitable. The reason is clear: their non-Jewish neighbours were complicit during the Holocaust and unwelcoming afterwards. Few helped the Jews during the war, a notable exception being Zdenek Tůma, who gave his Jewish friend his own identification papers and then bought counterfeit documents for himself.⁵ Most post-war inhabitants of Uherské Hradiště simply tried to forget the Holocaust and their complicity in it. This was difficult, however, because the confiscated

¹ A town in the Zlín Region, located in south-eastern Czech Republic.

² Dana Emingerová, “Ještě nemůžu, mám záclony v čistírně...,” <http://www.cs-magazin.com/index.php?a=a2004111029> (accessed on November 28, 2012).

³ Dita Bergerová, interviewed by Anna Hyndráková, May 8, 1994, Kazeta 305, transcript, Židovské Muzeum v Praze.

⁴ Ludvík Burián, *A kdybych prošel celý svět, vás už nepotkám (po stopách politických vězňů a míst, kde přišli o život - příspěvek k dějinám Uherskohradištska za okupace)* (Uherské Hradiště: Okresní výbor Svazu bojovníků za svobodu, 1990), 13 - 103.

possessions of Jews now owned by them served as a constant reminder of what they had done, or most often, had not done. Furthermore, in subsequent decades, Holocaust survivors often returned to the town for visits, which provoked bittersweet memories of the good times before the war and personal failings during the war. Today, the town is beginning to embrace its Jewish heritage and is actively trying to recover its lost history. This thesis helps in that pursuit.

⁵ Albert Gottwald, Uherské Hradiště, March 12, 2013, to Veronika Šnajdarová.

1 THE ARRIVAL OF JEWS IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

The first documents mentioning Jews in the Czech lands date to the ninth century, but scholars dispute their validity. Little dispute exists, however, over a document written around 965 A.D. by Jewish merchant and diplomat Ibrahim Ibn Jakub who noted the presence of Jews in Prague at that time.⁶ Until the end of the eleventh century when the Crusades began, the societal position of the Jews in the Czech lands was relatively good. The Crusades, however, resulted in a radical shift in the perception of Jews and their activities as Czech Catholics grew angry with Jews and jealous of their wealth. Historian Tomáš Pěkný notes that the Christian enthusiasm emanating from the Crusades and the insufficient legal protection of Jews in that era combined to produce pogroms against most Jewish communities. In these pogroms, the first Jewish settlement in Prague was destroyed. The anti-Semitism stemming from the Crusades lingered long after.⁷

1.1 The Beginning of Legislation Concerning the Jews

The basis for Jewish legislation in the Czech lands was the document *Statuta Judaeorum* issued by the king of Bohemia, Ottokar II. This document itself was based on several documents including the Papal Bull, *Lachrymabilem Judaeorum*, issued by Pope Innocent IV in 1247, which defended the Jews from accusations of blood libel. *Statuta Judaeorum* established the relationship between the Jews and king, restricted contact with Christians and developed principles for autonomous administrative and juridical practices within the Jewish communities. The Jews were now direct subjects to King Ottokar II, who in turn ensured them physical protection and freedom of religion and allowed them to deal in money.⁸ The legislation was needed because Christians had been attacking Jews based largely on false accusations. Further, notes Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, “each false charge added to the terrifying image of the Jews, and the worsening of that image lent greater credence to constantly renewed accusations.”⁹ Despite the royal efforts to protect the Jews, “the dangerous potential of the charges hovered over the Jewish community.”¹⁰

⁶ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 11 - 13.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 481.

¹⁰ Ibid., 482.

1.2 The Founding of Uherské Hradiště

The town Uherské Hradiště was founded for several reasons, one of the main reasons being that it was a strategic citadel for protecting the Pomoraví area. Another reason was the desire of King Ottokar II to strengthen his sovereignty through economic development.¹¹

The certificate of incorporation issued by Ottokar II on October 15, 1257 specified mostly the rights of the Velehrad monastery and the defensive nature of the citadel. The abbot of the monastery asked the king for the right to found this citadel to protect his monastery and its possessions. Hence this certificate was more focused on the monastery than on the town itself. The certificate neither mentioned the inhabitants of the town nor their rights, as would be expected from an official document founding a town.¹²

A second certificate of incorporation in 1258 was requested by townsmen who desired a wider range of rights and economic privileges. At that time, living in a town did not guarantee the social status of townsman. Legally, there were four categories of medieval inhabitants: townsman, inhabitant, guest and Jew. Alongside them lived border groups of people – beggars and prostitutes, etc. So most residents were not townsmen, and by this time, Jews were perceived as an altogether separate group.¹³

1.3 The Arrival of Jews into Uherské Hradiště

Jews first appeared in the town approximately a century after its foundation. Local Jews are mentioned first in a 1342 legal document. Segregated even then, they resided on their own street (now Františkánská Street). This document prescribed the fees to be paid by Jews for the maintenance and repair of town walls.¹⁴ Another reference to Jewish inhabitants is from 1421 when a magistrate licensed the establishment of a Jewish cemetery outside the town walls near the Staroměstská gate (now at Masaryk Square) for which the Jewish community paid annually.¹⁵

¹¹ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště, královské město na řece Moravě* (Zlín: Grasp, 2007), 63.

¹² Jan Erazim Vitásek and Bohumil Fišer, *Dějiny a místopis král. města Uherského Hradiště. Uherské Hradiště. Topografie. Paměti hradištské* (Brno: Garn, 2012), 12.

¹³ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště, královské město na řece Moravě* (Zlín: Grasp, 2007), 63.

¹⁴ Ludmila Hobzová, "Židé v Uherském Hradišti," *Slovácké noviny* 2, no. 48 (December 1991): 4.

¹⁵ Jan Erazim Vitásek and Bohumil Fišer, *Dějiny a místopis král. města Uherského Hradiště. Uherské Hradiště. Topografie. Paměti hradištské* (Brno: Garn, 2012), 58.

Unlike in other Moravian royal towns, 1454 was different for the Jewry of Hradiště. In that year, the Czech king Ladislaus the Posthumous expelled the Jews from all Moravian royal towns except Hradiště.¹⁶ Jews were allowed to remain in this town as long as they paid fees earmarked for maintenance of the fortified walls and towers. Indeed, Ladislaus went as far as to cede the Jews to the town. Such Jews mainly made a living through trade and money lending. In the last half of the fourteenth century, the Jew Aron held a prominent position among financiers, and the indisputable Jewish economic contribution to the town was probably the reason they were allowed to remain.¹⁷ The circumstances for Jewry in Hradiště were surprisingly good, prompting them later on to ask King Vladislaus II for confirmation of their rights.¹⁸

The king confirmed these rights with a document dated February 19, 1497, which cited previous articles ensuring the legal status of the Hradiště Jews. These articles mentioned the fees the Jews paid solely to the town. They also noted that the Jews had to follow the town laws, and any disputes between Jews were to be resolved by these laws. Finally, the property of a deceased Jew would not revert to the town but would instead be divided equally among the children of the deceased. This was an important statute, as it meant wealth accumulation for the Jewish community.¹⁹

1.4 The Expulsion

After a few years, the situation in Hradiště deteriorated to the point that the townsmen no longer desired the presence of Jews among them. The motive for this decision was largely economic – Jews were business competitors. Vladislaus II responded by expelling the Jews from the town in February, 1514. With this expulsion, the townsmen not only got rid of the competition but also cancelled their debts. The Jews were given a certain time to sell their properties and to answer their claims. Since they were forced to sell, the bids were low. Afterwards, they moved to nearby Jewish communities.²⁰ They were still allowed to visit the town on fair days, for a fee of 17 Kreuzer, but they could not stay overnight.

¹⁶ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 49.

¹⁷ Jaroslav Klenovský, “Z historie židovské obce v Uh. Hradišti,” *Zpravodaj města Uherské Hradiště* 30, no. 5 (1992): 11.

¹⁸ Jan Erazim Vitásek and Bohumil Fišer, *Dějiny a místopis král. města Uherského Hradiště. Uherské Hradiště. Topografie. Paměti hradištské* (Brno: Garn, 2012), 58-59.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 58 - 59.

Instead, they would stay at an inn in nearby Kunovice. The fair toll remained in place until 1708, when it was reduced to 7 Kreuzer per person per day.²¹

1.5 Anti-Semitism during the Rule of the Habsburgs

After the Thirty Years' War, the situation for the urban Jews was slightly better than in the countryside, where they were often threatened. Expulsion efforts continued, and some town councils were successful in this regard. Based on studies of legal statutes, some historians claim the period between 1679 and 1726 was anti-Semitic. In Vienna, expulsion was not passed, but restrictions were placed on the number of the Jews who could live there. Although the Habsburgs needed the Jews for their money and business, after the Treaty of Westphalia, many officials considered the Jews as an obstacle for Christian businesses.²²

1.5.1 Emperor Charles VI

A commission was established under Emperor Charles VI to prepare a proposal for reducing the number of Jews in the Czech lands. The results were the *numerus clausus*, and the *translocation rescript* and the *Familiant Laws*. *Numerus clausus* limited the number of Jewish families to 8,541 in Bohemia and 5,106 in Moravia. The *translocation rescript* ordered Jews to move into special streets and quarters far away from Christian cemeteries and churches. Natural increase was regulated by the *Familiant Laws*. As of September 1726, married male Jews or widowers with children were classified as head of family and obtained the *Inkolate*. After the death of the head of family, only the eldest son received the *Inkolate* and was allowed to marry. Other men, if they wished to marry, had to emigrate. Families with only daughters were considered extinct, and the daughters also had to emigrate to marry. Such *Familiant Laws* attacked the very foundation of Jewish society – family cohesion.²³

²⁰ Jaroslav Klenovský, “Z historie židovské obce v Uh. Hradišti,” *Zpravodaj města Uherské Hradiště* 30, no. 5 (1992): 11.

²¹ Jan Erazim Vitásek and Bohumil Fišer, *Dějiny a místopis král. města Uherského Hradiště. Uherské Hradiště. Topografie. Paměti hradištské* (Brno: Garn, 2012), 58-59.

²² Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 88 - 93.

²³ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 93 - 97.

1.5.2 The Rule of Empress Maria Theresia

The Jewish community suffered during the reign of Maria Theresia, the daughter of Charles VI. As the result of betrayal allegations, the empress expelled the Jews from Bohemia by edict on December 18, 1744 and the Jews from Moravia and Czech Silesia with an edict dated January 2, 1745. The conditions were harsh, as the Bohemian Jews had to leave within 45 days (by the end of January 1745) and Moravian and Silesian Jews within six months. Not only was the time for departure short, but they had to leave the Czech lands altogether. The allegations were never substantiated. Some historians think that the strong aversion of Maria Theresia towards the Jews played a prominent role in the edicts. The first to leave were the Jews of Prague. Instead of leaving the Czech lands, however, they moved to the countryside where they remained largely unmolested.²⁴

As a result of the eviction of the Prague Jews, the city's economic prospects dimmed, prompting several prominent Czechs to travel to Vienna to put in a good word for the Jews. With the empire in financial need, the empress was forced to change her mind. On September 1748, she allowed the Jews to return to towns on the condition that they pay an annual *toleration tax*. The previously applied restrictions, including the *Familiant Laws* and *Numerus clausus*, remained valid. The Jews of Moravia and Silesia were lucky, for they had not relocated before the repeal of the relocation edict.²⁵

1.5.3 Josef II – a Major Policy Shift

Emperor Josef II brought about reforms that greatly improved the lives of the Czech Jewry. He issued several decrees modifying their rights and duties, significantly influencing their legal standing and bringing stability to their personal and professional lives.²⁶

Starting in May 1781, the Jews no longer had to wear labels. They were allowed to attend all types of schools and universities and conduct almost all types of businesses and trades. They were placed under the same jurisdiction as Christians. Previously, the Jewish communities had been semi-autonomous and self-governing.²⁷

²⁴ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 98 - 102.

²⁵ Ibid., 103 - 106.

²⁶ Ibid., 107 - 108.

²⁷ Ibid., 110 - 118.

One of the most important reforms was the introduction of German as the official and academic language. This unintentionally led to the Germanization of the Jews. According to one of the decrees, Jewish fathers had to choose a German family name. Such decrees affected almost every aspect of Jewish community life, as Jews increasingly abandoned traditions in favour of German culture and considerably identified with Austrian-German liberalism.²⁸

This Germanization led to an estrangement between Czechs and Czech Jews that only increased thanks to Romanticism, when scholars such as Palacký were increasingly placing value on Czechness in contrast to Germanness. Many Czechs viewed the Jews' use of German language as a rejection of Czech identity. As Pěkný suggests, the Jews were caught between two millstones, which led to Germans labelling them as Czech allies and Czechs labelling them as German allies. In trying to survive by following the laws of the emperor, the Czech Jews largely alienated themselves.²⁹

1.5.4 The Revolutions of 1848

According to Ben-Sasson, “The revolutions of 1848 had a strong effect on the process of emancipation of the Jews of Central Europe.”³⁰ They had hoped the changes would give them new rights and freedoms. During the revolution, the Jews were not safe, as in some countries they were considered enemies. As Ben-Sasson has noted, “hatred of the Jews was particularly strong in those countries where the Jews were believed to identify with the oppressor nation; in Bohemia and Moravia, for example, the Jews were thought to support the Germans because they spoke German and were steeped in German culture. And, in fact, at the end of April riots broke out against the Jews of Prague.”³¹

One of the results was the emigration of Czech Jews for various reasons: social, political and economic. As Ben-Sasson notes, “the final outcome was the dashing of the great hopes they had pinned on the revolutions.”³² In all, though, the results were positive, as 1848 – 1849 brought substantial changes to the legal position of the Jews: freedom of

²⁸ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 116 - 117.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 117 – 128, 488 - 497.

³⁰ Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 808.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 809.

³² *Ibid.*, 810.

movement and domicile, freedom to marry, access to public offices, a repeal of the *Familiant Laws*, *Numerus clausus* and *Inkolate*, ghettos and the *Tolerance tax*.³³

Yet, full Jewish equality was not achieved. This came belatedly in 1867 with a new constitution.³⁴ The constitution, issued by the Austrian-Hungarian emperor, included fundamental rights regarding freedom of religion, assembly, speech, movement, profession, etc. The Jews were awarded state citizenship and political and civil equality. For the first time, they had the same rights as their non-Jewish neighbours.³⁵

1.6 The Jewish Businesses

The Jews started as merchants but soon became involved with money lending. As Ben-Sasson notes, “After the First Crusade a decisive economic change occurred in the lives of the Jews dwelling in . . . northwestern and central Europe. The range of their livelihoods gradually narrowed, until on the whole they were dependent on one branch alone.”³⁶ The Jews worked outside the ecclesiastical sphere and the Church’s authority, as the Church was against usury and loans. Jewish money lending was important for the Christian kingdoms, for the service could be taxed at high rates.³⁷

The Jews were allowed to trade only in towns, and in appointed places. And they could not compete with Christians. Over the time, the situation changed, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century, Jews were making a living the same as others, through trade and crafts.³⁸

1.7 The Return of the Jews to Uherské Hradiště

After 1848, many Jews moved back to towns. Uherské Hradiště was no exception. In 1838 the census showed only 4 Jews occasionally staying but by 1857 there were 67 Jewish inhabitants of the town. By 1869, the town had 342 Jews out of 3,100 inhabitants. In 1880, there were 488 Jews, in 1890, 505, and in 1900, 514 Jewish inhabitants out of a total

³³ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 124 - 125.

³⁴ Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 811.

³⁵ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 125.

³⁶ Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 469.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 471.

³⁸ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 298 - 318.

population of 5,139.³⁹ This natural increase in Jewish population was normal for most of Europe in the decades prior to World War I. Even so, Uherské Hradiště was well above the European average.⁴⁰

1.7.1 Becoming a Jewish Community

The municipal government of Uherské Hradiště opened a Jewish public canteen in the 1850s which was run by tenants. A Jewish religious society was founded in 1866 with Bernhard Löw as its first superior. As the Jewish community grew, this society increased in size and importance, becoming an official community in 1892. Adolf Mannaberg served as the first community superior. Several rabbis practised in Uherské Hradiště in the last half of the nineteenth century: Jakob Grünwald (1865-1889), Adolf Hahn (1889-1897), and Josef Burstyn (1897 – 1907).⁴¹

1.7.2 New Synagogue and Cemetery

In 1866 the first religious services of the Jewish society were held in a leased room in the Skřivánek house, now located on U Polikliniky Street. Later, they were held on the first floor of a house which stood on the corner of Mariánské square and Prostřední Street. This premise could not hold all the members of the society, so they decided to build a synagogue.⁴² Synagogues represent an important part of Jewish religious life because they provide sacred space. They are not only the center for religious services but also other aspects of life such as education and social matters.⁴³

The synagogue was built in 1875 at cost of 18,000 florins. Its opulent building was in neo-Romanesque style and stood adjacent to the former wall of the town, in the area of a former Franciscan garden. Rabbi Samuel Mühsam from Bzenec consecrated the synagogue on September 27, 1875.⁴⁴

³⁹ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště, královské město na řece Moravě* (Zlín: Graspo, 2007), 172.

⁴⁰ Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 859.

⁴¹ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště, královské město na řece Moravě* (Zlín: Graspo, 2007), 173 – 174; Ludmila Hobzová, “Židé v Uherském Hradišti,” *Slovácké noviny* 2, no. 48 (December 1991): 4.

⁴² Ibid; Jan Erazim Vitásek and Bohumil Fišer, *Dějiny a místopis král. města Uherského Hradiště. Uherské Hradiště. Topografie. Paměti hradištské* (Brno: Garn, 2012), 59 - 60.

⁴³ Jaroslav Klenovský, *Židovské památky Moravy a Slezska, Jewish Monuments of Moravia and Silesia* (Brno: Era, 2002), 43.

⁴⁴ Ludmila Hobzová, “Židé v Uherském Hradišti,” *Slovácké noviny* 2, no. 48 (December 1991): 4; Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště, královské město na řece Moravě* (Zlín: Graspo, 2007), 173 - 174.

Not long after the completion of the synagogue, officials decided to open a Jewish cemetery because, until then, they had to transport their deceased to the Jewish cemeteries in Uherský Brod or Uherský Ostroh. The community bought suitable land for this purpose in 1879 in the village of Derfle (now Sady). Rabbi Jakob Grünwald consecrated the cemetery on March 31, 1881.⁴⁵

1.7.3 The Jewish Businesses and Associations

The Jewish elementary school opened in Uherské Hradiště in 1848, and its language of instruction was German. Several Jewish associations were also established, the first being the funereal fraternity Chewra Kadischa, founded in 1879 in connection with the acquisition of the cemetery.⁴⁶ Its main purposes were to support poor and needy members through the provision of health care and medicine, help with funeral arrangements in case of a member's death, and attend funerals and burials of members.⁴⁷ The Achiwah fraternity was a Jewish academic association operating since 1896 as an association of school graduates. Achiwah hosted balls, athletic events and cultural performances.⁴⁸

Also in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Jews leased properties and offices from the authorities in Uherské Hradiště and established industrial enterprises. Jakob Jokl from Bzenec operated the toll-gate, Jakob Knöpfelmacher from Holešov had a brewery, Bernhard Schön from Uherský Brod operated the town scale, and Moses Mayer from Uherský Brod traded in flour.⁴⁹

The May brothers established a sugar factory in Staré Město in 1868. The next year, Šalamoun Braun took over the brewery in Jarošov. Emanuel Fürst built a malt-house nearby Mařatice in 1870. A man named Morgenstern opened a tinsmith shop in 1873, and Herman Jelinek established a distillery in 1887.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště, královské město na řece Moravě* (Zlín: Graspo, 2007), 173 - 177.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁴⁷ Jaromíra Čoupková, "Střípky z historie města," *Zpravodaj města Uherské Hradiště* 6 (1997): 15 - 16.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště, královské město na řece Moravě* (Zlín: Graspo, 2007), 173.

⁵⁰ Jaromíra Čoupková, "Střípky z historie města," *Zpravodaj města Uherské Hradiště* 6 (1997): 15 - 16.

2 A NEW AGE OF CZECH JEWRY

Despite the growing number of Jewish inhabitants in Uherské Hradiště, their community was not as large as those in nearby Uherský Brod, Třebíč or Uherský Ostroh. Even though the Jewish community did not have its own autonomy, it was economically strong. The Jewish inhabitants of Uherské Hradiště mostly claimed German nationality and strongly influenced the national character of the town. They supported the German party until the late 1890s and held sway in the municipal council. At the turn of the twentieth century, the urban growth ceased and the number of Jewish inhabitants even started to decline, from 514 Jews in 1900 to 453 Jews in 1910. This decrease likely stemmed from the victory of the Czech national faction in elections for the town hall and municipal council. Another reason could be the increased economic competitiveness of the Czech inhabitants in Uherské Hradiště.⁵¹

2.1 Czech versus German

The 1880 census in Austria-Hungary surveyed the language, not the nationality. This census indicated that Uherské Hradiště was majority German-speaking. Most Jews indicated German as their language, yet, during the following years Czech language increased in popularity in Uherské Hradiště thanks to an increase in national awareness and a shift in political power to the Czech bourgeoisie.⁵²

2.1.1 Occupational Changes

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Jewish occupations changed. In Germany, more than half the Jews were traders. In Austria, the Jews were engaged in agriculture, government services, industry, trade and transportation. Hungary had Jewish physicians, chemists, artists, and lawyers.⁵³ A similar situation arose in the Czech lands in connection with the granting of new rights. The majority of Jewish inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia were engaged in trade, industry and agriculture enterprises, free professions,

⁵¹ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 328 - 329.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 866 - 867.

science, journalism and so on. And also in those spheres, Jews proved successful, to the displeasure of others.⁵⁴

Equal rights did not bring the end of discrimination: “for the European the Jew continued to be a Jew.”⁵⁵ Anti-Semitism was deeply rooted in European society and culture. Another reason was “the reaction to the integration of the Jews to their surroundings, its rapidity and perceptible success”.⁵⁶ Gentiles became jealous of their more successful Jewish neighbours.⁵⁷ Furthermore, notes Ben-Sasson, “the process of integration in various spheres of life . . . did not erase the communal and psychological characteristics of most Jews – sometimes even accentuating them.”⁵⁸

2.2 The First Decades of the Twentieth Century

By 1921, Uherské Hradiště was home to only 313 Jews, and in 1930, just 268. Despite decreasing in size, the community remained vibrant.⁵⁹

2.2.1 The Development of Jewish Associations

The Jewish inhabitants established more associations, among them the Podporovací spolek židovských žen (Assistance Association of Jewish Women), which operated between 1900 and 1925. This association organized concerts and used the proceeds to support the poor and ill. In the case of higher proceeds, the association contributed to dowries and to the further education of Jewish girls or to purchasing furniture for poor Jewish newlyweds.⁶⁰

In 1901 the Jewish gymnastics club, later known as Maccabi, was established in Uherské Hradiště.⁶¹ In 1903 three members performed at a Zionist congress in Basel. Twice a week the club used the town gymnasium. In addition the members gave theatre performances, hosted dance parties and the like.⁶² After WWI, the Maccabi expanded into

⁵⁴ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 284 - 321.

⁵⁵ Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 870.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 870 - 871.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 870 - 872.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 870.

⁵⁹ Jaromíra Čoupková, “Střípky z historie města,” *Zpravodaj města Uherské Hradiště* 6 (1997): 15 – 16.

⁶⁰ Mariana Michalčíková, “Židé na Uherskohradištsku,” (Středoškolská odborná činnost, Gymnázium Uherské Hradiště, 2001), 19 – 21.

⁶¹ Jaromíra Čoupková, “Střípky z historie města,” *Zpravodaj města Uherské Hradiště* 6 (1997): 15 – 16.

⁶² *Ibid.*

football, athletics and women's handball.⁶³ In 1930, the club even purchased its own playing field and constructed tennis courts.⁶⁴ From the beginning of the 1930s the Organization of Jewish women (WIZO) and local Zionist group operated in Uherské Hradiště. The Zionists were a chapter of the Central Zionist Organization for the Czechoslovak Republic.⁶⁵ All these associations used the Czech language.⁶⁶

2.2.2 The Expansion of the Synagogue and Cemetery

According to Jaroslav Klenovský, “under the distinct influence of the surrounding Christian environment (and as a kind of expression of assimilation), spectacular synagogue buildings of a new type began to be constructed, in attractive locations.”⁶⁷ Uherské Hradiště, with its tall, art nouveau style synagogue completed in 1904, was no exception.⁶⁸ Also the area of the cemetery was considerably enlarged to 7,123 square meters.⁶⁹

2.3 Czech-Jewish Assimilation

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed a revival of Czech nationalism, with Czechs becoming more self-confident and Czech language more popular. One of the results was a deliberate and organized movement of Czech-Jewish assimilation.⁷⁰

As Kateřina Čapková notes, “The Czech-Jewish movement was different from other European integrationists' movement. For the Czech-Jews it was a secondary acculturation.”⁷¹ The Czech-Jews urged the Jews to take interest particularly in Czech culture and language.⁷²

The founding members of Czech-Jewish movement considered themselves Jews according to creed. The Czech-Jewish question was for them a matter of linguistic, national and cultural assimilation. This movement spread across the Czech lands and led to the

⁶³ Mariana Michalčíková, “Židé na Uherskohradištsku,” (Středoškolská odborná činnost, Gymnázium Uherské Hradiště, 2001), 20.

⁶⁴ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 173.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Jaromíra Čoupková, “Střípky z historie města,” *Zpravodaj města Uherské Hradiště* 6 (1997): 15 – 16.

⁶⁷ Jaroslav Klenovský, *Židovské památky Moravy a Slezska, Jewish Monuments of Moravia and Silesia* (Brno: Era, 2002), 43 - 48.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 63 - 71.

⁶⁹ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 177.

⁷⁰ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 507.

⁷¹ Kateřina Čapková, “Czechs, Germans, Jews? National identities of Bohemian Jews, 1867 – 1938,” (paper presented at the Contours of Legitimacy in Central Europe, Oxford, May 24, 2002), 3.

⁷² Ibid.

creation of the Národní jednota česko-židovská (National Czech-Jewish Association). Their concept of assimilation was national, social and political. The Czech-Jews engaged in politics on the side of Czechs during their contest with Germans, which led to an increase in anti-Semitism among both Czechs and Germans.⁷³

In the late 1890s, anti-German and anti-Jewish riots broke out in Prague and also in the Bohemian and Moravian countryside. The government was forced to declare a state of emergency. Leopold Hilsner, a Czech Jew, was accused of ritual murder, and riots broke out again. Anti-Semitism ran rampant throughout the Czech lands. The Hilsner Affair influenced the Jews politically, as they redirected their support to the Social Democratic Party or the Realist Party. All other parties were openly anti-Semitic.⁷⁴

As result of the Hilsner Affair, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, a member of the Realist Party, authored two pamphlets which “tear to shreds the arguments of the ritual murder and demanded a retrial to demonstrate that the forensic evidence was inadequate.”⁷⁵ He had several reasons to do so. As a Christian he rejected anti-Semitism on moral grounds and felt it was his obligation to fight against fanaticism.⁷⁶ Masaryk confided that he was prompted by a sense of humanity, based on his conviction that a belief in ritual murder disgraced the Czech people.⁷⁷ For Masaryk, this was a political stand.⁷⁸ The opposition to Hilsner’s conviction and to anti-Semitic fanaticism aroused a democratic spirit in the Czech lands and in Austria.⁷⁹

2.4 The Czech Zionists

The increase of European anti-Semitism led to the formation of the Zionist movement in the 1890s. The founder of Zionism was Theodor Herzl, who warned and called on his fellow-believers not to favour any side in the contest between the Czechs and the Germans. The Zionist movement focused on establishing a Jewish home in Palestine, reviving

⁷³ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 509.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 17.

⁷⁶ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 263.

⁷⁷ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 17.

⁷⁸ Česká televize, “Nekupujte u židů cukr, kafe, mouku...,” Videoarchiv Historie.cs Adobe Flash Player video file, 18:10, <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/10150778447-historie-cs/212452801400006-nekupujte-u-zidu-cukr-kafe-mouku/video/> (accessed March 5, 2013).

⁷⁹ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 264.

traditions of the Jewish culture and fostering the use of Hebrew. In the Czech lands, Zionists recruited new members mostly among German-oriented Jews. Zionism in the Czech lands represented an important part of the worldwide Zionist movement.⁸⁰

One of the first Zionist associations was Makkabea, founded in 1892. This association changed its name in 1899 to Bar Kochba, under which it was more renowned. The members (mostly middle-class students) desired a relationship between Palestine and East European Jewishness. The association sponsored lectures and published articles. Even though the Zionist movement was successful, its influence was weak until the end of the First World War. After the formation of Czechoslovakia and the recognition of Jewish nationality, the Zionists gained more members.⁸¹

2.5 Jewish Involvement in World War I

During the First World War, Jewish refugees from Halič⁸² found temporary shelter in Uherské Hradiště. Being orthodox, they looked somewhat exotic in comparison with the local assimilated Jewry. Also, fourteen Jews from Uherské Hradiště fell in battle during the war.⁸³

2.6 The First Republic

A new democratic republic was established on October 28, 1918, including “a number of ethnic groups: Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Jews, Poles and Gypsies”.⁸⁴ The Czechoslovak Republic incorporated Bohemia, Moravia, part of Silesia, Slovakia, and Subcarpathian Ruthenia.⁸⁵

The Czech constitution, however, did not define the national groups and did not give a list of those groups or minorities recognized by the state. This was intentionally done so every citizen could freely declare themselves as a member of the Jewish national group on the occasion of the census, elections, etc.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Jiří Křesťan, *Židovské spolky v českých zemích v letech 1918 – 1948* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 17.

⁸¹ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 524.

⁸² In English, Galicia; a historical region in Eastern Europe, on the borders of the Ukraine and Poland.

⁸³ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 172.

⁸⁴ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 26.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 527.

From the first day of the new republic the representatives of the Jewish National Council were trying to gain a minority status for Jewish inhabitants. They “submitted a memorandum, the gist of which was a claim for recognition of a Jewish nationality with minority rights as well as for state recognition of the religious community.”⁸⁷ This appeal was discussed at the Paris Peace Conference and did not convince Foreign Minister Eduard Beneš to agree to sign any specific clauses. One of his reasons was that he did not want to take a side with any of the two Jewish parties, Zionists or Assimilates.⁸⁸

As Kateřina Čapková noted, “the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic was accompanied by a wave of anti-Jewish revolts and the Czech press expressed its mistrust of Jews.”⁸⁹ The Czech-Jews were disappointed when the Zionists became “the privileged group in the negotiations with the government, not the Czech-Jews.”⁹⁰ As the Czech-Jews hoped for the complete assimilation of the Jews, some of their members “left the Jewish religious community and claimed that the Czech-Jewish movement is only a step towards the total loss of Jewish identity.”⁹¹

President Masaryk played an important role in the struggle of Zionists for recognition of Jewish nationality in Czechoslovakia. He advocated that Czechoslovaks cannot deny others the same things they want for themselves. The foundation of the Jewish Party of Czechoslovakia in 1919 presented a significant step in the Jewish battle for political rights and recognition. The party strived to gain the representation of the Jewish minority at municipal and parliamentary levels. The leaders of this party were mostly Zionists.⁹²

2.6.1 Uherské Hradiště after the Changes of 1918

Residents of Uherské Hradiště, as in other places in Czechoslovakia Republic, were dissatisfied with the post-war situation, which soon led to several demonstrations against those who got rich during the war. This was only natural because most of the demonstrators were starving and lived in poverty as the result of high prices on the basic food stuff.

⁸⁷ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 27.

⁸⁸ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 27.

⁸⁹ Kateřina Čapková, “Czechs, Germans, Jews? National identities of Bohemian Jews, 1867 – 1938,” (paper presented at the Contours of Legitimacy in Central Europe, Oxford, May 24, 2002), 3.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 3 - 5.

⁹² Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 525-526.

Looting of shops was part of those demonstrations and the shop owners were mostly Jewish. The mood of the people was deliberately oriented against the Jewish businessmen who on the one hand counted among the bearers of germanization and minions of the old monarchy and on the other hand had become rich during the war.⁹³

Historian Vladimír Nekuda sees these disorders as the aim of the Czech bourgeoisie, which slowly consolidated its power and intentionally generated nationalist chauvinism to divert attention from the real causes of suffering and poverty and from social revolutionary thoughts. In the first revolutionary days of 1918, non-Jewish inhabitants looted 14 Jewish shops in Uherské Hradiště. Similar looting occurred in neighbouring towns and villages, for example in Uherský Brod and Uherský Ostroh.⁹⁴

One of the looted businesses was the malt-house of Emanuel Fürst & Son, who requested compensation for the damage. The local committee for traders authorized loans and compensations. In the request dated April 30, 1920, Fürst stated that his shop in Uherské Hradiště was damaged when several villagers broke through the gate, damaged boxes and stole various goods with a total value 3,874 Crowns. The request was dismissed, however, on the grounds that Fürst was a successful businessman who could absorb such losses. This decision was probably in retaliation for the price gouging in which Fürst engaged during World War I.⁹⁵ As soon as the revolutionary spirit of 1918 dissipated, however, the Jewish businessmen did indeed recoup their losses, and in fact, ended up profiting greatly.⁹⁶

From childhood, Stella Berger Fischl remembered being called a stinking Jew by one of her schoolmates, and such a verbal abuse led her to become an active Zionist. Her parents were not orthodox but they wanted to stay Jews and so they celebrated all High Holy Days and also taught their children about their historical roots. Their children had to pray, first in Czech and then in Hebrew.⁹⁷ Her sister Dita also mentioned in an interview

⁹³ Vladimír Nekuda, *Uherskohradištsko* (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 1982), 270.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Mariana Michalčíková, "Židé na Uherskohradištsku," (Středoškolská odborná činnost, Gymnázium Uherské Hradiště, 2001), 22 - 23.

⁹⁶ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 172.

⁹⁷ Dana Emingerová, "Ještě nemůžu, mám záclony v čistírně..." <http://www.cs-magazin.com/index.php?a=a2004111029> (accessed November 28, 2012).

that their grandparents became Zionists. Sister Stella and herself were active in the Makabi youth club.⁹⁸

2.6.2 Important People in Uherské Hradiště

The town Uherské Hradiště had its own eminent personages. One of them was Josef Braun, who was not only a part-owner of the brewery in Jarošov but also a notable photographer and traditional art collector of Slovácko. His photographs were ethnographically unique.⁹⁹

Artur Freud was born in 1882 in Uherské Hradiště. He was ardent Zionist from his youth. He co-founded the Zionist student bulletin *Unsere Hoffnung* and also the Theodor Herzl club in honour of the founder of the Zionist movement. He taught in different towns in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. He was appointed representative of the National fund in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland and other European countries. Freud moved to Israel in 1939 where he worked in the Zionist archives in Jerusalem. Furthermore, he is the author of book about the history of the British Mandate in Palestine.¹⁰⁰

David Pavel Merez (März) was born in Uherské Hradiště in 1894. He was a leading local Jewish personality and a member of the Zionist Movement board in Czechoslovakia. After the Munich Betrayal in 1938, he moved to Israel and in 1941 was appointed a finance of the Haganah organization. In 1946 he was a member of the Israeli constitutional convention. In the same year, he travelled to Prague to restore relations between The Jewish Agency and the Czechoslovak Republic and to ensure Czechoslovak support for the Jewish aspirations. After the establishment of Israel, Merez was appointed head of the finance department of the Israeli Interior Ministry.¹⁰¹

Such examples demonstrate that although the Jewish community in Uherské Hradiště was small, its members were often well-educated and influential.

⁹⁸ Dita Bergerová, interviewed by Anna Hyndráková, May 8, 1994, Kazeta 305, transcript, Židovské Muzeum v Praze.

⁹⁹ Jana Omelková, "Pohled do historie působení Židů v Uherském Hradišti," *Slovácký deník, Slovácké noviny* 101 (April, 2009): 12; Čoupek, 173.

¹⁰⁰ Jana Omelková, "Pohled do historie působení Židů v Uherském Hradišti," *Slovácký deník, Slovácké noviny* 101 (April, 2009): 12; Čoupek, 173.

¹⁰¹ Jana Omelková, "Pohled do historie působení Židů v Uherském Hradišti," *Slovácký deník, Slovácké noviny* 101 (April, 2009): 12.

3 THE SITUATION BETWEEN 1939 AND 1945

The period from 1939 to 1945 was a dark era in Czech history. Czechs suffered under the Reich Protector's authority, with one of the worst affected groups being the Jewish community. For the Jewish inhabitants, the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia meant a radical change in their lives. Apart from other things, they lost their right to free movement, their possessions, jobs and businesses. Jews lived in constant fear about the future. This time was also increasingly anti-Semitic, with anti-Jewish riots beginning on the first day of the Protectorate and lasting throughout the war.

3.1 The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia

Negotiations between President Emil Hácha and Adolf Hitler preceded the formation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia on March 16, 1939. Hitler proposed two options for resolving the relationship between Czechoslovakia and Germany: a German military invasion or a peaceful military occupation. In the latter case, the Fuehrer would give Czechoslovakia a degree of autonomy. Even though the president was not entitled by the constitution to surrender state sovereignty, Hácha signed the document, putting the fate of the Czechoslovak nation into the hands of the leader of the Reich. The same day, Hitler announced that the Czechoslovak Republic no longer existed and ordered the German army to enter Prague to maintain public peace and order and to protect the populace. The public administration, police, railways, postal service and public companies continued to operate, as well as the business concerns. Everyone was to stay at work, and quitting was considered sabotage. All the regulations of German military authorities were to be unquestioningly obeyed.¹⁰²

The Czechoslovak government transformed into a protectorate government, heavily influenced by the Reich. The Reich Protector oversaw the observance of Fuehrer's and Reich Chancellor's wishes.¹⁰³ Furthermore, according to Gergard Jacoby, "the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia offered an experimental ground for the German solution of the

¹⁰² Helena Petrův, *Právní postavení židů v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava (1939 – 1941)* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 7 - 12.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 12 – 15.

racial problem. There, as in Poland, as least three distinct groups lived in different legal positions, first the Germans, next the Czechs, and finally the Jews.”¹⁰⁴

3.1.1 The Anti-Jewish Policies

As Livia Rothkirchen notes, “one of the main objectives of Nazi policy was to secure control over all Jewish property. It has been estimated that before World War II, approximately one third of all industrial and banking capital in Czechoslovakia had been in Jewish hands.”¹⁰⁵ The Germans controlled all parts of the Protectorate and secured their position through the Gestapo. Jews had to register all their property and businesses and the German officers decided whether to “Aryanize this or that enterprise or to liquidate it outright”.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, “the Nazi employed every possible means of intimidation to bring about the isolation of Jews. Czech individuals who were found in Jewish homes or community premises during police raids were immediately taken to the Gestapo for interrogation.”¹⁰⁷ Some Czechs still visited their friends, mostly during the evenings, and brave ones still patronized Jewish shops and enterprises.

As of September 1939, Jews had an 8 p.m. curfew. Then, their movements were restricted. They were banned from many forms of public transportation.¹⁰⁸ Slowly but surely, different restrictions worsened their quality of life. Reinhard Heydrich’s arrival in Prague on September 27 marked the beginning of a new policy, based on three principal aims: “Germanization of the Protectorate, wiping out Czech resistance, and launching the “Final Solution” – the wholesale deportation of the Jews.”¹⁰⁹ The deportation of Jews to camps began on November 24, 1941. By March 16, 1945, 73,608 people, mostly Jews, had been dispatched from all over the Protectorate to Terezin, a camp outside of Prague.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Gerhard Jacoby, *Racial State. The German Nationalities Policy in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1944), 354.

¹⁰⁵ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 105.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁰⁷ Livia Rothkirchen, “Czech Attitudes toward the Jews during the Nazi Regime,” In *Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance* 13, edited by Livia Rothkirchen, 287-320, (Jerusalem: Alpha Press, 1979), 310.

¹⁰⁸ Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (London: Phoenix, 1995), 487 - 489.

¹⁰⁹ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 123.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

3.2 The Course of Events in Uherské Hradiště

Events in Uherské Hradiště imitated those around the protectorate. A German administrative office was established in Uherské Hradiště for 3 months before being moved to Zlín, which became the German administrative centre for the region. This office oversaw the observance of German laws. In March 1939 the Gestapo took over the Uherské Hradiště nursery school, establishing offices and transforming the basement into a prison. On the eve of the German invasion of Poland, a mass arrest of public servants took place. In 1940, the German authorities forced the mayor and some members of the town council to resign and appointed Germans and collaborators to the vacant posts. Then they started removing the Jews from the town.¹¹¹ As one local Holocaust survivor noted, many Jews of Uherské Hradiště still had “optimism and faith that the world would turn the reasonable way. None of us could imagine what was awaiting us.”¹¹²

3.2.1 The Anti-Jewish Policies in Practise

In the beginning, Jews were restricted by different policies: they were not allowed to visit cultural facilities, pubs, or cafes, and they had to wear a degrading mark – a yellow star with the word, “Jude”. Later on, Jews were prohibited to carry on trade and their shops and properties were confiscated. For example, the German first deputy of the town, Thomas Flassak, took possession of the furniture-making plant owned by the Morgenstern family. In January 1941, some Jews were also forced into hard labour.¹¹³

In June 1939 officers filled out a list of 42 Jewish enterprises, containing the name of the business owner, its name, the owner’s address, the name of the manager, estimated value of the enterprise, etc. Starting in November 1939, some of those enterprises were liquidated, including Max Kann’s clothing shop and Erna Fuchsová paint shop. Otto Jelínek’s sparkling water plant was taken over by German administrators (Treuhänder). This trend continued in 1940. Furthermore, on February 10, 1941 the mayor created a list of 39 houses owned by Jews- an ominous sign of things to come.

¹¹¹ Vladimír Nekuda, *Uherskohradištsko* (Brno: Muzejní a vlastivědná společnost, 1982), 300 – 301; Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 420 - 427.

¹¹² Dana Emingerová, “Ještě nemůžu, mám záclony v čistírně...,” <http://www.cs-magazin.com/index.php?a=a2004111029> (accessed November 28, 2012).

¹¹³ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 420 – 427; Okresní úřad Uherské Hradiště, 1850 – 1945, State Archive Uherské Hradiště.

Restrictions on contact between Aryan and Jewish inhabitants caused uncertainty on both sides. A particular problem arose in the case of Mr. Dudešek, a hairdresser in Uherské Hradiště. On October 14, 1940, he sent a request to the local authorities asking them to specify the hours in which Jews were allowed to visit. He also requested full prohibition in the case the hours could not be specified. The same hairdressing shop was the subject of another request, this time written by the Vlajka movement. They requested the place to be labelled as only for Jews because inside the shop there were not two separated rooms, as was ordered. The local authority complied with these requests by declaring the hairdressing shop an Aryan only establishment. With this decision, the local Jews lost their last hairdresser, so the Jewish community appealed the decision. In response to this appeal, German authorities in Zlín appointed two hairdressers – František Daniel and Leopold Dudešek – to serve Jews during certain hours. Similar situations periodically arose with different shops and businesses.¹¹⁴

Further restrictions in 1940 banned Jews from cultural venues. “Jews Forbidden” labels were placed at the entrances, which were also monitored by secret police. This restriction also ordered labelling of all Jewish enterprises. In July, ten inhabitants of Uherské Hradiště sent a request to stop the Jews from walking on the left bank of the river Morava on the grounds that they did not want to swim with Jews or share park benches with them. This request was granted.¹¹⁵ In February 1942, Jews were restricted to one bakery, butcher shop, and general merchandise shop. The bank was only open to them for one hour a week.¹¹⁶

3.2.2 Compiling the List of Jewish Inhabitants

The first order to create a list of Jewish inhabitants came on October 7, 1939. The police were responsible for completing the census, both of full Jews and “half-castes”. In less than a week, the police had counted 327 Jews in Uherské Hradiště.¹¹⁷ Once this and similar lists were compiled, the Protectorate started placing pressure on the Jews to emigrate. As part of this policy, however, the Jews would have to liquidate their assets

¹¹⁴ Okresní úřad Uherské Hradiště, 1850 – 1945, State Archive Uherské Hradiště.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ “The List of Jews from October 1939,” Okresní úřad Uherské Hradiště, 1850 – 1945, State Archive Uherské Hradiště.

prior to emigrating. Not only could they not get a fair price for their assets, but liquidation discouraged any future return to places that the Jews called home, where their synagogues were located and their ancestors were buried. For these reasons, most Jews decided not to go.¹¹⁸ Indeed, by January 1940, only 49 of the 327 Jewish inhabitants of Uherské Hradiště had either died or departed. Most of them were young Jews or families who got permission from the Reich authority to leave. Of these, most went to Palestine, but a few emigrated to the United States or India. One made the fatal error of moving to the Netherlands. Some moved to other places within the Czech lands, like Uherský Brod or Olomouc, ostensibly to be closer to family. Four Jews were arrested, and three simply went missing.¹¹⁹ As Dita Berger recalled, the young generation got away in time, but the older generation did not have the chance or did not want to. For instance, her mother did not want to leave, as she was a widow and she took care of own mother. Both of them ended up in Terezin. Dita's mother was later placed on the last train to the Auschwitz.¹²⁰

In April 1941, 222 Jews remained in Uherské Hradiště.¹²¹ Most of these were probably transported to Uherský Brod in the spring of 1942, but no official transport list exists to confirm this.¹²² The ghetto in Uherský Brod was emptied in January 1943. Three transport trains from Uherský Brod delivered 2,837 Jews to Terezin.¹²³ From there, most were later deported to death camps in the east.¹²⁴ Some of the Jews from Uherské Hradiště died in Uherský Brod as the conditions were difficult; some died in Terezin; most died in Auschwitz.

3.2.3 The Destruction of the Jewish Temple

On June 23, 1941, the Uherské Hradiště police commander reported on the plundering of the Jewish temple in Uherské Hradiště. He noted that, on the previous evening, a truck

¹¹⁸ Moses Moskowitz, "The Jewish Situation in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia," *Jewish Social Studies* 4, no. 1 (1942): 17-44, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4615186> (accessed October 20, 2012), 19 - 20.

¹¹⁹ "The List of Jews from January 1940," Okresní úřad Uherské Hradiště, 1850 – 1945, State Archive Uherské Hradiště.

¹²⁰ Dita Bergerová, interviewed by Anna Hyndráková, May 8, 1994, Kazeta 305, transcript, Židovské Muzeum v Praze.

¹²¹ "The List of Jews from April 1941," Okresní úřad Uherské Hradiště, 1850 – 1945, State Archive Uherské Hradiště.

¹²² Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 180 – 183.

¹²³ Three trains left Uherský Brod: Transport Cn on January 23, 1943 (1,000 Jews), Transport Co on January 27, 1943 (1,000 Jews), and Transport Cp on January 31, 1943 (837 Jews).

¹²⁴ Miroslav Kárný, *Terezínská pamětní kniha* (Praha: Nadace Terezínská iniciativa – Melantrich, 1995), 54.

with 20 uniformed men arrived in Uherské Hradiště. It stopped near the Jewish temple, and the men got out, pried open the doors to the synagogue, and then started vandalizing. They soon left, however, and their identities remained unknown.

When the uniformed men drove away, members of the local ČNST – Vlajka movement were already waiting outside, including Václav Rybka and František Jakerle, Jr. from Uherské Hradiště. These two men, who had just arrived from a Vlajka meeting in Blatnice, entered the building and began plundering. Others followed. The local police patrol arrived while the looting and vandalizing was still in process. They closed the main entrance and requested the presence of the police emergency squad of Uherské Hradiště. They also informed the Gestapo in Uherské Hradiště, which promptly sent representatives to the scene as well. The officers caught 55 looters: 31 men and 22 women. The Gestapo arrested all of them and with the help of police officers placed them under the custody of the regional court in Uherské Hradiště. The damage they caused was estimated at 500,000 crowns. Later, several witnesses gave incriminating statements, which document the depravity of seemingly ordinary locals.¹²⁵ On August 12, 1941, the synagogue was seriously damaged by arson. The town then bought the ruins in November 1941 for 30,000 crowns.¹²⁶

3.2.4 The Vlajka Movement

Members of the Vlajka (Flag) political movement were some of the worst Holocaust collaborators in the Protectorate. Vlajka arose out of anti-Semitism during the First Republic. At the end of the second republic, the Ministry of the Interior banned Vlajka, but a group of radicals worked illegally to create a terrorist organization, the main aim of which was to attack all Jews and symbols of their religion. The Reich protector's office assessed Vlajka as dangerous organization but still used its members as agents and informers.¹²⁷

Vlajka promoted anti-Semitism and in the Protectorate practiced it in a rough and aggressive way. Many Czech anti-Semites also joined different organizations like Národní

¹²⁵ Okresní úřad Uherské Hradiště, 1850 – 1945, State Archive Uherské Hradiště.

¹²⁶ Libuše Pavlicová, "Uherskohradištská synagoga", *ZMUH* 8, (2002), 37.

¹²⁷ Milan Nakonečný, *Vlajka* (Praha: Chvojko nakladatelství, 2001), 7 - 11.

árijská kulturní jednota, Árijská fronta, and Protizidovská liga (the Anti-Jewish League), but the Vlajka movement surpassed all of these in its aggressive anti-Semitism.¹²⁸

Vlajka members disliked the tendency of Czech Jews to register German nationality and vote for German parties. The fact that many Jews were wealthy bankers or alcohol producers and sellers only added fuel to their fire. They believed that Jews made and sold alcohol to get Christians drunk in order to exploit them. Jewish wealth, they argued, was ill-gotten.¹²⁹

3.2.5 The Destruction of the Cemetery

Nazi soldiers destroyed the Jewish cemetery on June 22, 1941, removing 377 grave stones and knocking down the ceremonial hall. They held an auction in 1943 in which the grave stones were sold. Some were used to pave roads. Others reinforced the bottom of a pond in Staré Město. The rest went to a stonecutter in Brno. With the cemetery land, the Nazis cut down all the trees, pull downed the walls, ploughed the land and seeded it with corn.¹³⁰ Albert Gottwald recalls that a Uherské Hradiště mason named Pištěk refused to work with grave stones from the plundered cemetery, so he was punished by hard labour and exiled. His family was left without any money.¹³¹

The destruction of the synagogue and the cemetery aptly symbolizes the destruction of the Jewish community in Uherské Hradiště. The Jewish inhabitants of the town disappeared, and there was nothing left to remind others of their existence. Only a few people tried not to forget their Jewish friends or neighbours. One of them was Jaroslav Hrebenár, an employee of the Sträussler family. The Sträussler son left in 1939, but the parents stayed and eventually ended up in the Uherský Brod ghetto, where Hrebenár visited them in order to give them some clothes and covers. He never saw them again because they both died in Auschwitz, but he kept in touch with the son, and his family, and the Sträusslers still visit him every time they return to Uherské Hradiště.¹³²

¹²⁸ Ibid., 242 – 250.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 242 – 250.

¹³⁰ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 179.

¹³¹ Albert Gottwald, Uherské Hradiště, March 12, 2013, to Veronika Šnajdarová.

¹³² Zuzana Hájková, “Židé na Uherskohradištsku,” *Velkomoravský Kurýr* 2, no. 49 (December, 1999):

4 FALLEN STARS: THE IMPACT OF HOLOCAUST ON CZECH JEWRY

The end of World War II did not signify a bright Jewish future. Those who survived the Holocaust faced further hardships. They had no homes to which to return, and their neighbors did not welcome them back. They faced the difficult decision of assimilating or emigrating. Many Jews chose emigration, especially after the founding of Israel.

The world had to face the consequences of the war and draw conclusions. Sometimes it was just easier to forget. In Czechoslovakia, the communist regime purposely deleted the Holocaust from the history books. By the time communism fell, much of the Jewish heritage had been lost, leaving “a vacuum that will never be filled.”¹³³

4.1 The Postwar Political Situation

4.1.1 The Restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic

Czech politicians decided not to allow any development of national minorities after the war. By supporting Zionism and allowing the emigration of Jews, Edvard Beneš only fulfilled his aim: “to re-create a state which will be as homogeneous as possible”¹³⁴ so as to prevent any minority problems, “which proved so disastrous to the former Republic.”¹³⁵ After his return from exile, he declared the state to be bi-national – Czechs and Slovaks. Minorities, such as Germans or Hungarians, were transferred to their ethnic homelands. Transcarpathian Ruthenia was annexed to the Ukraine, which became part of the USSR. The remaining Jews could decide whether they preferred to be Czech or Slovak nationality.¹³⁶ President Beneš actively supported the establishment of a new Jewish state as it gave Czech Jews another emigration option.¹³⁷ When the new state was established in 1947, around 19,000 Czechoslovak Jews emigrated there.¹³⁸

¹³³ Ruth Bondy, *Trappes: Essays on the History of the Czech Jews, 1939 – 1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2008), 226.

¹³⁴ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 170.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 184 - 185.

¹³⁷ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 285.

¹³⁸ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 285.

4.1.2 The Holocaust in Jewish History

As Ben-Sasson so eloquently put it, “the Holocaust was a dreadful blow for the Jewish people, more savage and inhuman than anything it had ever suffered – both in numbers and in agony. It was also a stunning spiritual and psychological shock. All the achievements and innovations of modern science and technology had been enlisted for the extermination of an entire nation; Nazi propaganda had endeavoured to reduce the Jews to the status of vermin, to exterminate them by gas and fire in order to purify the world.”¹³⁹ In response to this genocide, notes historian Paul Johnson, “it was universally agreed that both punishment and restitution were necessary and to some extent both were carried out.”¹⁴⁰ The war crimes trials began in November 1945 and continued for four decades. The compensation due the Jews was problematic, but limited restitution has been made.¹⁴¹

4.1.3 The Communist Era and Political Change

The Czechoslovak government made a new law concerning religious associations in November 1949. Those legal measures radically changed the administrative and the financial structure of religious associations and turned their paid officials into public servants. The authorities complied with the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and mostly did not interfere in religious services or celebrations. However, the attendance of religious activities was monitored, and participants could face difficulties. The department for religious issues had to approve all personnel decisions, visits to international conferences, official visits from foreign countries and further special projects.¹⁴² In the 1950s, notes Rothkirchen, many Jews holding important positions were purged from political, economic, and cultural life, and a great number of them were imprisoned. The notorious Slánský Trials and the vicious diatribes against Zionism, Judaism, and cosmopolitanism marred Czech-Jewish interaction for the ensuing decades.”¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Hayim H Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 1033.

¹⁴⁰ Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (London: Phoenix, 1995), 513.

¹⁴¹ Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (London: Phoenix, 1995), 513 - 515.

¹⁴² Alena Heitlingerová, *Ve stínu holocaustu a komunismu: čeští a slovenští židé po roce 1945* (Praha: G plus G, 2007), 31 - 38.

¹⁴³ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 288 - 289.

The Communist regime mostly presented Jews unfavourably way and actively erased the Jews from the country's history. Czech and Slovak textbooks did not contain the word Jew, not even in connection with the Holocaust. In the 1960s, however, the communist reforms led to a loosening of restrictions in regard to the Jewish community. Jewish issues became appropriate public themes, which led to the publication of books about and by Jews. Also, a few films about the Holocaust were made in conjunction with the "new wave" of Czechoslovak films. Jewish communities could even establish relations with other Jewish communities or associations abroad.¹⁴⁴

In 1967, the Czechoslovak Republic severed diplomatic relations with Israel. After the August 1968 invasion, around 6,000 Jews emigrated.¹⁴⁵ Anti-Semitism increased again in 1970s and 1980s as it became part of the communist agenda. The Ministry of the Interior began creating files on all Jews still in the country, so as to protect the country from the evils of Zionism. It was not until the velvet revolution in 1989 that it was somewhat acceptable to be Jewish in Czechoslovakia again. Immediately, Jews began creating new religious groups, associations and networks.¹⁴⁶

4.2 Uherské Hradiště after World War II

At the beginning of the German occupation, 118,310 Jews lived in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. By March, 1945, there were only 3,030 remaining.¹⁴⁷ The number of those who managed to emigrate before 1940 was about 27,000. The rest perished. Many communities vanished completely. Only 9 Jewish communities were restored after the war, an insignificant number in comparison to the 136 communities that existed before the war.¹⁴⁸ The biggest post-war Jewish community was in Prague, with around 2,500 – 3,000

¹⁴⁴ Alena Heitlingerová, *Ve stínu holocaustu a komunismu: čeští a slovenští židé po roce 1945* (Praha: G plus G, 2007), 31 - 47.

¹⁴⁵ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 148 - 150.

¹⁴⁶ Alena Heitlingerová, *Ve stínu holocaustu a komunismu: čeští a slovenští židé po roce 194* (Praha: G plus G, 2007), 47 - 53.

¹⁴⁷ Vítejte na Pražském hradě, "The Genocide of the Czech Jews," http://old.hrad.cz/kpr/holocaust/hist_zid_uk.html (accessed October 28, 2012); Miroslav Kárný, *Terezínská pamětní kniha* (Praha: Nadace Terezínská iniciativa – Melantrich, 1995), 54.

¹⁴⁸ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 116.

members, but this community decreased in size between 1945 and 1950 thanks to emigration to Israel and other countries.¹⁴⁹

Most history books do not mention the return of Jewish survivors to Uherské Hradiště. Only a few survived and returned, for example Mr. Berger, an Auschwitz survivor. Those few who did return tried unsuccessfully to restore the local community before joining the Jewish community in Kyjov.¹⁵⁰ Some of those who emigrated before the deportations returned, but most soon left again. František Weil returned and remained in Uherské Hradiště for the remainder of his life, as did Mr. Berger, but they proved to be exceptions.

Anti-Semitism in Uherské Hradiště survived the war in the form of discrimination. Dita Berger remembered that in school her teacher praised her for knowing Czech grammar, stating, “See class, even being a Jew, she knows Czech.” The supposed compliment left Berger offended. She also remembered how her schoolmates defended her during a skiing race when the organizers did not want her to take part. They even refused to compete without her.¹⁵¹ This last example might be evidence in support of Rothkirchen’s argument that Czechs were not vicious anti-Semites. Czech anti-Semitism, she argues, “was lacking in two basic elements common to rabid Jew baiters: racism and bigoted religious hatred.”¹⁵²

The historical development of the town suggests that the anti-Semitism in Uherské Hradiště was mostly based on economic motives, with only a few expressing racial or religious motives. Most Jews in Uherské Hradiště had gentile friends and neighbors. This was also seen after the war when inhabitants of Uherské Hradiště who had gained confiscated Jewish property worried that they would lose it. There are examples of people in Uherské Hradiště refusing to accept Jewish property because they feared the Jews would one day return and reclaim it. This seems to fit with Rothkirchen’s argument that “it was

¹⁴⁹ Alena Heitlingerová, *Ve stínu holocaustu a komunismu: čeští a slovenští židé po roce 1945* (Praha: G plus G, 2007), 30; Miroslav Melichárek, “O hradišťském ghettu,” *Zpravodaj města Uherské Hradiště* 8, no. 11 (1970): 15-16.

¹⁵⁰ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 173.

¹⁵¹ Dita Bergerová, interviewed by Anna Hyndráková, May 8, 1994, *Kazeta* 305, transcript, Židovské Muzeum v Praze.

¹⁵² Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 303.

the material aspect which became the prime concern of the people in determining their stance vis-a-vis the Jews.”¹⁵³

Since 1989, scholars have begun to document and memorialize the Jewish community in Uherské Hradiště. The only real remembrance of the Jewish community, however, is the reconstructed synagogue, which now serves as a library and is a historic landmark. A Czech-Hebrew plaque, donated in 1992 by natives of Uherské Hradiště now living in Israel, memorializes those Jews who lost their lives in the Holocaust. After WWII, the Jewish cemetery was turned into a park, which contains a marker with the following inscription: “Here is the sacred place of the Jewish cemetery destroyed by invaders, 1939 – 1945.”¹⁵⁴ The Jewish community is now remembered as an important part of the town’s history, and new generations are being taught about it.

¹⁵³ Livia Rothkirchen, “Czech Attitudes toward the Jews during the Nazi Regime,” In *Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance* 13, edited by Livia Rothkirchen, 287-32, (Jerusalem: Alpha Press, 1979), 320.

¹⁵⁴ Jiří Čoupek et al., *Uherské Hradiště – dějiny města* (Brno: Blok, 1981), 179.

CONCLUSION

Anti-Semitism, fuelled mostly by jealousy and economic motives, always plagued the Jewish community in Uherské Hradiště. During the German occupation of the town, the majority of local residents just stood by and allowed the Holocaust to happen. Then, many profited from it. During the communist era, residents of Uherské Hradiště chose not to remember the Holocaust, enabling them in the process to forget their own cowardice, fear and complicity in the destruction of the Jewish community. The fact that the Nazi regime imprisoned and executed local non-Jews for their participation in Obrana národa (Defending the Nation) somehow lightened the guilt. The return of Jews to Uherské Hradiště after WWII was unwelcomed, cutting short any chance that the Jewish community could re-establish itself there. The stories of survivors went largely unrecorded, as few wanted to hear them. Only recently has Uherské Hradiště begun to embrace its Jewish heritage, but by now, most of the stories have been lost forever. This is a shame, notes one Holocaust scholar, for “knowledge of the past can also fortify us for what is yet to come?”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Ruth Bondy, *Trappes: Essays on the History of the Czech Jews, 1939 – 1943* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2008), 226 - 227.

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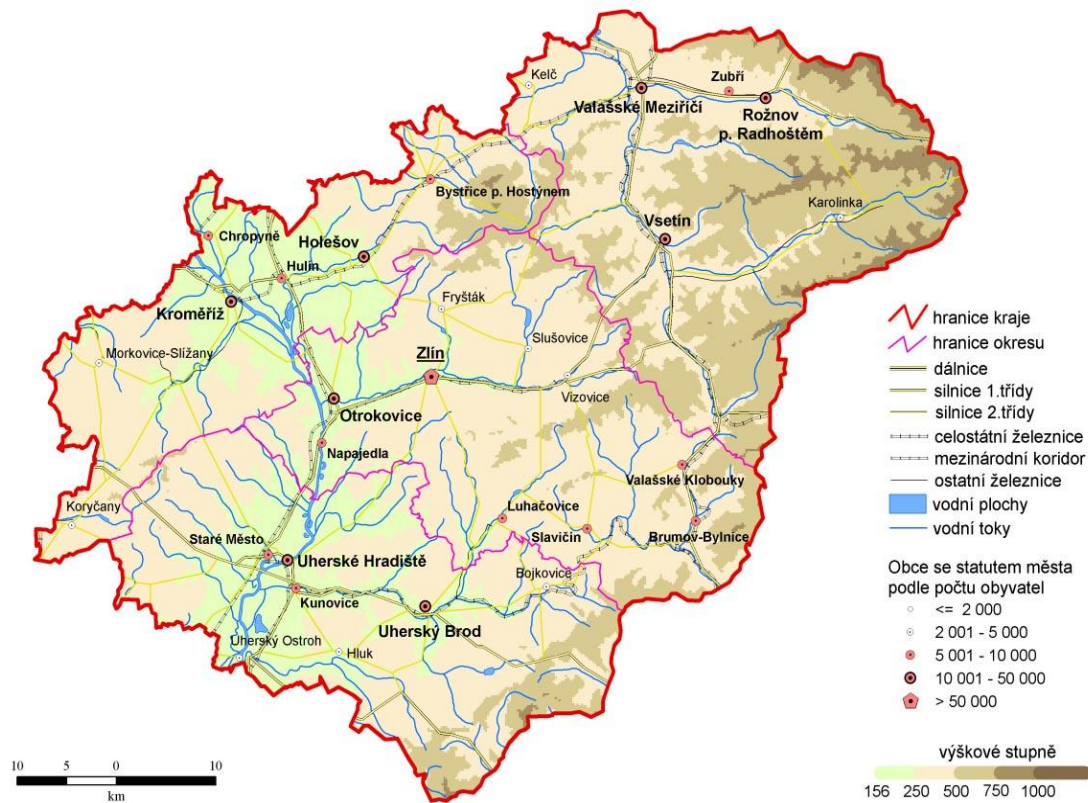
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APPENDICES

- P I The Zlín Region.
- P II The synagogue in Uherské Hradiště.
- P III A List of Jewish Inhabitants of Uherské Hradiště.
- P IV The Instructions for the Evacuation of Jews from the Protectorate.
- P V Forced Labor in Uherské Hradiště - A List of Chosen Jewish Inhabitants

APPENDIX P I: THE ZLÍN REGION

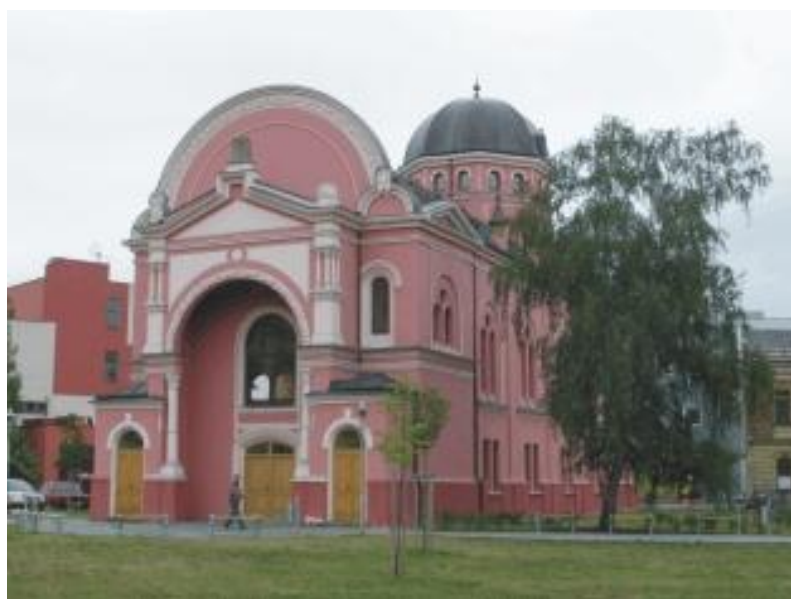


Map issued by Český statistický úřad.

APPENDIX P II: THE SYNAGOGUE IN UHERSKÉ HRADIŠTĚ



The synagogue between the world wars. Sbírký SM UH.



The synagogue after reconstruction in 2005. Knihovna BBB Uherské Hradiště.

APPENDIX P III: A LIST OF JEWISH INHABITANTS OF UHERSKÉ HRADIŠTĚ

- 1 -

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číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Zaměstnání	Rok narození	Poznámka-
1	Ludvík Adler	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova čp. 175	obchod látkami	1877.	žid,
2	Emmi Adlerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1882	židovka,
3	František Adler	---"	syn, žije u rodičů	1921	žid,
4	Hanna Adlerová	---"	dcera, žije u rodičů	1925	židovka,
5	Robert Adler	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova čp. 175	obchod železem.	1881	žid,
6	Emma Adlerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1892	židovka,
7	Lilli Adlerová	---"	dcera, žije u rodičů	1915	židovka
8	Richard Adler	---"	syn, žije u rodičů	1917	žid,
9	Viki Adler	---"	syn, žije u rodičů	1919	žid,
10	Ida Adlerová	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova čp. 43	svoobodná, soukromice	1880	židovka,
11	Janoš Adler	Uh. Hradiště, Šafaříkova 275,	soukromík bez výdělku	1890	žid,
12	Irena Adlerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1896	židovka,
13	Pavel Adler	---"	syn školák, žije u rodičů	1924	žid,
14	Margeta Adlerová	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. čp. 65	židovka , soukromice, švadlena	1906	židovka,
15	Ervin Adler	---"	obch. příručí fy. L. Berger	1907	žid,
16	Josef Berg	Uh. Hradiště, Hradební 522	advokát v. v. praxi nekoná	1858	žid,
17	Anna Bergová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1867	židovka,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Zaměstnání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
18	Štěpán Berg	Uh.Hradiště, Kollárova 368	advokát, JUDr. praxi nekoná	1894	žid,
19	Greta Berg-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1910	židovka,
20	Eva Berg-ová	---"	dcera, školačka u rodičů	1931	židovka,
21	Jiří Berg	---"	syn, žije u rodičů	1936	žid,
22	Elsa Bergerová	Uh.Hradiště, Švehlova čp.136	vdova, spolač. velkoobchodu látkami	1892	židovka
23	Hardy Berger	---"	syn, vypomáha v obchodě	1924	žid,
24	Ludvík Berger	Uh.Hradiště, Švehlova ul.136	velkoobchod látkami	1879	žid,
25	Marta Berger-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1892	židovka,
26	Amalie Blum-ová	Uh.Hradiště, Fandrlíkova 60	vdova, majitelka domu	1877	židovka,
27	Leopold Braun	Uh.Hradiště, Rašínova čp.1	velkoobchod vínem, vinárna	1873	žid,
28	Stefi Braun-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1880	židovka,
29	Hugo Braun	Uh.Hradiště, Rašínova ul.čp.1	velkoobchod vínem	1906	žid,
30	Hilda Braun-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1914	židovka,
31	Kurt Braun	Uh.Hradiště, Hradební čp.201,	býv.továrník, nyní soukromík	1895	žid,
32	Greta Braun-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1898	židovka,
33	Arnošt Braun	---"	syn, školák u rodičů	1925	žid,
34	Vilém Braun	Uh.Hradiště, Mariánské nám. čp.127	obchod krátkým zbožím a prádlem	1880	žid,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
55	Otto Braunn	Uh.Hradiště, Kollárova 306	destilace borovičky	1885	žid,
56	Elsa Braunn-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1900	židovka,
57	Judita Braunn-ová	---"	dcera, školačka u rodičů	1932	židovka,
58	Artur Brauner	Uh.Hradiště, Rašínova čp.1	MUDr., lékař praxi provádí	1867	žid,
59	Irma Braunerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1884	židovka,
60	Arnošt Brauner	---"	syn, strojní zámečník	1919	žid,
61	Norbert Brunn	Uh.Hradiště, Mariánské nám.127	obchod textilii a látky	1882	žid,
62	Adela Brunn-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1885	židovka,
63	Zigmund Brunn	Uh.Hradiště, Mariánské nám.127	obchodník, nyní soukromík	1909	žid,
64	Marketa Brunn-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1911	židovka,
65	Miriam Brunnová	---"	dítě žije u rodičů	1933	židovka,
66	Lea Brunn-ová	---"	---"	1934	židovka,
67	Hana Brunn-ová	---"	---"	1938	židovka,
68	Emanuel Blau	Uh.Hradiště, ul. Sv.Václava 517	prodej panských látek	1907	žid, slovenský státní příslušník
69	Gerta Blau-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1908	---"
70	Eva Blau-ová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1936	---"
71	Rižena Brunn-ová	Uh.Hradiště, Mariánské nám.127	soukromice, návštěvou,	1856	židovka, říš.něm. státní příslušn. <i>Mo</i>
72	Marketa Bock-ová	Uh.Hradiště, Hradební 201	soukromice, návštěvou,	1889	židovka, říš.něm. státní příslušn.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

Číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
33	Richard Boock	Uh. Hradiště, Švahlova čp. 132	obchodní cestující	1899	žid,
34	Aloice Boock-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1904	židovka,
35	Bedvika Bleier-ová	Uh. Hradiště, na Morávce 616	vdova po řed. Jaroš. pivov.	1886	židovka,
36	Kurt Bleier	---"	soukr. úředník bez zaměstn.	1910	v r. 1938 přestoupil oba na řím. kat. víru, oba jsou židovského původu
37	Ervin Bleier	---"	JUDr. a učeň automechanik	1915	
38	Arnold Blum	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 127	vdovec, soukromík	1866	žid,
39	Bernarth Blum	---"	syn, JUDr., advokát, praxi nekoná	1906	žid,
40	Edita Brettschneider	Uh. Hradiště, Masarykovo nám. 8	prořadka obuvi "Erpo"	1917	židovka,
41	Růžena Donathová	Uh. Hradiště, Švahlova ul. 128	vdova, obchod konfekci	1888	židovka,
42	Erich Donath	---"	syn, vypománá v obchodě	1914	žid,
43	Hugo Donath	---"	syn, vypománá v obchodě	1920	žid,
44	Isidor Donath	Uh. Hradiště, Františkánská 141	obch. cestující	1870	žid,
45	Kamila Donath-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1878	židovka,
46	Richard Donath	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Sv. Václava 382	JUDr., úř. u okr. fin. řed. mimo službu	1887	žid, vystoupil z víry a jest bez vyznání,
47	Jakub Ehrenzweig	Uh. Hradiště, Františkánská 141	obchodník vejci a máslem	1856	žid,
48	Ludvík Eisner	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 127	soukromík	1868	žid,
49	Emilie Eisner-ová	---"	žena, v domácnosti	1872	židovka,
50	Jakub Echnsweig	Uh. Hradiště, Františkánská 141	soukromík	1856	žid,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

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č. slo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka
1	Valter Eisinger	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul. 136	akv. úř. u obchod. L. Bergra	1898	Žid,
2	Charlota Eisingerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1901	Židovka
3	Josef Eisinger	---"	syn, žije u rodičů	1934	Žid,
4	Amálie Ernstová	Uh. Hradiště, Kramářovo nábř. 457	vdova, v domácnosti	1861	Židovka,
5	Emil Ernst	---"	soukromý úředník	1880	Žid,
6	Adolf Fleischman	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské n. 125	vrch. kontrolor v. v.	1860	Žid,
7	Elsa Fleischmanová	---"	manželka v domácnosti	1876	Židovka,
8	František Fleischman	---"	JUDr., advokát praxi neprov.	1899	Žid,
9	Irena Fleischmanová	---"	dcera, jest u rodičů	1902	Židovka,
10	Amálie Fleischmanová	---"	dcera, dámská krejčová	1907	Židovka,
11	Max Frankl	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 368	dest. borovičky a lihoviny	1884	Žid,
12	Greta Franklová	---"	manželka, je ochrnutá	1892	Židovka,
13	Mořic Fuchs	Uh. Hradiště, Na splávku čp. 388	vrch. kantor žid. náb. obce	1874	Žid,
14	Rudolfa Fuchs-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1892	Židovka,
15	Erna Fuchs-ová	Uh. Hradiště, Vodní ul. čp. 112	vdova, obchod barvami	1911	Židovka, vystoupila ze židovské víry
16	Berta Fürst-ová	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul. 135	vdova, soukromice	1870	Židovka,
17	Otto Fuchs	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 81	drogista bez zaměstnání	1894	Žid,
18	Kurt Frank	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 263	MUDR. lékař praxi neprov.	1911	Žid,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

Číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka
9	Otto Firth	Uh. Hradiště, Marianské n.123	obchodník bez zaměstn.	1896	žid,
10	Rudolfína Firth-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1903	židovka,
11	Karel Firth	---"	dítě, školák u rodičů	1931	žid,
12	Hermína Grünmová	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Přemysla Ot.86	vdova, obchod kůží a kopyt	1888	židovka,
13	Karel Grünm	---"	syn, obuvnický učeň	1921	žid,
14	Mořic Gross	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Přemysla Ot.87	chudý, židov. náb. obce	1870	žid,
15	David Grünfeld	Uh. Hradiště, Marianské nám.125	velkoobch. zem. plodinami	1867	žid,
16	Markus Grünfeld	---"	v podniku u otce	1900	žid,
17	Amálie Grünfeld-ová	---"	žena Markuse v domácnosti	1903	židovka,
18	Otto Grünfeld	---"	syn Markuse, u rodičů	1931	žid,
19	Richard Grünfeld	---"	zeměstnán u otce Davida	1904	žid,
20	Hedvika Grünfeld-ová	---"	žena Richarda v domácnosti	1915	židovka,
21	Eduard Grünhut	Uh. Hradiště, Plotzkarova 49	obchodník na odpočinku	1876	žid,
22	Regina Grünhut-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1878	židovka,
23	Kamila Hénová	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul.132	vdova, soukromice	1872	židovka,
24	Pavel Hahn	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova ul.171	zubní lékař praxí neprov.	1899	žid,
25	Tolla Hahn-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1900	židovka,
26	Kateřina Hahn-ová	---"	dcera žije u rodičů	1933	židovka,
27	Renata Hahn-ová	---"	---"	1937	židovka,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

č. slo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
08	Růžena Hahn-ová	Uh.Hradiště, ul. Krále Matyáše 29	česká krejčovská, svobodná	1878	židovka,
09	Šimon Hájek	Uh.Hradiště, Rašínova ul.171	obchodník na odpočinku	1866	žid,
10	Berta Hájková	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1871	židovka,
11	Emil Hönig	Uh.Hradiště, Františkovská 140	obchod látkami, textilie	1879	žid,
12	Richard Hönig	---"	syn, zaměstnan u otce	1912	žid,
13	Kateřina Hönig-ová	---"	dcera, vypomáhá v obchodě	1919	židovka,
14	Idda Hönig-ová	---"	---"	1920	židovka,
15	Erich Hürsch	Uh.Hradiště, ul. Jana Žižky 517	JUDr.doktor okr.fin.ř.m.sl.	1903	žid,
16	Blanka Hürsch-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1912	židovka,
17	Berta Hürsch-ová	---"	vdova, matka Ericha	1867	židovka
18	Olga Hürsch-ová	---"	návštěvou u bratra Ericha	1892	židovka,
19	Ervín Jelínek	Uh.Hradiště, Velehradská 199	výroba lihovin a borovičky	1894	žid,
20	Elli Jelinková	---"	manželka, v domácnosti,	1907	židovka,
21	Lina Jelinková	---"	soukromice	1870	židovka,
22	Fanny Jelinková	---"	soukromice	1871	židovka,
23	Mořic Jellinek	Uh.Hradiště, Mariánské nám.69	JUDr., advokát praxí neprov.	1874	žid,
24	Eliška Jellinková	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1880	židovka,
25	Gisella Kolbánová	Uh.Hradiště, Švehlova 136	soukromice a vyměkačka	1866	židovka,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

Číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště,	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
25	Alfred Krakauer	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova ul. 1.	obchodník neprovozuje	1900	žid,
27	Greta Krakauer-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti,	1903	židovka,
28	Lotty Krakauer-ová	---"	dítě, školačka u rodičů	1928	židovka,
29	Bedřich Krakauer	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1933	žid,
30	Majer Kahan	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova ul. 1.	MUDr., zubní lékař	1902	žid, maďarský stát. příslušník,
31	Růžena Kahan-ová	---"	MUDr., zubní lékařka	1906	---"
32	Alis Kahan-ová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1935	---"
33	Ruth Kahan-ová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1937	---"
34	Vilem Kann	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova ul. 4.	obchodník na odpočinku	1874	žid,
35	Luiše Kann-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1870	židovka,
36	Hugo Kann	---"	syn, učí se čalouníkem	1908	žid, vystoupil ze žid. víry,
37	Max Kann	Uh. Hradiště, Hradební ul. 522	krejčí, živnost neprovozuje	1909	žid,
38	Růžena Kann-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1914	židovka,
39	Stelka Kanner-ová	Uh. Hradiště, Na splávku čp. 388	vdova po kantoru žid. n. o.	1876	židovka,
40	Marketa Kanner-ová	---"	dcera, soukr. úř. bez zam.	1912	židovka,
41	Olga Kanner-ová	---"	dcera, žije u matky	1919	židovka,
42	Josef Klinger	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul. 128	soukromík	1856	žid,
43	Josefina Klinger-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1892	židovka,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka,
144	Irma Klein-ová	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 125	soukromice	1890	Židovka,
145	Emil Kohn	Uh. Hradiště, Františkovská 165	obchodní cestující	1892	Žid,
146	Flora Kohn-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1902	Židovka,
147	Editha Kohn-ová	---"	dcera, školačka u rodičů	1928	Židovka,
148	Teresie Kohn-ová	---"	vdova, matka Emila Kohna	1882	Židovka,
149	Erich Kohn	+---"	oboh. cestující syn Teresie	1905	Žid,
150	Emil Kollek	Uh. Hradiště, Palackého nám. 293	JUDr., advokát praxi neprov.	1866	Žid,
151	Ida Kollková	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1881	Židovka,
152	Magda Kohn-ová	Uh. Hradiště, Františkovská 165	školačka žije u rodičů	1929	Židovka, dítě Emila Kohna, uved. poř. 145
153	Emil Křiváček	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova ul. 9	obchodník na odpočinku	1872	Žid,
154	Julie Křiváčková	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1869	Židovka,
155	Frieda Křiváčková	---"	dcera, žije u rodičů	1911	Židovka,
156	Otto Křiváček	---"	obchod krátkým zbožím	1899	Žid,
157	Greta Křiváčková	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1913	Židovka,
158	Alfred Löffler	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 127	obch. příručí u fy. Brunn	1910	Žid,
159	Karla Löffler-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1912	Židovka,
160	Ludvík Löffler	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1938	Žid,
161	Cecilie Lanzerová	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 81	vdova, nálev lihovin	1871	Židovka,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

Číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
62	Viktor Lanser	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 121	Výroba lihovin a štáv	1876	žid,
63	Frieda Lanser-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1880	židovka,
64	Kurt Lanser	---"	syn a společ. firmy	1905	žid,
65	Lev Lanser	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 123	prodej a výroba lihovin	1895	žid,
66	Olga Lanser-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1896	židovka,
67	Karel Lanser	---"	syn, školák u rodičů	1926	žid,
68	Pavel Lanser	---"	---"	1932	žid,
69	Valter Löff	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova čp. 161	obchodní cestující	1894	žid,
70	Marta Löffová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1899	židovka,
71	Adela Löffová	---"	dcera, švadlena učnice	1921	židovka,
72	Adolf Löff	---"	syn, školák u rodičů	1924	žid,
73	Karel Löwenrosen	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova čp. 43	obch. příručí u E. Blau	1912	žid,
74	Löwy Laura	Uh. Hradiště, Velehradská 246	majitelka domu	1891	židovka,
75	Cecilie Märzová	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 266	soukromice	1867	židovka,
76	Vítězslav Morgenstern	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 367	továrna, dřevoprůmysl	1883	žid,
77	Elsa Morgensternová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1900	židovka,
78	Ladislav Morgenstern	---"	učení na stolářství doma	1923	žid,
79	Felix Morgenstern	---"	dítě, školák u rodičů	1925	žid,
80	Hermína Morgensternová	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova čp. 11	soukromice	1862	židovka,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
1	Max Munk	Uh. Hradiště, Zborovská 610	konfekce, koberce, záclony	1895	žid,
2	Františka Munk-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1902	židovka,
3	Pavel Munk	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1932	žid,
4	Eva Munk-ová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1936	židovka,
5	Evženie Müllerová	Uh. Hradiště, Hradební čp. 188	soukromice	1870	židovka,
6	Oskar Mayer	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 306	výr. prádla, soukromík	1892	žid,
7	Kamila Mayerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1895	židovka,
8	Liana Mayerová	---"	dcera, školáčka u rodičů	1929	židovka,
9	Berta Plačková	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Sv. Václava 517	soukromice	1880	židovka,
10	Gilly Plačková	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 65	soukromice	1875	židovka,
11	Anna Politzerová	Uh. Hradiště, Masarykovo nám. 8	prodej obuvi "Erpo"	1915	židovka,
12	Šarka Spilmanová	Uh. Hradiště, Vodní ul. 112	v obchodě barvy laky	1896	Slovenská st. př. židovka,
13	Lev Riesenfeld	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova 172	obchodník na odpočinku	1878	žid,
14	Hermína, Riesenfeldová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1882	židovka,
15	Hugo Riesenfeld	---"	syn, obchod koberci	1906	žid,
16	Alfred Riesenfeld	---"	syn u rodičů	1915	žid,
17	Jindřich Reisenfeld	---"	---"	1918	žid,
18	Rudolf Riesenfeld	---"	---"	1918	žid,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

č. s.	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště,	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka
29	Rudolf Strüssler	Uh. Hradiště, Masarykovo nám. 15	Velkoobchod skolonialní	1893	žid,
30	Lili Strüsslerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1894	židovka,
31	Gideon Strüssler	---"	syn, doma u rodičů	1920	žid,
32	Jan Seelenfried	Uh. Hradiště, Masarykovo nám. 35	ředitel průmysl. banky	1895	žid,
33	Editha Seelenfriedová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1909	židovka,
34	Fanny Stiasná	Uh. Hradiště, Stará pošta 107	vdova, soukromice	1881	židovka,
35	Bedřich Stiasný	---"	syn, obch. příručí fy. Berger	1909	žid,
36	Emil Sternlúst	Uh. Hradiště, Zborovská 610	obch. příručí u fmy. Record	1909	žid,
37	Geltrúda Sternlúst-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1910	židovka,
38	Arnošt Sternlúst	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1937	žid,
39	Oskar Stössler	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 123	restaurater Zelený strom	1896	žid,
40	Irma Stössler-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1895	židovka,
41	Kurt Schorr	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova 9	školač, na vychování	1927	u obch. Křiváčka žid,
42	Josefa Schönová	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova ul. 1.	prodáváčka ve vinárně	1912	židovka,
43	Elsa Schönová	---"	---"	1913	židovka,
44	Marta Schanzerová	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova ul. 9.	soukromice, návštěvou	1906	židovka,
45	Karel Schindler	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul. 40	obchod smýšelným zbožím	1879	žid,
46	Irena Schindlerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1887	židovka,
47	Terezie Schindlerová	---"	dcera, prodáváčka u Munka	1911	židovka,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

Číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
8	Arnost Schindler	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul. 40	obchodní cestující	1912	žid,
9	Brahmíra Schindlerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1914	židovka,
10	Vítězslav Schindler	Uh. Hradiště, Kolářova 266	úředník pojišťovny	1883	žid,
11	Anna Schindlerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1887	židovka,
12	Berta Schindlerová	---"	doera, doma u rodičů	1919	židovka,
13	Šva Schindlerová	---"	---"	1925	židovka,
14	Adela Schlesingerová	Uh. Hradiště, Na Splávku 208	soukromice	1876	židovka,
15	Isidor Schlesinger	---"	úředník, bez zaměstnání	1878	žid,
16	Růžena Schlesingerová	---"	soukromice	1879	židovka,
17	Vít Tauber	Uh. Hradiště, Hradební ul. 188	škpt. býv. čs. armády	1891	žid,
18	Elsa Tauber-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1896	židovka,
19	Sigmund Trost	Uh. Hradiště, Masarykovo n. 156	soukromík	1870	žid,
20	Rudolf Tausig	Uh. Hradiště, Pačlákovo nám. 349	akv. úředník a obch. cest.	1879	žid,
21	Anna Tausig-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1879	židovka,
22	Ignác Thoreš	Uh. Hradiště, Stará Pošta 84	obchod kůžkami a vejci	1866	žid,
23	Irma Thorešová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1881	židovka,
24	Ludvík Taus	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul. 40	Ing. bez zaměstnání	1882	žid,
25	Ernestie Taus-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1888	židovka,
26	George Taus	---"	syn doma u rodičů	1923	žid,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
5	Arnošt Vogl	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 335	obchod kůžemi a péřím	1904	žid,
7	Erna Vogl-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1904	židovka,
8	Juditha Vogl-ová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1934	židovka,
9	Arnold Weiner	Uh. Hradiště, Na Splávku 388	MUDr., zubní lékař v.v.	1871	žid,
10	Arnošt Weitzmann	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul. 136	obch. cestuj. u fy. Berger	1898	žid,
11	Bedřiška Weitzmannová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1906	židovka,
12	Geltruda Weitzmannová	---"	dcera, školačka u rodičů	1931	židovka,
13	Otto Winter	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 234	JUDr., advokát praxi neprov.	1862	žid,
14	Klotilda Winter-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1868	židovka,
15	Jakub Wodak	Uh. Hradiště, Pražákova 95	obchodník semeny	1857	žid,
16	Sofie Wodak-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1862	židovka,
17	Anna Fischerová	---"	nateř, vede domácnost	1905	židovka,
18	Eliška Weisseblütová	Uh. Hradiště, nám. Kramářovo 457	vdova, soukromice	1888	židovka,
19	Olga Weissblüthová	---"	dcera, žije u matky,	1910	židovka,
20	Otilie Winter-ová	Uh. Hradiště, Rašínova ul. 173	vdova po advokátu	1879 8	židovka,
21	Šimon Winter	---"	pekařský pomocník	1910	žid,
22	Leopold Weiner	Uh. Hradiště, Eborovská 610	obchodník na odpočinku	1855	žid,
23	Adela Weiner-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1877	židovka,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

číslo	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
54	Vítězslav Weil	Uh. Hradiště, Švehlova ul. 43	řezník a uzenář	1887	žid,
55	Elsa Weil-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1897	židovka,
56	Hanuš Weil	---"	syn, doma u rodičů	1921	žid,
57	František Weil	---"	---"	1923	žid,
58	Arnoštka Weissová	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 72	majitelka domu soukromice	1906	židovka,
59	Editha Weissová	---"	dcera, školačka u matky,	1929	židovka,
60	Ruth Weissová	---"	dcera, žije u matky,	1935	židovka,
61	Hermina Weissová	---"	matka Arnošty a vymínkařka	1869	židovka,
62	Vítězslav Weiss	Uh. Hradiště, Na Morávce čp. 605	Ing., dřevopřemyslu "Hamo"	1895	žid,
63	Erna Weiss-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1903	židovka,
64	Selma Joklová	---"	tchyně a vymínkařka	1872	židovka,
65	Otto Windholz	Uh. Hradiště, Plotzkarova 49	obchodník bez obchodu	1905	žid,
66	Miczi Windholz-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1908	židovka,
67	Věra Windholz-ová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1938	židovka,
68	Ignác Ziegler	Uh. Hradiště, Jiráskova 326	rolník na odpočinku	1859	žid,
69	Terezie Zieglerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1860	židovka,
70	Amálie Zieglerová	---"	dcera, vede hospodářství	1884	židovka,
71	Vilém Ziegler	Uh. Hradiště, Mariánské nám. 69	komisionářství nákupu slámy	1886	žid,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

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No.	Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště,	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
72	Osidor Sieglér	Uh. Hradiště, Pražákova 97	obchod kůží a brašnářství	1888	žid,
73	Margita Sieglérová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1892	židovka,
74	Věra Sieglérová	---"	dcera, doma u rodičů	1921	židovka,
75	Stella Sieglérová	---"	---	1923	židovka,
76	Berthold Sieglér	---"	syn, učeň na brašnářství	1925	žid,
77	Jindřich Zweigenthal	Uh. Hradiště, Fandrlíkova ul. 180	obchodník na odpočinku	1862	žid,
78	Marie Zweigenthalová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1887	židovka,
79	Rudolf Zweig	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova ul. 335	obchod kůžemi a péřím	1888	žid,
80	Eri Zweig-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1897	židovka,
81	Eugen Furst	Uh. Hradiště, nám. Palackého čp. 293	MUDr., lékař praxi provádí	1902	žid,
82	Mariame Furstová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1908	židovka,
83	Hanna Furstová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1936	židovka,
84	Mojmír Bychler	Uh. Hradiště, Rostislavova 575	JUDr., náměst. notáře	1901	žid, přestoupil na českobratr. vyznání
85	Marie Bychlerová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1903	arijka, má za manžela žida
86	Eva Bychlerová	---"	dcera, školačka u rodičů	1929	obě děti míšenci otec žid. původu matka arijka
87	Ivo Bychler	---"	syn, žije u rodičů	1935	
88	Imre Aufferber	Uh. Hradiště, Na Morávce čp. 616	obch. cestuj. u fy. Standart	1906	žid a Maďarský státní příslušník
89	Zdenka Aufferberová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1918	arijka, má za manžela žida
90	Marcela Aufferberová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1939	otec žid, matka arijka, míšenec.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
Otto Baucza	Uh. Hradiště, Zborovská ul. 455	úředník Jaroš, pivovaru	1903	otec arijského, matka židovského původu
Jaroslava Bauczová	---	manželka, v domácnosti	1909	arijka, má za muže míšence žid. původu
Petr Baucza	---	dítě, žije u rodičů	1938	otec míšenec žid. pův., matka arijka
Emanuel Freund	Uh. Hradiště, nám. Tyršovo čp. 395	obchodní cestující	1901	žid, bez vyznání
Lumíra Freundová	---	manželka, v domácnosti	1903	arijka, má za manžela žida
Zdeněk Freund	---	syn, studující VI reál. gymn.	1923	míšenci, otec žid, matka arijka.
Blanka Freundová	---	dcera, školáčka u rodičů	1929	---
František Kulka	Uh. Hradiště, Fandrlíkova ul. 60	soukromý úředník	1904	žid, pokřtěn a jest řim. kat. vyznání
Matylda Kulková	---	manželka, v domácnosti	1906	arijka, má za muže žida
Evžen Kulka	---	syn, žije u rodičů	1933	míšenci, otec žid, matka arijka.
Eva Kulková	---	dcera, žije u rodičů	1939	Všichni jsou příslušníci státu Slovenského
Metoděj Chrástek	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Jiřího z Poděbrad čp. 412	krejčovský pomocník	1905	arijec, má manželku židovského původu
Revigie Chrástková	---	manželka, v domácnosti	1912	židovka, pokřtěna má za muže arijce
Leo Spitz	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Jana Žižky 520	bankovní úředník	1905	žid, má za manželku arijku
Marie Spitzová	---	manželka a profesorka	1909	arijka, má za muže žida
Zdeněk Römer	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 306	obchodník dřevem	1899	arijec, má za manželku židovku
Ella Römerová	---	manželka, v domácnosti	1900	židovka, má za muže arijce
Běla Hönigová	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Františkánská 141	vdova, prodavačka v obchodě	1902	arijka, v r. 1929 se provdala za žida a od r. 1936 jest vdovou a se židem nežije

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

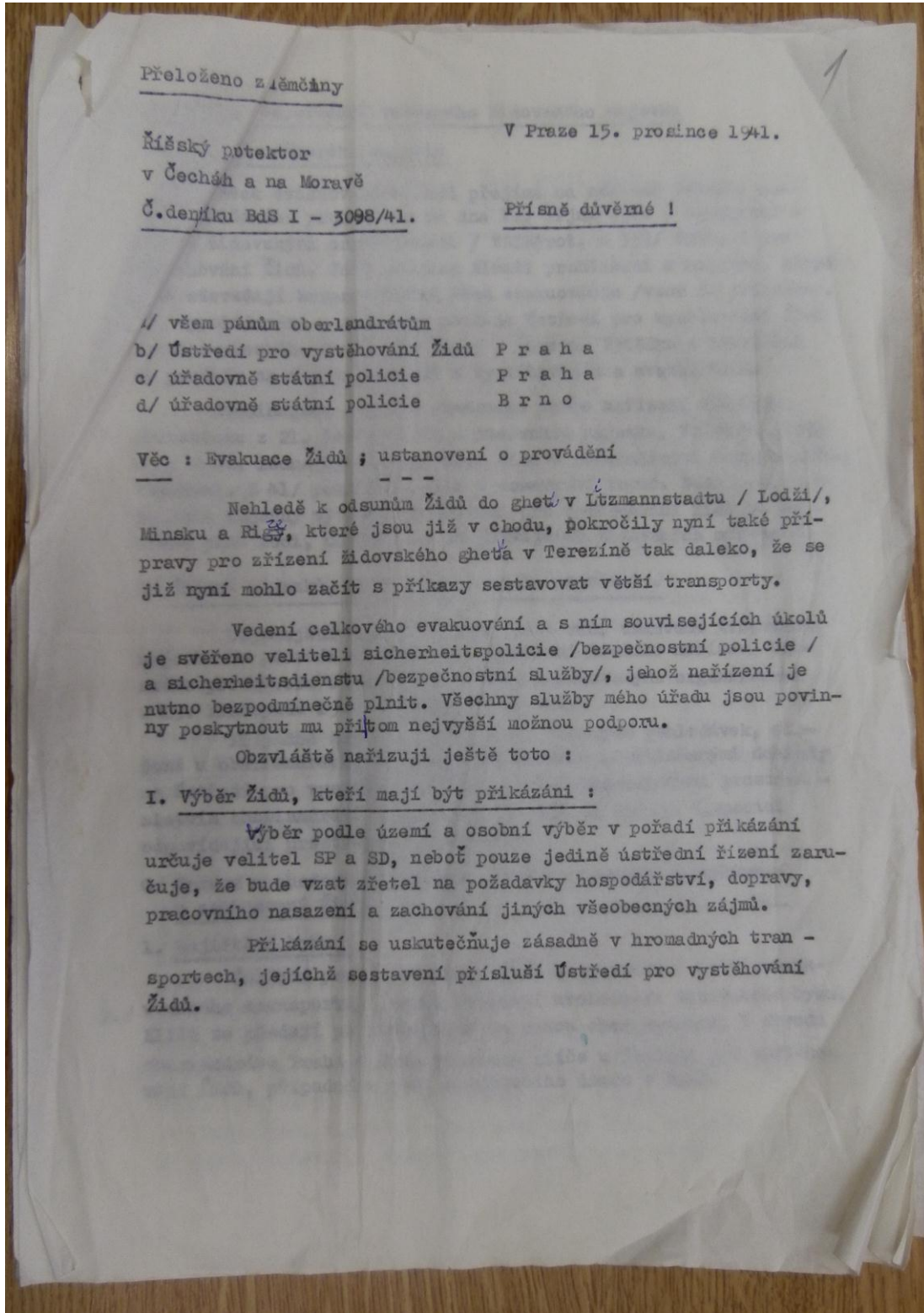
+ 18 -

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Jméno a příjmení	Bydliště	Povolání	Rok narození	Poznámka.
Karel Hönig	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Františkánská čp. 140	dítě, žije u matky		
Diana Hönig-ová	---"	---	1930	míšenci, otec žid matka arijka. Otec v roce 1936 zemřel
Jan Kašpar	Uh. Hradiště, ul. Sv. Václava 426	zástupce Re-publ. pojišť.	1896	arijec, má za manželku židovku
Elsa Kašparová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1904	židovka, má za muže arijce
Miloš Kašpar	---"	syn, v domě svých rodičů	1931	otec, ariec, matka židovka
Otto Stein	---"	nevlastní syn Jana Kašpara	1924	žid, s prvního manželství Else Kašpařové
Jan Pipal	Uh. Hradiště, Vodní ul. čp. 112	soudní úřed-v. v.	1873	arijec, má za manželku židovku
Luisa Pipalová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1867	židovka, má za muže arijce
Emil Pipal	---"	obchodník a zást. pojišť.	1899	otec arijec, matka židovka, míšenec
Anna Pipalová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1915	židovka, má za muže míšence
Jitka Pipalová	---"	dítě, žije u rodičů	1939	otec míšenec, matka židovka
Ervin Dannenberg	Uh. Hradiště, Hradební ul. 203	soudní rada v. v.	1892	žid, od r. 1915 bez vyznání
Anděla Dannenbergová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1895	arijka, má za muže žida
Thea Dannenbergová	---"	dcera, žije u rodičů	1923	děti míšenci, otec židovského původu matka jest arijka
Leonard Dannenberg	---"	syn, žije u rodičů	1927	děti jsou vychovávané, co křesťané
Emil Noščák	Uh. Hradiště, Kollárova 607	soukromý úředník	1908	arijec, má za manželku židovku
Alma Noščák-ová	---"	manželka, v domácnosti	1913	židovka, má za muže arijce
Jan Pipal	Uh. Hradiště, Vodní ul. 112	úředník u fy. Patra	1898	míšenec, otec ari-jec, matka židovka žid. vyznání nebyl, má ženu arijku.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

APPENDIX P IV: THE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE EVACUATION OF JEWS FROM THE PROTECTORATE



Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

II. Zajištění a uspořádání veškerého židovského majetku

A/ Převzetí veškerého majetku

Majetek evakuovaných Židů přejímá na základě Druhého nařízení říšského protektora ze dne 12. října 1941 o zacházení s Židy a židovskými organizacemi / VBIRProt. S 555/ Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů. Jako podklad slouží prohlášení o majetku, které Židé odevzdají bezprostředně před evakuováním /vzor je přiložen/. Při vypořádávání s majetkem použije Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů Vystěhovaleckého fondu pro Čechy a Moravu. Výtěžku z likvidací se použije na úhradu nákladů s vystěhováním a evakuováním.

Probíhající arizace /Směrnice podle nařízení říšského protektora z 21. června 1939 o židovském majetku, VBIRProt.S 45/ a / z 26. ledna 1940 k vyřazení Židů z hospodářství Protektorátu, VBIRProt. S 41/ pokračuje dále v dosavadní formě. Bude pouze požadován konečný výtěžek od Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů na základě plné moci, udělené mu od dřívějších židovských majitelů.

B/ Řešení závazků, které Židé nechali otevřené .

Uspokojení nároků třetích osob vůči takovému židovskému majetku se provádí na základě ustanovení Třetího nařízení říšského protektora o zacházení s Židy a židovskými organizacemi z 19. listopadu 1941 / VBIRProt. S. 642/.

Případné žádosti o zaplacení takových pohledávek, uložené u oberlandrátů, je třeba poslat dále s příloženými doklady na Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů. Nějaké uspokojování prostřednictvím oberlandrátů nemůže být, i když by byly k dispozici odpovídající prostředky v hotovosti.

C/ Správa a zhodnocení majetku, který zanechali vystěhovaní a evakuovaní Židé

1. Zajištění bytu :

Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů se postará u právě sestaveného transportu o řádné uzamčení uvolněného židovského bytu. Klíče se předají po transportu do rukou oberlandráta. V obvodu oberlandráta Praha a Brno zůstanou klíče u Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů, případně u jeho spojovacího úřadu v Brně.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

2. movité předměty .

Co v jednotlivých případech si Židé smějí vzít s sebou, určuje Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů podle právě stávajících potřeb. Jedná se zde jen vždy o věci denní potřeby, které může Žid sám unést. Bytové zařízení a jiné domácí nářadí zůstane vždy na místě.

a/ Bytové zařízení a domácí nářadí.

Zpeněžení bytových zařízení a domácího nářadí / šaty, prádlo atd. / se provádí s výjimkou pro obvod oberlandrátu Praha a Brno prostřednictvím samých oberlandrátů.

Oberlandrát se proto postará ihned po odtransportování Žida o ohodnocení zanechaných předmětů bytového zařízení a domácího nářadí ~~x~~ přísežným soudním odhadcem. Po provedení odhadu se může provést odprodej buď přímo z bytu, nebo po předchozím odvezení do sběrného skladu.

Odhad a prodej musí probíhat podle lidové politických hledisek a je třeba dát přednost méně majetným soukmenovcům. Doporučuje se poučít zodpovědné referenty před průběhem takové akce, aby se předem informovali na Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů a využili jeho zkušeností na tomto úseku.

Při prodeji je třeba bezpodmínečně dohlédnout, aby odhadní cena byla zaplacená v hotovosti. Bez placení nemůže být žádný kus majetku odebrán.

Je třeba dbát na ^{náležitě} v každém ohledu řádně prokazatelný odprodej.

Za to činím pány oberlandráty osobně zodpovědnými.

Umělecké předměty a sbírky.

Umělecké předměty /jako zvláště cenné obrazy, velice cenné starožitnosti, obzvláště cenné koberce a sbírky poštovních známek, sbírky mincí atd./ je třeba vzít do zajištěné úschovy.

O druhu cenných předmětů, o bývalém majiteli a nynějším místě úschovy, pokud možno o také pravděpodobné hodnotě, je třeba podat zprávu Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů.

3./ Zhodnocení uvolněných bytů .

Uvolněnými byty disponují v rámci stávajících předpisů oberlandráty /~~Na~~řízení říšského protektora o pronajímání židovských bytů ze 7. října 1940, VBIRProt. S 511 / .

Je třeba dbát, aby byly byty, vyklizené Židy, uvolněny až ke konci činžovního období, aby pronajímatel nemohl použít

svého zástavního práva pro nedoplatky na činži.

4/ Odvádění výtěžku

Výtěžek z odprodeje movitého majetku je třeba převést na konto 1005 Vystěhovaleckého fondu pro Čechy a Moravu u České eskomptní banky. Vystěhovaleckému fondu je třeba o tom podat sdělení. Toto sdělení musí obsahovat při nejmenším jméno a příjmení bývalého židovského majitele, věc k prodeji /bytové zařízení, šatsvo atd./ odhadní cenu a výši převáděného výtěžku.

Všechny zápisy o hodnocení, prodeji a odvodu výtěžku, musí být vedeny tak, aby kdykoliv při účetní kontrole obstály.

D/ Zacházení s nemovitostmi

a/ Správa

Správu nemovitostí vystěhovaných nebo evakuovaných Židů provádí v obvodu oberlandrátu Praha a Brno Vystěhovalecký fond pro Čechy a Moravu, v ostatních obvodech oberlandrátů pak oberlandráty. Vystěhovalecký fond pro Čechy a Moravu může vzít na sebe celkovou správu nebo správu jednotlivých nemovitostí také v těchto obvodech.

Nucené správy zemědělských nemovitostí, vedené pozemkovým úřadem, jakož i nemovitostí, spravované spolu s průmyslovými podniky, správci věrné ruky, nejsou tímto nařízením dotčeny.

Správa nemovitostí se musí provádět ve jménu a na účet Vystěhovaleckého fondu pro Čechy a Moravu.

Je třeba dbát na to, aby nemovitostí byly řádně a hospodářsky využity. Je proto třeba postarat se o vhodné propachtování nebo pronájem, přičemž je třeba mít na zřeteli - co se týká výše nájemného - vyhlášku Nejvyššího cenového úřadu ze dne 24.6.1939 č. 333/VI/4/39. / Příпустné nájemné je činže skutečně zaplacená 1.3.1939/. Jákekoliv povolování výjimek potřebuje souhlas Vystěhovaleckého fondu pro Čechy a Moravu. Před prováděním větších oprav, jakož i pro náklady, které překračují výši ročních výnosů i činže, je třeba získat souhlas Vystěhovaleckého fondu pro Čechy a Moravu.

Správce musí mít vždy na zřeteli, že výnosy z nemovitostí, představují veřejné prostředky, s nimiž se může nakládat jen co nejúsporněji.

b/ Zhodnocení

Prodej židovských nemovitostí se provádí podle zásad mého výnosu ze dne 16. dubna 1941 - Bd.S. I - 189/4L - prostřednictvím Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů. Kupní nabídky je třeba Ústředí předložit.

III. Velitel SP a SD je zmocněn vydat další směrnice o správě židovských nemovitostí, pokud je řízena oberlandráty.

Dodatek pro Ústředí pro vystěhování Židů

Předsadí, aby byl pořízen krátký zápis o soupisu, odhadu, prodeji bytových zařízení a domácího nářadí, jakož i o vyúčtování výtěžku, který se může poslat oberlandrátům.

Rovněž je třeba připravit zápis, v němž budou zakotveny nejdůležitější směrnice a správy nemovitostí / použití výnosu, provádění údržbářských oprav, uzavření nájemných a pachtovních smluv atd. / .

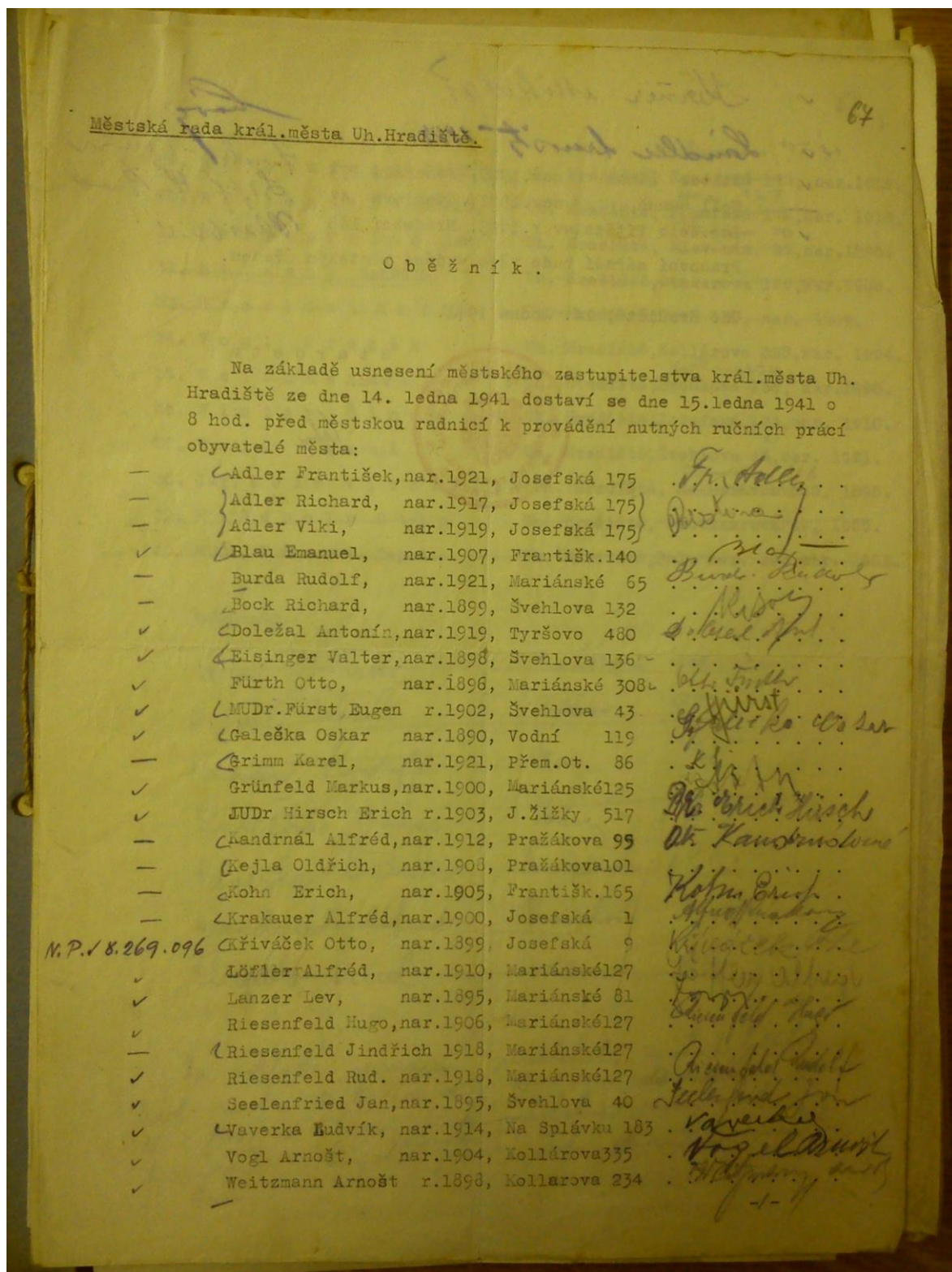
Ověřeno :
podeps. Schindler, v. r.
kancelářský pracovník.

Vedením jednání pověřený :
podepsán H e y d r i ch,
SS - Obergruppenführer a
generál policie.

Říšský protektor
v Čechách a na Moravě

Z opisu originálu
přeložila Věra Pospíšilová.

APPENDIX P V: FORCED LABOR IN UHERSKÉ HRADIŠTĚ - A LIST OF CHOSEN JEWISH INHABITANTS



Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.

- ✓ Hornér Mikuláš
- ✓ Ländler Janoš 1884
- ✓ Winter Šimon nar. 1910, Josefská 173
- Weil Hanuš, nar. 1921, Švehlova 43
- ✓ Ing. Weis Vítězslav r. 1895, Hradební 188

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Pracovní nářadí bude všem vydáno městským úřadem.

Uh. Hradiště, 14. ledna 1941.



Starosta:
v z.

Handwritten signature of the Mayor

Courtesy of the State Archive, Uherské Hradiště.