

The Hachenburg Family *of* Prague, Bohemia

The Lucky and the Unlucky – Two Important Family Profiles



Ruth Hachenburg Adelman

THE HACHENBURG FAMILY
OF
PRAGUE, BOHEMIA

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Cover photograph by Ruth H. Adelman

The spires of Prague looking toward Tyn Church on Old Town Square, 2014

To All Our Children
And
Grandchildren

I'm not done yet, but it's time to pass the torch.

You all are Hachenburgs.
Now you will know how far we have come
And how lucky we are.

In remembrance of our almost-lost cousin
Hanuš Hachenburg
Never, ever forget

And to my dear friend Leo Lowy,
and the other *Boys of Terezín*
You made it possible for us all to know Hanuš.

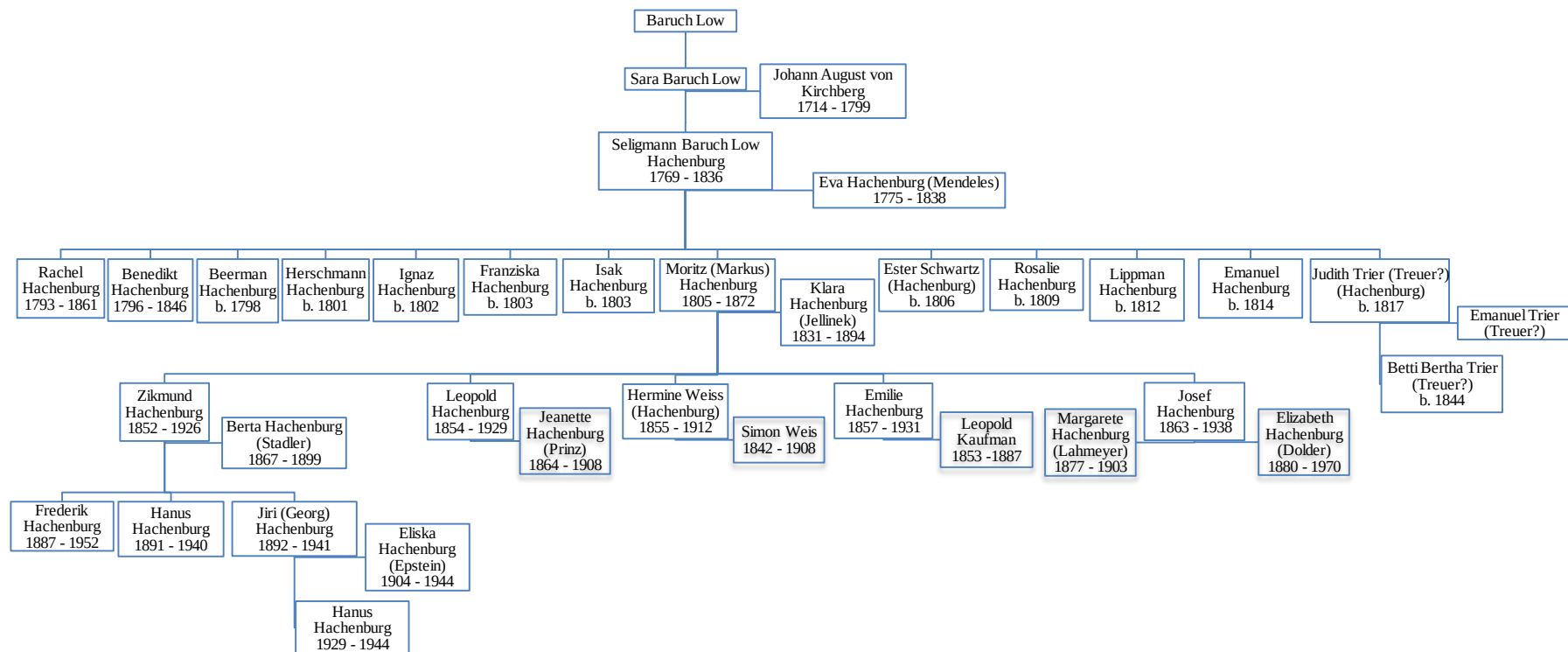
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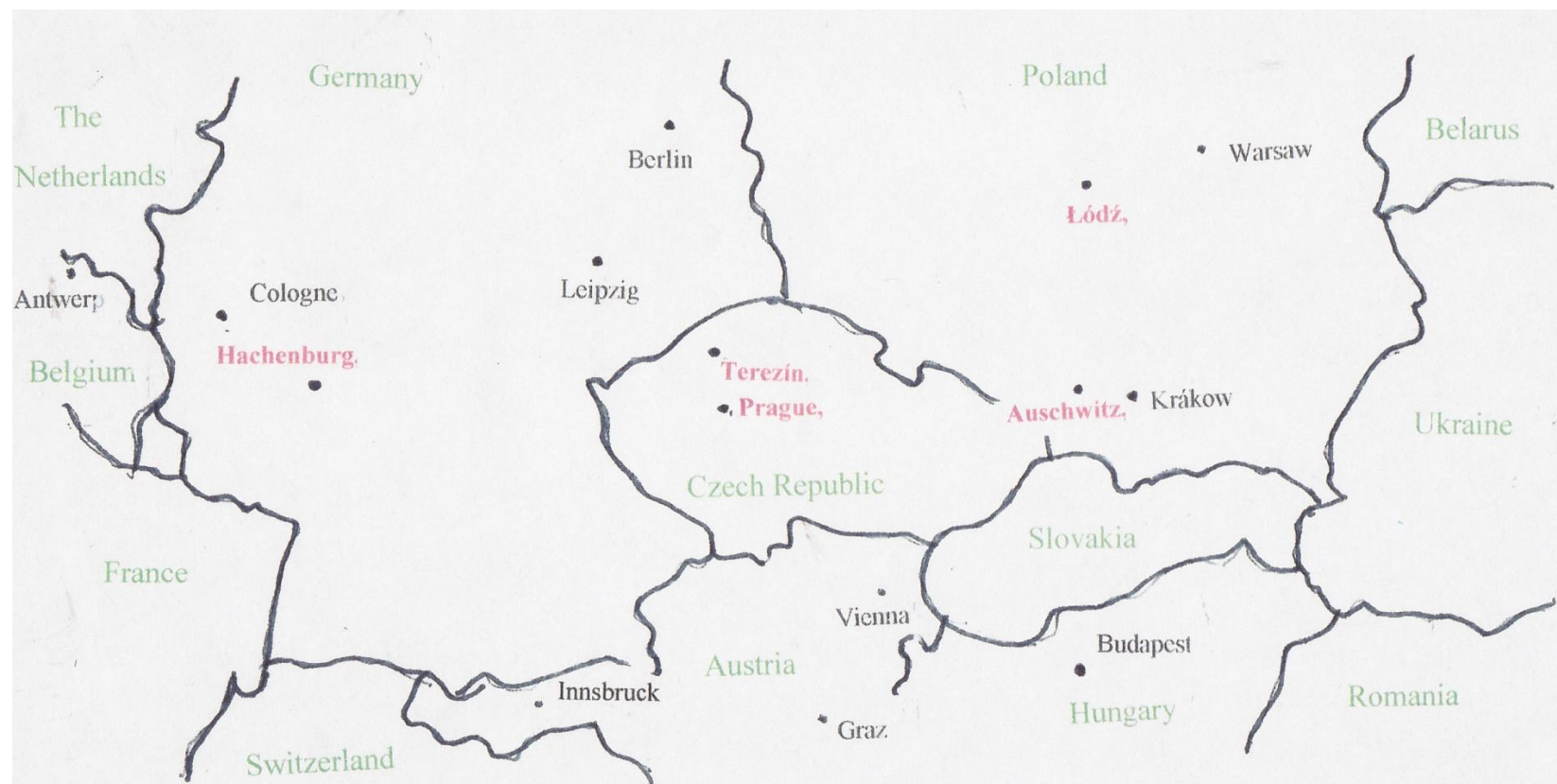
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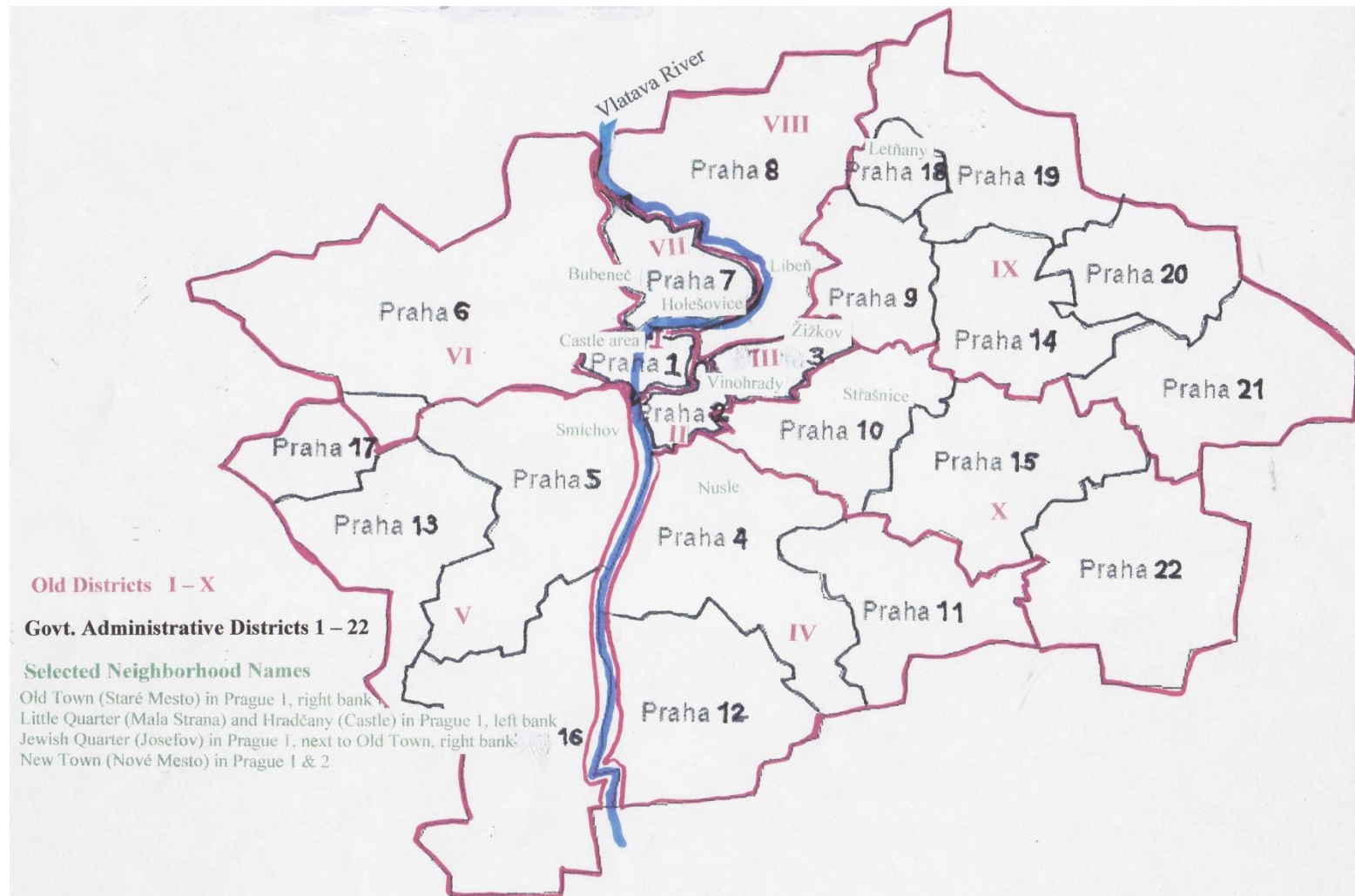
HACHENBURG FAMILY TREE

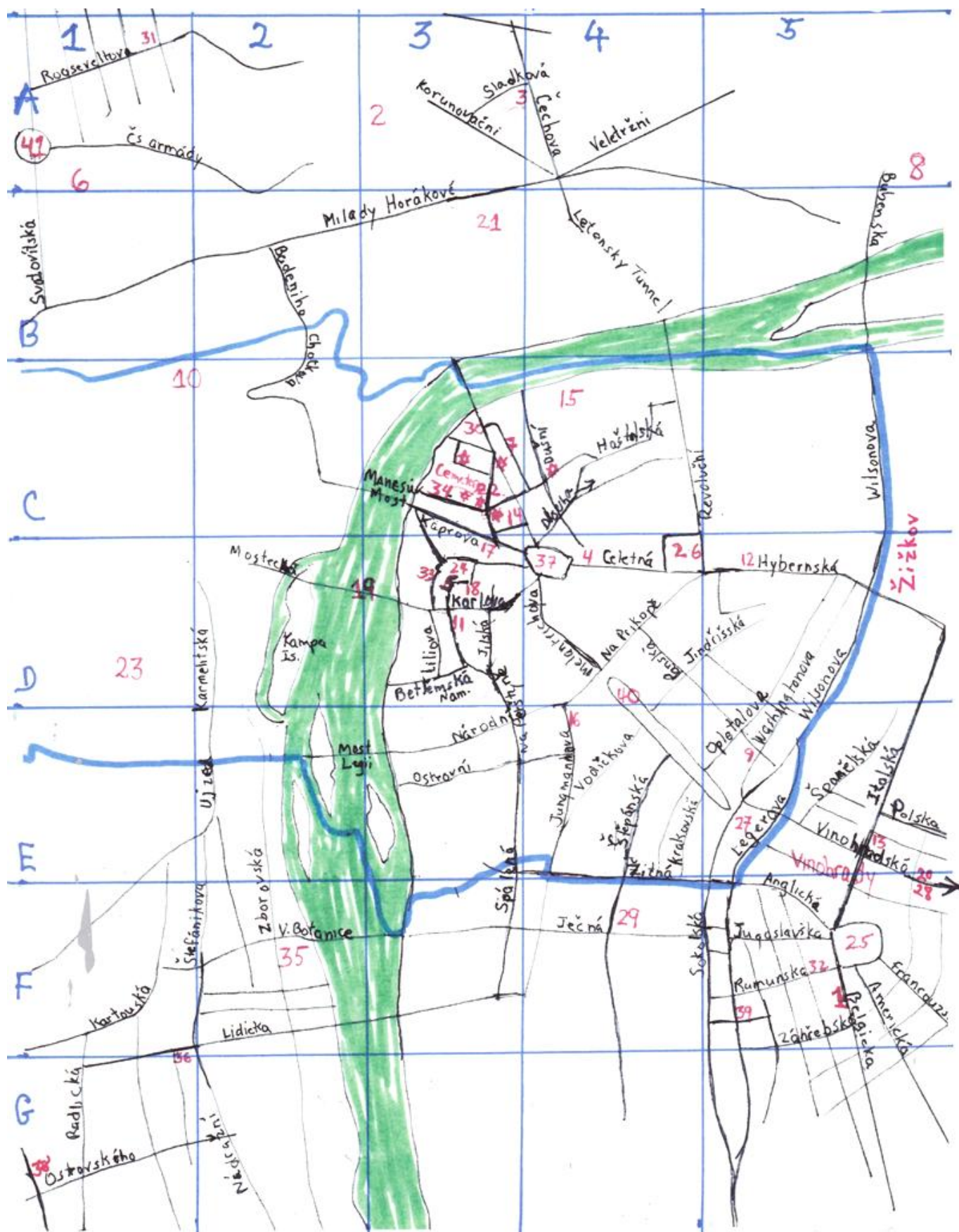


CENTRAL EUROPE TODAY



PRAGUE CITY DIVISIONS





LANDMARKS, STREETS & HACHENBURG SITES IN PRAGUE

Blue line = boundary of Prague 1

★ = synagogue in Josefov – only six remain

1. Belgická St 67/25 – the orphanage	5F
2. Bubeneč (Prague VI) – wealthy neighborhood	3A
3. Cechova St 632/15 – Jiří, Eliška, Hanuš lived there? Or his business?	4A
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the love, support, helpfulness and especially the patience of my husband of nearly fifty years, this never would have happened. Thank you Phil, for sticking with me through thick and thin, for better, for worse, for page after page of obsessing and over-thinking.

Our children, Frank and Bill, and Frank's wife Lori, have always been super helpful and supportive of these endeavors. Thank goodness for their up-to-date tech knowledge in particular! Alex, Emma, Ryan and Sara – we love you beyond reason, and hope that this will one day be an important part of your libraries. One day *your* kids will want to know where they came from. Thank you for keeping us laughing and putting things into perspective. That's one of the great things about our family – we do laugh a lot. And I mean *all* of us Hachenburgs – every get together is fun.

Another person without whom I could not possibly have done this is my sister Susan H. Reyniers. It was amazing that our first time traveling together turned into an epic family adventure. We pushed each other on and kept going, and got along well. It was like an unending treasure hunt. I would never have done on my own what we did together.

Our sister Lisa H. H. Taylor, all of Susan's and Lisa's children and grandchildren, and the cousins we grew up with in Philadelphia always have been supportive of our efforts. It really helps.

So many people that Susan and I met on our travels have become good friends and helped us discover more. Many of the following people I will talk about in greater detail in the next edition: Gary Friedman, the puppeteer who first sparked our awareness of Hanuš (and thanks, Leah Healy, for finding him!). He also brought Leo and Evelyn Lowy to our house in New Jersey. Little did we know what that would lead to.

The staff of the Jewish Museum in Prague, especially their archives section in the Spanish Synagogue, gave us some good hints that led to more archives in other parts of town. Every person we have ever met or bombarded with questions via e-mail has been very helpful, patient and pleasant.

Most often, when I sent a question to what seemed like a new official department, it was forwarded to the mailbox of PhDr. Lenka Matušíková, because really, it all comes down to her department, and to her generosity and great patience with us. We did not actually realize until quite recently that she is not just **an** archivist she is **the** one who put it all into digital form – all the information about the Jews of Prague Bohemia that are in the National Archives.

PhDr. Lenka Matušíková, from the First Department of the National Archives in Prague, has been absolutely wonderful. She helped us in person in 2010 and 2011, and answers my endless e-mails even now. She translated many parts of the records we saw, so they made sense. The old ones are so hard to read, whether in German or Czech. She found the records of all Seligmann's children, and of Jiří and Eliška's marriage and divorce. And much, much more.

Ales Hanek from the Stolpersteine organization first put us in touch with František Tíchy. Thank you, Ales. I will write more about Ales, and also František and his extraordinary school, Přírodní škola, in our next edition. He and his students are the ones who really keep Hanuš' memory alive. Their web site www.vedem-terezin is wonderful, and there are several You Tube productions you can watch of Hanuš' play being performed by the students, for example – more to tell about these kids and their mentor. And it was František who took Susan and me to Auschwitz – another weird but wonderful story!

One of the school's graduates, now at Charles University, still studies Hanuš, and we have mutual hopes of finding more definitive information about his family and life. Daniel Pražák has shared his preliminary thesis with me, and I sent him everything I could to help enlarge his knowledge of the Hachenburg family.

Kateřina Steinová, who wrote the book *Fate of a Jewish Orphanage*, was a student at the Lauder Jewish school in Prague when we met her in 2011. The school is on the site of the old orphanage, and she gave us a tour. She also very generously shared old pictures of the school interiors and pages from the enrollment records with us. This was most helpful, and Leo Lowy loved seeing them!

Since we “re-met” by telephone in 2011, Helga Hachenburg Bullard has shared pictures, and writings about the family from the treasure trove she inherited from her father, Dankmar. Her brother Victor has been quite helpful and supportive too. Thank you both very much.

Our most recent family connections are to Barbara Hachenburg, daughter of Hans Walter and Libby, in Texas, and to Gabriel Staunton in Ireland! Thank you for joining the crowd.

Mina Miller, founder of Music of Remembrance in Seattle and John Sharify, producer and director, created a film about *The Boys of Terezín* in 2011. Thank you for such a beautiful film, and David Wilderman thank you for letting me be the family’s ambassador to that opening.

Since 2011, I have been very privileged to know three of those wonderful “boys.” Sid Taussig and George Brady keep in touch by e mail, and I can ask them a question any time. Leo Lowy lived near us in New Jersey for years, but of course we never knew each other - why would we? After we did meet in 2007, we did not talk again until I phoned him before Susan’s and my first trip to Prague in 2010. He told me what dorm rooms he and Hanuš had shared and other things to look for.

After I returned, and visited with him and his wife to show my trip pictures, it was like we had become family. He shared his books, his tapes, his memories – everything. We went to several Holocaust Remembrance events together in the next years. He was so generous, so full of life. Leo died in March 2014, and I miss him very much.

And to Dad (Robert H – grandson of Leopold H. and Jenny Prinz) and Dankmar H. (son of Josef H and Elizabeth Dolder). Thank you - for all you saved and all you both wrote. I think Dad’s project put a little spark in me long ago.

And finally, Ferguson Library in Stamford, CT. Elizabeth Joseph, Information & Adult Services Coordinator was the person who had the idea and the ambition to pursue this project. Donna Zucker, professional writer and coach, has been our mentor. You two were my “kick in the pants”, as a friend said last fall. And it worked!

Thank you, thank you all.

INTRODUCTION

This book has been written to fulfill a promise I made to myself. It is my legacy to my children and grandchildren, and to all of our children and grandchildren, and everyone else descended from the Jewish Hachenburg family of Prague, some of whom I have not even met yet. So now I have a new goal – to meet in person those family members I only know by email. As soon as I have a minute.

I became the guardian of all the papers, pictures, and letters that had been in my parents' basement for almost fifty years, when Dad (Robert H.) moved from that house in Wyncote PA to an apartment in center city Philadelphia in about 1999. I swore I would get to work on it "as soon as I have time." Okay – I was still working full time then!

The family story of how we began has been passed down the generations quite similarly in all branches. So maybe it is true, or mostly true. Robert occasionally said we might be related to the Habsburg dynasty. Really? Or were we, as his best friend had suggested long ago, Perhapsburgs? Could anything be proven that far back? Not really, until the Communist regimes of Central and Eastern Europe collapsed in 1989 and the computerization of historical documents and records became widespread.

Robert wrote his memoir, *More by Chance*, about both his father's and his mother's families, in 1991 (revised in 2000). Robert and Dankmar H. had developed a wonderful friendship since meeting in 1964. Dankmar seems to have been the keeper of records for his branch of the family, and he freely shared with Robert pictures, copies of documents like Moritz's medical degree, old letters, and corrections to what Robert wrote. How I wish that Robert and Dankmar could see what we know now! Know for sure; have seen with our own eyes.

In 2007, when the Philadelphia branch had one of our now rare (we used to have them at least yearly) family parties, this one at Frank & Lori Adelman's home (a son of Ruth H.) in Darien CT, we had just learned something quite shocking. There was distant cousin that some of us had seen listed almost incidentally, just in pencil, on some family trees that had been created in the 1960's. Hanuš Hachenburg was a boy of almost 15 when he was killed in Auschwitz. No one knew any details about this, and most in our parents' generation had not spoken about the war much. Most of us (in Philadelphia at least) grew up thinking we had no relatives in Europe. It was not until that 1964 party in Hans Walter and Libby Hachenburg's apartment in Brooklyn that some of us began to realize that our family was a lot bigger than the Philadelphia relatives.

But in 2007, thanks to Leah Healy's (daughter of Lisa H. H. Taylor) Googling, she made a connection with Gary Friedman, a South African puppeteer who was searching for funding to produce a puppet play written by – Hanuš Hachenburg! Gary was completely amazed that relatives of this child existed. Since Gary could not attend our reunion, he interviewed Ruth in NJ for several hours. It was overwhelming to begin to realize what had happened to Hanuš (and others in the family). And we didn't know yet how little we knew.

At our reunion in Connecticut, we talked about this amazing development. Hanuš had lived in Prague; we realized that all of our forebears had lived in Prague, and there was a story about that. What about the town of Hachenburg? Our parents always taught us we were German – or are we Czech? We really should have our next reunion in Prague, someone said. Great idea – didn't happen.

Then, in 2010 Susan H. Reyniers (who lives in Montpellier France, and taught English at the agricultural college there for many years) said to Ruth that she had the opportunity to exchange-teach in Prague for a week - meet me there so we can do some family research she suggested. We really didn't know where to start, ended up racing from one part of town to another in exhausting late June heat, following leads we discovered.

The story of that exciting trip, and the one we made seven months later in February 2011 (the coldest month in Prague) - people we met, the documents we found, seeing Hanuš' play produced by a school in Prague, finding "the last Hachenburg in Prague," the trip to Terezín, the indelibly life-changing moments at the crematorium in Auschwitz – is what I bequeath to my family. Don't let this be lost. What doesn't make it into this edition will be in the next.

"When I have time" never came for me, until the Ferguson Library in Stamford CT (where Phil and I had moved in 2011) e-mailed members to announce a family history writing group in September 2014. They called my bluff! It's an omen, a friend told me. No more excuses.

This has been a time-limited, state grant supported group. Our goal has become to complete a portion, an excerpt, of our family histories rather than the entire span of our families' existences. We all plan to continue writing the big picture when our group stops. What interesting people I have met!

If not for the library, all the boxes of pictures and piles of paper in our apartment would still be neat and untouched. There is always something more pressing to do, especially with four fantastic grandchildren (ok, you're in the book Alex, Emma, Ryan and Sara) and their gigantic dog, Stella, the German Shepherd lap dog, and poor Libby, the jealous cat.

I have chosen to write the story of our family progenitor Seligmann Baruch Löw, with all the possible truths vs. legend we know, his amazing success in moving so far from the little backwater of Hachenburg Germany to the wealthy Jewish society in Prague. Then I will tell you the terribly sad counterpart to that, the story of Hanuš Hachenburg – likely truths we have found vs. legend, his amazing intellectual and poetic brilliance, how being part of a well-off Jewish family meant an unspeakable ending, and how well known he is today throughout the world.

Now that I have begun, I won't stop. There will be a second edition with all that I could not include in this one, and loads more pictures and documents. And there is more research to do. Hey – I'm retired and those kids are getting bigger and bigger, so I should have time. I will make this story as complete and as accurate as possible. As long as I can read and write and feed myself I'll keep going.

I look forward to hearing from family members with their corrections, remembrances, suggestions. Maybe we *will* have a reunion at great great great grandpa's house (now a hotel) in Prague!

PART I
1768 – 1836

CHAPTER ONE 1768-1770

SARA BARUCH LÖW, THE SOAPMAKER'S DAUGHTER

MEETS JOHANN AUGUST, THE COUNT'S SON

SARA It is not known exactly when Baruch Löw or his forebears arrived in Hachenburg im Westerwald. Hachenburg was a very small but successful market town (population 500-1000) that had grown along the Antwerp-Cologne-Leipzig trade route in the early Middle Ages (see map). It was located in the Rhineland – the western area of German territories at that time.

The unverified, but quite consistent, story that has been transmitted through the branches and generations of the Hachenburg family of Prague said that Baruch Löw's ancestors probably emigrated from Spain to Holland during the time of the Inquisition and expulsion of Jews from Spain and Portugal, which started in 1492. This was one of several important escape routes for Spanish Jews, known as Sephardim, fleeing from Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand.

Many Jews in Northern and Western Europe eventually migrated farther and farther eastward, trying to escape the restrictions and persecution that existed nearly everywhere - sometimes more, sometimes less, depending on who was ruling what territory. Baruch Löw's family eventually settled in Hachenburg. They would have lived in the Jewish quarter (there were not walled ghettos at that time usually). A town register of 1791 says that "Baruch Löws *Witwe*" (widow in German) had three sons and four daughters, and that her husband had been a "*seifensieder*" – a soapmaker. Presumably one of the daughters was Sara. This is the first documentation that we have of their existence, and the accuracy of even this source is questionable^{1,2}.

As in many European towns, here perhaps as early as 1200 A.D., Jewish families represented a small but industrious minority, taking up trades that were allowed to them by the current rulers. Soap making was a sufficiently low class trade for the likes of Baruch Löw. The Jewish population of Hachenburg lived, as did most of the majority Catholic population, in the jumble of wooden houses that were built on the slopes descending from the huge castle at the summit, guardian of the trade route. Spread outside the town walls, on the flatter areas near the Nister River, were the farmlands.



Romantic picture of Hachenburg with which many of us grew up³

The Jewish populations in Europe maintained their religious and cultural identity and separateness, reinforced by age-old fear and prejudices of their Christian rulers and neighbors. There were laws and restrictions that pertained only to Jews. These laws changed, and then changed again and again, at the whim of whoever was the current ruler of the Austro Hungarian Empire or the local city state.

The first known mention of Jews in Hachenburg was in 1348.⁴ Most of the town's Jewish population was murdered then, because the Christians believed that Jews had caused the most recent outbreak of the plague. Apparently, their kosher and cleanliness rituals helped to bring about a suspicious decrease in plague occurrence in their neighborhood, despite the high density of the population.

In the mid 1600's only two families were listed as Jewish in the town register. By 1778 there were six Jewish families in town, which would have included the Baruch Löw family.⁵

But, back in the 1760s, while Baruch Löw, his wife, and children were making soap in their little hovel on the downslope from the castle, the family of the Burggraf von Kirchberg, Graf von Sayn-Hachenburg, Herr zu Farnroda (all the same person) were living *in* the castle.

JOHANN AUGUST The Burggrafs (Viscounts) of Kirchberg ruled in this area of German territories from at least 1200 to 1799. Marriages, alliances, and acquisition of land meant more and more titles for each ruler, including Prinz Sayn-Wittgenstein and Graf (Count) von Hachenburg among others.

Hachenburg castle, first built in 1200 by this ruling family, and the town itself, were rebuilt several times after fires and wars. In 1746 – just before our family story begins – the Baroque residence that exists today was completed.



Hachenburg Castle rebuilt in Baroque style in 1740's⁶

Johann August, the fourth son (there were nine) of the then-Burggraf of Kirchberg, Graf von Sayn-Hachenburg, etc. was born on June 6, 1714. He was well educated, and eventually became a distinguished military officer, attaining the rank of Major. He never married and had no offspring, according to several sources. But he was known to be quite a ladies' man⁷.

As the family story continues: top of the hill, meets bottom of the hill. Sara Baruch Löw, one of the four daughters making soap, became pregnant in about 1768. Johann August, the reputed father of her child, by then was in his mid fifties and retired from the military. We have no idea what he was doing professionally at that time. He was not the Count of Hachenburg then, but he was part of the ruling family.

There is nothing at all in the family story to explain how these two met, what kind of relationship they had, if any. Maybe she was delivering soap to the royals; maybe he was strolling around the royal grounds. Whatever the circumstances, an illegitimate and especially a Jewish child would not have been well received in the castle at the top of the hill.

With the help of the Archbishop of Prague (who may have been a relative of the Burggraf) so the story goes, it was arranged that the child would be sent to Prague, Bohemia to live with the Jeiteles, a large, wealthy and prominent Jewish family. Also, there was rumored to be a sum of money given to the church and another sum to the Jeiteles family for the child's support. We have not one document that proves this story, but it is our story.

As for Johann August, he never expected to rule Hachenburg. There were several brothers and nephews ahead of him in that line. But they all died, mostly of smallpox. Johann August *did* become Burggraf (and all the other titles) in 1777 at the age of 63. He died on April 11, 1799 at the age of 84, with no heirs. The house of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hachenburg, Kirchberg, Farnoda et cetera, passed peacefully to the rule of the Princess of Nassau-Weilburg (to whom he was related), thus ending the Kirchberg lineage.⁸

To date, no document has been discovered that acknowledges any child of Johann August. It was rare for Jewish births to be officially recorded at that time, and nothing has been found in the National Archives of Germany. (see Endnote 1).

Did Sara have a baby in Hachenburg in 1769, as the family story claims, and then go to Prague with her child? Or, did she arrive in Prague pregnant and have the baby there in 1770? Did the Jeiteles family help her in addition to the child? What happened to Sara? We have no record.

A much later Prague conscription (residence) record for Seligmann, his wife and family shows Seligmann's place and date of birth to be Prague in 1770, but even that can be questioned. Seligmann as a child may have been told he was born in Prague, but given the name Hachenburg in honor of his mother. Or he may have felt it was advantageous to tell the census taker he had been born in Prague. Or the census taker may have assumed Seligmann was born in Prague. No earlier conscription record dating from Seligmann's childhood has been found.

And so, according to the family story blond, blue-eyed little Seligmann Baruch Löw (later Hachenburg), may have lived the first year or so of his life in the town of Hachenburg.⁹ On the other hand, it is just as likely that he never once walked on the streets of Hachenburg Germany and was born in "the golden city of 1000 spires" - Prague Bohemia.¹⁰



Two portraits of Seligmann Baruch Löw Hachenburg¹¹

CHAPTER TWO 1770-1836

SELIGMANN'S LIFE IN PRAGUE, BOHEMIA

Sara and her son Seligmann may never have realized how lucky they were to have been banished from the town of Hachenburg. Had he grown up where he was probably born, there was not much to look forward to in life. He would most likely have taken up a trade like his maternal grandfather's, making soap from the smelly waste fat of dead animals added to lye. There is no indication anywhere that his biological father, the Burggraf of Kirchberg, ever publicly acknowledged Seligmann's existence.

Perhaps Seligmann would realize his good fortune later, when he became a wealthy cloth merchant in Prague. Now how would *that* come about? And what was it like to live and grow up as part of a wealthy Jewish family in Prague, a star city of the Habsburg Empire, as opposed to being part of a poor Jewish soap maker's family in a small town in the Rhineland of Germany, also part of the Empire?

In Hachenburg, the tiny trade route town of less than one thousand citizens, only about a half dozen families were Jewish. Prague, also on an important trade route, was a beautiful, big, cosmopolitan, culturally renowned city with a large, thriving Jewish community of thousands, both rich and poor.

The site of the city of Prague is comprised of several rolling, hilly areas, along the banks of the meandering Vltava (or Moldau) River. Jewish traders were known there, among other businessmen, by the mid-900's. Prague was an important trading and cultural center. By the 1100's, there was a protected foreign (and Jewish) merchants' settlement near the main square. Here they could store their merchandise, before bringing it to the stalls in the main square.

The permanent Jewish population of Prague lived in a small, designated area of the oldest part of the city (*Judenstadt* in German). It was on the lowest land area, near the river, and was subject to frequent flooding, which led to vermin infestation and diseases. The population was very crowded, but they were not locked in, except at night and on Christian festival days, when the gates were closed.

As in Hachenburg and everywhere in Europe, the Jews in Prague lived separately from their Christian neighbors, maintained their separate customs, and were subject to frequent, sometimes very drastic anti-Semitic attacks throughout the centuries. Remember the story of the murder of Hachenburg Jews in 1348? In March, 1389 in Prague, over 3000 Jews were killed on some other pretense. It was probably related to the fact that the Black Death (bubonic plague) had been resident in Prague for the previous nine years. That had resulted in a huge loss of population and an economic crisis that lasted for many years. Even the king of that time, Wenceslas, said the Jews deserved to be killed.¹

However, the Jewish population, living in Prague for hundreds of years, grew and prospered, took up trades, financial and other work that was quite useful to the rest of the citizenry. During the Renaissance Jews became mathematicians, astronomers, philosophers and artists. And there were some very economically successful families. In the mid-1500's, wealthier Jews were allowed to build homes next to, but outside of, the official *Judenstadt* area. Even some non-Jews built in the area.

In 1593, Marcus Meisel became the first Jewish nobleman in Prague. This status was given because Meisel, a financier, served the Emperor in financial matters. His wealth also supported the construction of several buildings, especially synagogues, within the Jewish community.²

In 1623, Emperor Ferdinand II allowed Jews to expand their livelihood to include dealing in grains, wine and cloth. This would prove to be critical for Seligmann and his foster family, the Jeiteles. A few years later, the Emperor granted Jews the right to trade at all the fairs in Bohemia and Silesia. This again tremendously increased the scope of their business in central Europe.³

One source stated that by the early 1700's the Jewish community in Prague was the third largest Jewish community in the world, after Salonika and Amsterdam.⁴ Another source said that by 1800 Prague had the largest Jewish population of the major cities in the German-speaking world, about 10.6% of the population of Prague.⁵

Joseph II, eldest son of Maria Theresa, Empress of the Austro Hungarian Empire, became Holy Roman Emperor in 1765 (after his father's death) and ruler of the Habsburg Empire in 1780 (after his mother's death).⁶ Joseph called his rule "enlightened absolutism," and he promulgated many reforms that allowed a much wider range of employment, better education, and somewhat more religious freedom for many, mostly the Jews and Protestants, living throughout the Empire – including, of course, Hachenburg and Prague. He declared the gates to the Jewish quarter permanently open in 1781.

But there were also several conditions that applied only to the Jewish population. For example, the use of Hebrew was prohibited in their public and commercial records. Everyone had to speak German to qualify for anything – even a marriage license! Special high taxes were imposed on the Jewish population. Everyone in the Austro-Hungarian Empire spoke German as a primary language, so Jewish schools had to teach in German, not Hebrew. In 1787 the requirements of military service, and that Jews take a German sounding family name would come to pass.⁷ As for the Emperor Joseph, because of the *good* deeds he did, in 1850 the Jewish area of Prague would be named Josefov in his honor. The name remains in use today.

A side note about Joseph's "good deeds" and maybe Seligmann's good fortune: in 1787 the Emperor appointed Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (b. 1756) as chamber music composer to the Austrian Empire. Mozart frequently came to Prague to compose and perform. The house where he stayed (Bertramke) still stands, as do many of the buildings in which he performed.

One building in particular, the Clam-Gallas palace, a beautiful white marble palace in the Baroque style, is just a few houses away from where Seligmann lived as a boy. Rather undistinguished appearing on the outside, it is full of beautiful statuary and has an extraordinary staircase. Concerts are still presented in the marble room in which Mozart played. Did young Seligmann lean out his window to hear Mozart performing? A Hachenburg hearing Mozart played by Mozart?



Clam-Gallas Palace down the street from Seligmann's home⁸

#162 Husova St, where Seligmann lived as a young man, is Richie's Hotel today

But we're getting ahead of ourselves. Back to 1770 or so.

And so, from a small German town, into this big, busy city came Seligmann Baruch Löw, and likely his mother Sara. Since there are no official records from the early years of Seligmann's life, our sources are only anecdotal accounts written by two of his grandchildren (who never actually knew him). It is these memoirs, written in the early 1900's by Emilie Hachenburg Kaufman Witz and Josef Hachenburg, whose contents provide the main source for the stories passed down through the generations in the Hachenburg family from Prague. Josef's son Dankmar had a copy of each diary in their original German.

The Jeiteles family first appeared in Prague records in the early 1600's.² Originally prominent as apothecaries and physicians, there were also distinguished writers (on medical and political topics in particular) and scholars in the family. A Jeiteles family tree found on the internet showed that by the late 1700's there were several generations and branches of this family.¹⁰

However, no source mentions Haçel (Isak) Jeiteles, the witness to the marriage of Seligmann to Eva Mendeles in 1793. Dankmar concluded that Seligmann was not formally adopted, but was a foster child. He most likely was given the last name Hachenburg in remembrance of where he came from, probably in the 1780's when the Emperor dictated that all Jews must take German-sounding last names. He was in his teen years, reaching adulthood, and would need to strike out on his own soon.

Emilie (Emi) Hachenburg Kaufman Witz (1857-1931) wrote her memoir of her family in 1927. It was translated by Helga Hachenburg Bullard of California. Emilie's report is rather disorganized, almost like a stream-of-consciousness essay, with the sequence of events somewhat difficult to follow. Also, in her translation, Helga added in some editorial comments, and she noted events that occurred much after 1927. However, it is the closest to a primary source we have at this time. What Emi wrote about her grandfather Seligmann must have been based on memories from her own father, Moritz, as Seligmann had died in 1836, twenty one years before Emi's birth. The other memoir, by Emilie's younger brother Josef, is in the process of translation to English. The information from that will become part of the next edition.

Emi wrote that Seligmann was taken in by an "unidentified" member of the Jeiteles family who was childless. No record has been found of this specific person, it but could have been the Haçel (Isakh) who signed the marriage record.

Seligmann must have been valued as a family member and given educational opportunities as the Jeiteles children were. Otherwise, how would he have made such a success of himself as a cloth merchant later on? Did living in that big, accomplished family help him to develop self-confidence, ambition? It certainly showed him examples of success in many fields of endeavor that he never would have seen in Hachenburg.

Emi's account said that Seligmann was "one of the richest people in Prague," and owned several textile factories and houses on Zigeunergasse, a street which existed in the old Judenstadt. Is this a granddaughter's enthusiastic exaggeration or close to the truth?

Dankmar stated quite positively, both in letters to Robert H. and in his recorded interview with Janice H. Levit, that Seligmann did not have factories, but was a wholesaler of cloth – a middle man.¹¹ He traveled in the Empire to places like Leipzig to sell his cloth to retailers, apparently often taking his daughters with him to model the goods. Emilie's memoir does talk about those trips and stories of her aunts modeling the cloth. No record has been found of any Jeiteles being a cloth manufacturer from whom Seligmann could inherit.

As for houses, Dankmar never claimed that Seligmann was the owner of more than the one house still standing today on Seminarska Street, 6/177. This street may have been part of Zigeunergasse in the 1800's.



Seminaraska 6/177 – Hotel at the Black Star today¹²

1793 Trauungsbuch.

Monats. Tag.	Haus Nro.	Bräutigam.			Braut.			Beystand.	
		Namen.	Altersjahre.	Unverehelichte.	Namen.	Altersjahre.	Unverehelichte.	Namen.	Stand.
Aug 4	162	Seligmann Baruch Löw Hachenburg	24	1	Eva Mendeles	21	1	Isak Jeiteles M. Bachrach Caplan	
" 7	4	Jacob Karpel	30	1	Eva Anon Joseph Lieben	20	1	Max Kamp Leo Anon Edel Caplan	

Marriage registration of Seligmann Baruch Löw Hachenburg and Eva Mendeles¹³

Witness: Isakh Jeiteles; Rabbi: Michael Bachrach

Eva Mendeles (also spelled Mandeles) became Seligmann's wife on August 4, 1793.

Emilie said that Eva's family was related to the Jeiteles family, the only mention of this that has been found. So an alternate theory about the route to Seligmann's success could be that the Mendeles family were cloth merchants.

Emi mentioned a “big silk shop” owned by the Mendeles family. Perhaps Seligmann was taken into *their* cloth business when he married. Perhaps the marriage was arranged by other members of the Jeiteles/Mendeles family. Perhaps he was a very determined and ambitious young man. Whatever the truth, all the family stories agree that Seligmann was quite successful in business. The wealthy Mendeles family must have seen promise in their son-in-law.

Emilie stated that she herself remembered the synagogue on Zigeunergasse. She said, “...in the temple on Zigeunergasse there were many valuable objects donated by grandfather, such as torah curtains and other objects.” That synagogue was standing during most of her life.

Between about 1893 and 1913 nearly all of the Jewish quarter was razed by order of the government. It was a nexus of disease and pestilence, hugely overcrowded, frequently flooded. Most of the streets were changed, given other names and routes. Today there remain only six of the dozens of synagogues that used to exist there.

But there *was* a Zigeuner Street synagogue in the old days, and Seligmann was likely quite religious, having come from a Jewish mother and been raised by the Jewish Jeiteles family. Dankmar was quite sure that the children studied and knew Hebrew.¹⁴ Gifts to the synagogue would have been *de rigueur* for a wealthy Jewish family living near there. Robert H’s account stated that Seligmann had been “raised as a Jew, married a Jewish woman, and raised his children in the Jewish religion.”¹⁵

The years of good fortune ended in about 1816, when an employee of Seligmann stole most of his money and took off for the United States. At the same time, the state of Austria went bankrupt and all money was devalued. Austria, despite having been on the winning side of the latest conflict, was diminished and economically weakened by long years of war. Prague Bohemia was a part of the Austrian Empire then, and there was always some kind of territorial conflict going on in Europe.

These national and personal financial disasters left Seligmann and his huge family in a much diminished economic position. It is not known if Seligmann took up any other work, but quite likely the older children helped their parents to survive.

Seligmann’s death certificate of 1836 stated that his occupation was “*schnittwaarenhandler*.” (German) This means haberdasher or owner of a haberdashery, according to our Archives consultant, Dr. Matušíková. So there is the possibility that Seligmann was able to go into another business in his later years. Do you think Morris Hachenburg of the Girard St. Philadelphia haberdashery (Leopold’s son) knew that he was following in his great grandfather’s footsteps? *Schnittwaarenhandler* indeed!

From the time of their marriage in 1793 to the year 1817 Seligmann and Eva produced thirteen children. Their birth records were found in the National Archives in Prague. Some, of course died quite young, but most seem to have survived to adulthood and to have had their own families and jobs.¹⁶

In her memoir Emilie recounted the family story of the eighth son Markus (later Moritz) and how he helped his parents. Indeed, Moritz, as we all have called him, born in 1805, seems to have been the star of the big brood, as we shall shortly see.

Seligmann Hachenburg, founder of the Jewish Hachenburg family in Prague died on January 14, 1836 at the age of 65, 66, or 67, depending on which birth date record or family story you choose to believe. The death certificate stated (in German) that he died of *lungenlähmung*, translated by the archivist as paralysis of the lungs. That could have been COPD if he was a smoker or even water-filled lungs due to heart failure. Eva died April 28, 1838 of *wassersucht*, translated as dropsy. Today we would probably call that edema (swelling of the tissues), and it is often caused by heart failure.

Unfortunately, we do not have a record of where they were buried. The famous Old Jewish Cemetery in *Judenstadt* had been closed in the late 1700’s when the government wanted plague victims buried outside of town. The Old Cemetery was more than filled up way before our family began. So no Hachenburg ever was buried there.

There were several Jewish burial grounds in the then suburbs of Prague (now incorporated into Prague city), but no one has found a record of our ancestors from that early time. Most of those cemeteries were demolished, especially during the Communist era. The only Jewish cemetery in Prague today is the New Jewish Cemetery in Prague, established in 1891, where we have found several Hachenburgs.

By the time of their parents' deaths, the children were adults, with their own families. The only child of Seligman and Eva about whom we have quite detailed information is Moritz.

There is no indication of who (if anyone) of his many siblings Moritz stayed in touch with, although his mother Eva seems to have kept in contact with *her* mother and sisters, according to Emilie's memoir. In the generation of Moritz's children we have not found mention of communication with relatives of their father's generation.

PART II
1836 – 1927

FROM SELIGMANN TO HANUŠ

This chapter will highlight events between the life times of Seligmann, who died in 1836, and that of his great great grandson, Hanuš, born in 1929. What of significance happened in the Moritz Hachenburg family, in Bohemian history (later Czechoslovakia), and in European history, from the 1830's to the 1930's?

*Throughout this time, particularly during the time of Emperor Franz Josef (reign 1848 -1916), Jews in Prague continued to prosper, to gain more rights as the emperors and other rulers of Europe saw fit to recognize them as a little more human and equal. A careful perusal of the book *The Timetables of Jewish History* during these years gives the impression of relative stability in Prague, where Jews had thrived for centuries.*

Prague is mentioned only once or twice in all these years as having been the center of some short-lived anti-Jewish disturbance. There was more and more freedom as to where Jews could build their homes, practice their many and varied trades and professions. Opportunities for education increased. Jews and Christians were even more mixed together than they had been during Seligmann's life.¹

In many other countries in Europe hatred and cruelty in regard to Jews - their lifestyle their accomplishments, their culture and beliefs –was still quite strong. Russia appears most frequently in this catalog of restrictions on lifestyle attacks and pogroms.

In 1835 Moritz, the eighth child of Seligmann received his medical degree from the University in Vienna. He paid his tuition and helped his impoverished parents by tutoring other students. His elder brother Herschmann also became a physician and tutored other students when he was in Vienna. Herschmann however, died quite young.

According to Emilie's memoir, her father Moritz then volunteered for the Austrian Army. On page two of her memoir Emi described her father as "big and tall" and so was readily accepted into the Army. He finished his medical studies in Vienna, graduated and served as a physician under three Kaisers. He traveled with the army throughout the Empire.

On July 9, 1851 he married Klara Jellinek (1831-94) from Libeň, then a suburb of Prague. She was only 20; he was 45.² The three sons and two daughters they produced were born at the various locations to which he had been posted.



Moritz Hachenburg, 1840-45 and Klara Jellinek Hachenburg, 1850³

In 1859 Moritz had to retire from the army due to chronic gastric illness that he was believed to have contracted during the siege of Budapest in 1849. He was unable to establish a successful medical practice, so he returned to Prague and became an insurance company doctor. Emilie indicated that there were financial problems. A Jewish doctor would not have had as good a pension as other doctors, and not as good job prospects.⁴

However all the children were educated, and as they grew up, went to work to help their parents, and became successful in marriages and businesses.

Dankmar stated that he was told by his own father, Josef (youngest child of Moritz and Klara), that Moritz spoke Hebrew and was a religious person.



Oil painting of Moritz in his 60s⁵

Moritz died on September 14, 1872 at age 67, after a stroke. His address was 91/5 Siroka St. at that time. The death certificate says in German *gehirnlähmung*, which was translated by the archivist as “paralysis of the brain.”

Robert’s memoir stated that Dankmar had an old photograph of Moritz’s grave, but that it was most likely in one of the cemeteries that no longer exists.⁶ No one has found any record of exactly where he is buried, and that photograph seems to have disappeared.

Like his father Seligmann, Moritz had succeeded admirably in his profession (especially given the restrictions on Jewish doctors/Jewish army members). And when he had hard times late in life, his children helped out, as he and his siblings had done for their parents.

Moritz’s eldest son Zikmund (also Sigmund or Siegmund) was 20 and his youngest Josef was 9 in 1872. Now Zikmund became the one to help his mother Klara and his siblings – Leopold, Hermine, Emilie, and Josef. He abandoned his hope to become a physician as his father had been, and worked in a few different businesses, even as a traveling salesman, and in the shop of his sister Emilie and her husband Leopold Kaufman.⁷ After some years Zikmund became a shopkeeper (Cz. *obchodník*), selling leather goods. According to Emilie’s memoir Zikmund was “a serious and responsible person.”



Sons of Moritz in 1882, the year Leopold emigrated⁸.

L to R – Leopold sitting, Josef, Zikmund

It is interesting to note the consistency through the generations of the family patterns of small business ownership, mostly related to clothing and leather goods, and especially, the sense of obligation to help and support one another.

Zikmund married Berta Stadler in 1886 and they had three sons: Frederik, 1887, Hanuš, 1891, and Jiří, 1892. When Berta died in 1899, Jiří was only 7 years old. Zikmund's 2nd marriage (in 1911 according to the residence record), to Camilla Lederer, was "not happy," Emilie's memoir stated. Zikmund's youngest child, Jiří (or Georg), would become the father of Hanuš Hachenburg in 1929 (presumably named after his uncle).

From 1893 to about 1913 Josefov in Prague was demolished and rebuilt because of crowded, disease-making, decrepit conditions. One can only imagine the conditions under which people lived in the "old" Josefov. Today most of the buildings are in the Art Deco style. The six synagogues and one meeting hall that remain as the center of the area are now collectively the Jewish Museum in Prague.

Zigeuner Street and the synagogue to which Seligmann had been so generous are gone, demolished in 1906. The famous Old Jewish cemetery was preserved. Most of the streets have been rearranged into a more grid-like layout (but not that grid-like). It is almost impossible to trace where Zigeuner on an old map would be related to Seminarska on a modern map. But we saw Seligmann's Zigeuner Street houses clearly on an old map – numbers 162 and 177 – and they stand on today's Seminarska and Husova Streets (see earlier photos).

Klara, whose tombstone is in the New Jewish Cemetery, died after years of poor health in 1894. She had lived with Emilie and then Hermine after the death of Moritz.

Now here is where some detective work is needed. The Conscription (residence) list for Zikmund, his wife Berta and children looks like they may have had several different addresses. I am checking with the archivist. Until these addresses are mapped out, we can't be sure how close they are to one another. A random, unscientific glance at other conscription records seems to show that it probably was not too unusual for people to move often. Was it an important factor in their lives? Did the boys ever live with other family members while growing up? Did Zikmund and Camilla also move frequently? Were they still together when Hanuš and Jiří were in their 20's and living in the parental household? What was the lasting effect on young Jiří, and perhaps later influential in his relationship or lack thereof to his son Hanuš? This is crucial to the story of Hanuš, which follows. We do not know how successful Zikmund was in business, although Pavel Weis reported that Zikmund was capable and successful.⁹

One other possible insight into the issue of moving frequently is that Emilie stated that in the years from 1862 (i.e. after the return to Prague when Moritz retired) to 1892, Moritz and Klara (then Klara alone) moved about 15 times. And of course they had moved frequently with the Army in the early years of Moritz's career. So moving around probably was not such a big issue as it is for some people. Maybe in that era, in those circumstances, it was not an indication of business problems or family dysfunction. And moving within Prague just a few streets away – not such a big deal, but with the five children?!

We have no records or family stories of Zikmund's three boys growing up. We do know that the eldest, Frederik, emigrated from Prague to New York in early 1904 at the age of about seventeen, with his father's blessing.¹⁰

World War I began in 1914. Bohemia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Emilie and Mina's sons fought with the Empire in the "horrible war," as Emilie called it. Neither of Zikmund's younger children is mentioned, even though Hanuš and Jiří were in their 20's in 1914. Another mystery.

Emi wrote that her other older brother Leopold (b. 1854) had immigrated to Philadelphia PA with the family of his bride from Budapest Hungary – Jennie Prinz (also Printz). Emilie said, "At that time troubles started against the Jews in Budapest, and the whole Prinz family moved to America in 1882." They operated a leather tanning business in Philadelphia (this had been the Prinz livelihood in Budapest), but soon Leopold became a men's clothing store owner – again following the family pattern.

Emi said that during the war Leopold "sent us a lot of food, which we could sure use. Food was scarce and it was very expensive."¹¹ Again – from afar - the family members helped each other at a bad time, and even though the sons of Emi and Mina fought on the German side as part of the Empire. How did they get those packages through??

In 1918 Czechoslovakia declared independence from the soon to be defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire, and campaigned for various surrounding territories to be part of the new country.¹² The Treaty of Versailles finally settled the borders. The first Czech democracy was born, much based on ideas and ideals from the American and French Revolutions. Czech became the official language – German no longer. There was an upsurge in Czech/Slavic nationalism and pride.

In the early 1920's, the first president, Masaryk, got a constitution passed despite many political and cultural factions. This was a very productive and industrious decade in Czechoslovakia. The economy was doing well, and Czechoslovakia was much respected internationally.¹³

In July 1921, Leopold arrived in Prague from Philadelphia for his first visit in 40 years. The family was surprised, as his letter telling them he was coming arrived after he did. His wife Jeanette had died in 1908, and his five American-born children were busy with their own families and businesses.

Emilie described a very warm and lengthy visit. First, for a month in Prague he visited with Emilie and Zikmund and their families (other sister Hermine had died in 1912). Then Leopold and Zikmund visited their brother Josef, who had moved to Berlin in the 1890's. Dankmar H. recalled in his interview with Janice H. Levit, "Uncle Poldi" and his generous \$10 gift to Dankmar and his brother. It would be the last time that the three sons of Moritz were together. Zikmund died in 1926 (according to Dankmar and Robert), and Leopold died in 1929.

After Zikmund's death, did Leopold keep in touch with his nephews Hanuš and Jiří? Did he know about the birth of little Hanuš in 1929? The last letter from Leopold to his brother in Germany, found in the collection in Robert's house, was dated 1927, and gave no indication of any event of importance. Of course other letters may not have been saved.

Emilie's memoir concluded in 1927 with a summing up of how well her surviving son, nephews and nieces (including the Philadelphia family) were doing. In particular, she stated that the two sons of Zikmund, who lived in Prague, "are doing well... Hanuš is still a widower (after a very brief marriage in 1923)...and the other son Jiří is still a bachelor even though they are in a good financial situation."¹⁴

The memoir ended happily with the birth of her only grandchild (from her only surviving child, Otto) on March 27, 1927. The baby's name was not mentioned. Is it possible that there is yet another relative to be discovered?

PART III
1928 – 1944

CHAPTER ONE 1928-1938

JIRÍ HACHENBURG MEETS ELIŠKA EPSTEIN; EARLY YEARS OF HANUŠ

Emilie had written at the end of her memoir in 1927 that several relatives already had sent her money in advance of her expected grandchild's birth, "but nothing came from... "the family in Prague." Did she mean Zikmund's branch? Their sister Hermine's children *do* seem to have sent something and they were the only other ones still in Prague. Emilie's brothers, Josef and Leopold had sent gifts, so we know there was contact with the Berlin and Philadelphia branches. Did she keep touch with the sons of Zikmund? Did she know about the marriage of Jiří (Georg) Hachenburg to Eliška Epstein (b. 6/18/1904) that took place on June 23, 1928? Did she know that Hanuš was born a year later? The family seems to have been moving farther and farther apart, but there was no clear indication of a rift in the family.

It is likely that there was little or no communication between the Philadelphia and Prague families after Leopold's death in Philadelphia in December 1929. The first generation of children born in America (Leopold had five) never had been to Prague and never knew their cousins. Robert said in his memoir that he never knew he had any relatives in Europe until his Uncle Bill visited someone there in the mid-1930s. And then Morris, Bill's brother and Robert's father, was angry at Bill and would not talk about people he felt he did not know. Robert did know that Hachenburg was a German town and some of the story of the Count and Sara. Did his father Morris talk about it a little? Robert also knew that Morris would not abide any talk of illegitimacy.

Emilie died in 1931, the last of her generation in Prague. Of her siblings, only Josef in Berlin was left (d. 1938) with his large family.

Then came WW II. Apparently, no American Hachenburg had any idea what was going on in regard to any European Hachenburg during the war. There were many more Hachenburgs living in Europe than Robert or his siblings ever suspected.

The end of the war was followed by the Soviet Union takeover of Czechoslovakia until 1989. In America, all we were taught was that people living "behind the Iron Curtain" were "Commsies." Really, we did not even know where Czechoslovakia was! In Czechoslovakia and all the Iron Curtain countries, records were hidden, if not destroyed. Blatant (and subtle) antisemitism continued as part of the Soviet regime. In 2011, Susan and Ruth could see in Pavel and Irena's faces, and in their reluctance to say much about it, that during those Soviet years life had been quite difficult.

It is so hard for those of us who grew up in a post war economic bubble of bounty and freedom to understand the deep fear, the terrible conditions of chaos, deprivation and despotism under which people lived *after* World War II, for many years, in most of the countries of Europe – from west to east.¹ Whatever record Dankmar and some other relatives may have seen during a visit to Hachenburg or to Prague before 1989, was a tiny "factoid" at best, compared to what we now have access to. Today, with the end of Communism, the Czech Republic is a democracy once more, records are published, digitized, and the computer is an essential tool for this kind of research.

Practically no information about Hanuš Hachenburg and his family was available after World War II. So what little *was* found got boiled down to this: "He knew only his mother, and apparently never met his father."² This statement, by Marie Rút Křížková, was first found in *We Are Children Just the Same* (published clandestinely in Czech in the 1970's under the title *Are Ghetto Walls my Homeland? English translation 1995*). The significance of this book will soon become clear. The point here is that this almost surely *erroneous* belief and other statements about Hanuš and family got printed. Then they were repeated by people who knew nothing else, nothing first hand; and later this "information" was included on more than one Holocaust-related site on the internet. This is how "maybe" or "it is possible that" becomes "true."

Marie Rút Křížková said, both in the book of which she was the editor, and in 2011 to Ruth and Susan when we were in Prague, that she and others had looked “for years” to find Hanuš or someone in his family after the war. She never could find anyone, and so what little she knew or believed was repeated by all who read about this child. No computers, little to go on.

In the 1970’s, Ms. Křížková had taken on the huge task of editing for publication a nearly 800 page collection of writing that several children, including Hanuš, had created while imprisoned in Terezín. They called it *Vedem*, which means “in the lead.” It was a weekly “magazine” containing poetry, in Terezín. Much more will be discussed about this remarkable creation when we get to Hanuš’ time in Terezín.

Ms Křížková was completely devoted to this job, and I absolutely believe her statement, “I must admit that I have never come to terms with Hanuš’ death, in the same way that a mother never comes to terms with the death of her child.”³ Several Hachenburg family members, today aware of Hanuš’ life and death have the same feeling, the same need to find explanations, the same empty “how could this have happened” reaction, and the need to know more. It is not impossible that what Ms Křížková stated in the 1970’s about Hanuš’ family life in the 1920’s and 1930’s was true, but recent discoveries indicate other, more hopeful, possibilities.

Mr. Leo Lowy of Hackensack NJ was a good friend of Hanuš. They were roommates both in the Jewish Boys’ Orphanage in Prague, Room 2, and later in building L417 in Terezín, Room 1, for a total of about four years. (The terrible/wonderful story is below) Leo was so very generous in sharing his memories and all that he had in his personal library over the course of a seven year friendship with Ruth.

When asked, “Why do you say Hanuš never knew his father?” Leo replied, “He never talked about his father.” Leo also knew that Hanuš’ mother did visit him fairly often in the orphanage, but did not think the father was ever there. Another of their bunkmates in Terezín, Sid Taussig, said via e mail, “I never saw his mother (in Terezín) or heard him talk about his father.”⁴ Unfortunately, Leo and his few fellow survivors (more later) have not ever been able to identify Hanuš for sure in any picture that has surfaced from various archives and private collections. Leo said, “It just has been too long.”

So let’s look at what was believed after the war and what recently found records and interviews reveal. We have used the documents found in Czech hard copy archives and on computerized records, and statements made by people who actually knew Hanuš, to create a hopefully more accurate picture of his life than conclusions based on the meager information of the 1940’s and 1950’s. As his tragic story has come to light, and his brilliant, amazing writing is known and appreciated in many places in the world, accuracy has become more important, especially for his family – this family that hardly knew of his existence until a few years ago.

How much like his great great grandfather Seligmann’s enigmatic beginning that sounds! An uninvolved father?, a questionable mother?, sent away from his home at an early age. Of course, in Seligmann’s era and birthplace there simply were no records kept pertaining to Jews. In the case of Hanuš there were rules about keeping records, all kinds of records, and there were thousands of Jews in Prague. Now many documents have been found, and there are some people still living who knew Hanuš quite well. And for that we are very lucky and extremely grateful.

First – who were Jiří Hachenburg and Eliška Epsteinova, what was their relationship like, when and why did they separate and divorce, and how much were they involved in their young son’s life? For that sadly, no diary or letters have been found to help us create a picture.

The early 1920’s, before the Depression arrived in Prague, was a prosperous time, and we believe that the Hachenburg family was part of that. Arnošt (Ernst) Weis (son of Hermine H. and first cousin to Jiří and his brother Hanuš) had inherited his father’s lumber business and they were quite well-off.⁵ But we do not know if he ever saw his cousins. Emilie (sister of Hermine) had said in 1927 that Jiří and his brother were doing well, however.

We know from the June 23, 1928 marriage record that Eliška was living in Prague district XII, at house #1580 on Italska St, the residence of her parents. Her father Bohumil Epstein, a small business merchant, had died, so she lived with mother Emilie *nee* Beck. There is no information about whether Eliška worked, or had siblings, and we know nothing about her family and childhood at this time.

Curiously, the marriage certificate indicated a civil marriage, not one having taken place in a synagogue. Why? It shows that Bohumil Epstein had died, but did not indicate the deaths of Jiří's parents, who we know were also deceased by then. Why the lapse in record keeping?

Jiří was living nearby in Prague district II, house #1835 on Tyršova St. In fact, the first record of Jiří living at that address was in 1918, and it said that #1835 was the house of his father Zikmund, who was alive in 1918.

For an unknown reason, the residence records then showed that Jiří AND his older brother Hanuš moved into the house of František Stadler (probably an uncle on their deceased mother's side) in September 1919, in Prague District I. Both young men were in their late 20's at that time. Hanuš was there for one year, and then returned to his father's address. Jiří was there for two years, and then also returned to his father's house. What was going on? Did this have some economic underpinning? Was there some problem with their father's second wife Camilla? In addition, no document found so far indicated anything about possible military service for those two boys in World War I.

Jiří and older brother Hanuš seem to have stayed in that house after their father died, so it is possible that one or both young men inherited the property. We know nothing about the widow of Zikmund. Robert and Dankmar said Zikmund died in 1926, but Emilie said 1923.

We do not know exactly what kind of work Hanuš did. The residence record said he was an official or clerk (*Google translation from Czech*). Pavel and Irena Weis said he was an "office worker."⁶

Jiří most likely had begun his wholesale business on Wenceslas Square by the time of the marriage. Daniel Pražák, a student at Charles University, who wrote a brief thesis about Hanuš, concluded that having a business on that most prestigious and important square (really a mall in dimensions) indicated a degree of success in business.⁷



Wenceslas Square, 2010 – nearly a mile long mall of stores and hotels⁸

In September of 1928, just after his marriage to Eliška, the residence record indicated that Jiří had moved to house #632 on Čechova St in Bubeneč, across the river from Tyršova St, center city and Wenceslas Square. Bubeneč was (and is) a very lovely up-scale residential neighborhood.

The person who first shared these records with us in 2011, Kateřina Steinová, another Charles University student, believed that this address was Jiří's business. He was listed on his residence record as being an "*obchodník*" (Czech for merchant, probably early in his career), but on his marriage certificate (1928) and his son's birth certificate (1929) as a "*velkoobchodník*" – a wholesale merchant (like Seligmann!) The Čechova St address was on the birth certificate as the father's (Jiří's) address. There was no separate address for the mother, Eliška.

Now it is possible that he had showrooms or other business at that address. However, this really does not look like a business neighborhood, and why would his business address appear on his residence record and son's birth certificate? It seems more likely that Jiří and Eliška were living at this address. Eliška had no separate residence record in those years. We believe she was living with her husband, even though it was not written on the record. It seems that only men had separate records, unless the woman was living alone or was head of household, as we found for later years. Čechova is a lovely, broad tree-lined avenue.



Čechova St across from Jiří's address (which now is a Soviet era building)²

Čechova St also is quite near to #166 Rooseveltova St (not that name in 1928), also in Bubeneč. That address is where Hanuš was *born*, according to the birth certificate,¹⁰ but it did not explicitly say he *lived* there. Perhaps that was a clinic or maternity hospital at the time. Another mystery.

So while the various documents with different addresses around the time of Hanuš' birth and first few years of his life have been interpreted previously as showing the parents were not together, ever, it seems quite possible that they really were living as a family in a lovely neighborhood, from their marriage in 1928 to the year 1932.

In June, of that year Jiří's address record changed to #1580 Italska St. His mother-in-law's address! Surely Eliška and four year old Hanuš were with him there. Again, Eliška did not have a separate record for that year, as they were still living together, we now believe.

In the years from 1930 to 1932 the great Depression hit Czechoslovakia. Maybe they moved to Eliška's mother's home for economic reasons? We have no report as to how the various family members managed those difficult years. We have nothing that tells us whether Jiří was in contact with other family members, even his older brother Hanuš, who had not moved from the family home on Tyršova when he remarried in 1929. But Jiří seems to have named his son after his brother.

The older Hanuš' residence record indicated that after he *did* move out of his father's home on Tryšova St. in 1935. He lived in the Nusle section of the same district, and thus not far from Italska St. Did he have any contact with his younger brother or his nephew, his namesake, at any time?

In November of 1932, Jiří's residence record showed the Tyršova address again, but did not indicate that he moved away from the Italska address. It looked like he was living in both places – maybe a trial separation?

In 1933 Hitler came to power in Germany. The next few years set the stage for the horrors to come in so many countries. We do not know if or how well Jiří and his business had recovered from the Depression, but soon life would become more and more difficult.

We can hope that Hanuš' early years were happy, with loving and supportive parents for little Hanuš. We can hope that this interpretation is more accurate than previous theories about his beginnings. Because bad times were coming fast.

1934 was the first date on Eliška's own residence record. She moved back to Bubeneč that May, a different address than when she and Jiří had lived together. Surely Hanuš was with her?

Had Jiří and Eliška separated officially in 1932 when he left his mother in law's house, or was it 1934 when both of them had left the Italska St address? Pavel Weis said it happened in 1934.¹¹ At what point in time did Hanuš stop seeing his father - or did he?

February of 1935 was the start of Jiří moving at least twice a year to a total of 9 different addresses until 1941. At one point, from 1937-1938 he seemed to have lived at his business on Wenceslas Sq (*Václavské Náměstí*). Also, he did stay with František Stadler (uncle?) again, who by that time was living on Celetná Street, right off Old Town Square. This was just before Jiří's deportation.

How long was Jiří able to keep running his business, especially once Hitler had taken over the country in 1939? Did he have some kind of other problem like drinking? Could he have been at risk because he was politically active? Did he and Eliška communicate at all about their son?

Eliška moved around too, though not as much. In 1935 she went back to her mother's home and stayed there until 1938. Possibly the mother died then, because on July 29, 1938 Eliška moved to a new area on Tomkova St in Prague V, the Smichov district. The record indicated she was alone (ie no husband or parent listed). Hanuš probably made that move with her, but would not have been listed on her residence record.

The marriage record also showed the divorce information. It was final in 1937.¹²

CHAPTER TWO 9/5/1938 - 10/24/1942

HANUŠ IN THE ORPHANAGE FOR JEWISH BOYS ON BELGICKÁ STREET

A number of the children in this orphanage (open since 1898) were not technically orphans. They were enrolled there from Prague and other Czech cities if the parents could not care for their child properly, especially as economic and living restrictions and Jewish persecution became more and more severe. Parents hoped their child would be safer from increasingly frequent attacks on Jews, and able to continue their education. There was a separate girls' orphanage in another part of the city, but the Nazis took over that building sometime after they invaded in 1939. The Belgická street building then was re-organized to accept girls too.¹

We do not know why Hanuš was given into the care of an orphanage. Although divorced, both parents were alive and each had a place to live. But we just do not know how well Jiří and Eliška were functioning or supporting themselves at that point. One can hardly imagine what a difficult decision it must have been to give their child to the care of others. Was it a decision Eliška had to make on her own, or could she and Jiří possibly have talked it over? Was there any other relative who might have helped them? One possibility is that living in the orphanage guaranteed that Hanuš would be able to go to the only Jewish school still open in Prague. Jewish children were being expelled from the public schools by that time.

On September 5, 1938 Hanuš, age nine, was admitted to the Jewish orphanage, 25 Belgická St, Prague II, Vinohrady.² It was not very far from Tomkova St, but it was across the river. We know that Eliška did visit Hanuš at the orphanage. Leo Lowy was quite positive about that. Was she cheerful with Hanuš or depressed and sad to have sent him there? Leo could not remember what Hanuš' mother looked or acted like. Leo was not sure if Hanuš ever went to visit his mother at her home, even when she later lived quite near the orphanage. Leo was lucky. He had an aunt living in Prague, and he went to her house on the weekends to get a good meal, he said.

The 1938 orphanage admission record listed Jiří as a wholesale merchant and showed the Čechova St. address, but it is unclear if that was meant as a business or a dwelling. On his residence record of that year he was listed as living on Tochova St, another street in Vinohrady. And that record indicated there was a woman living with him. It said "he/she" on the form, but gave no name. We have not found the location of Tochova St, but the orphanage was in the Vinohrady neighborhood.

In Eliška's listing on Hanuš' admission record, no address was given. There was no recognizable notation of the divorce, which had been final in the previous year. Was this a purposeful omission on Eliška's or both parents' part? Or did it not matter to the orphanage? One could mistakenly conclude that the parents were living together, but that is not possible when you compare their residence records.

Even closer to Belgická St. was Rumunská St, just a couple of blocks away. Jiří moved to #9 Rumunská St. in October of 1938, alone, according to the record. Surely he must have visited his son? No one remembers it, but why not? It was so close. Jiří was there almost until his deportation in 1941 and never saw Hanuš? What could have happened to keep them apart?

In early 1938 Hitler had seized Austria, and then the Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia. On March 15, 1939 he occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia and it became the “Protectorat” of Bohemia and Moravia. The terrible conditions for Jews in Germany came plunging down on Czech Jews. One wonders how long Jiří was able to keep his business going, if at all. World War II was declared officially by the Allies on September 1, 1939 when Hitler invaded Poland. No one could have had the least idea of how bad things would get.³

Another account of Hanuš in the orphanage, by the son of the headmaster, said that Hanuš’ mother worked at the Esplanade bar.⁴ The Hotel Esplanade exists today, where it has been for many years, and it is close to Eliška’s later address, on Kolinska St, and to the orphanage. However, via e mail the hotel staff said that, even though they were in that location for many years, they have no records that go back before the war.⁵ It is not at all clear what Eliška did there, if Rudolf Franek’s account is accurate.

On September 18, 1940 Eliška moved to #1686 Kolinska St, closer to the Belgická Street orphanage. She was listed as living with someone named Rottová. At this point Jiří, Eliška and Hanuš lived just within a few blocks of each other.

A year later, on October 31, 1941 Jiri was put on one of the first transports, D-917, which went to the Polish city of Łódź (Littmanstadt in German).⁶ No one knows how or why he was chosen for deportation at this time. Maybe he was politically active. Maybe some Czech Nazi wanted his business. Maybe it was just the worst of bad luck.

It is not known how long he survived in that ghetto, but by spring 1942 most of the people who had arrived on the early transports were dead – starvation, horrible illness, or just plain murdered. All the record keeping entities that were contacted (see bibliography) had no further information about Jiří’s fate. All believed he probably died soon after leaving Prague. Did Hanuš know anything of what had happened to his father? That must have made him even sadder.

How must this little boy have felt in a strange communal environment without either mother or father? It seems he was already a sad child when he arrived there – and why not? His parents were divorced, possibly rather unstable, and he did not live with either one of them.

He was an only child of, we believe, fairly well-to-do parents – at least until they separated and the war closed in on them all in the late 1930’s. Then suddenly he was living in Room 2, a dormitory with about twenty beds (Leo said) and little privacy.

Leo Lowy (who was six months older than Hanuš) reported that he, Leo, arrived at the orphanage about a year after Hanuš, in 1939. He too was an only child, but both of his parents had died of untreated illnesses (no access to care because they were Jewish). “I was assigned to the same room that he was in. I was jealous, because Hanuš had a bed by a window and I did not.”



Leo Lowy: "It looks just like it was."⁷

They were less than a year apart in age, but miles apart in personality, physical strength and I believe, social skills. Leo was tall, strong, athletic, outgoing, and friendly. You can see it in the few pictures we have of him from that time. You could still see it in the demeanor and personality of the man we met in 2007.

The adjectives used by children from the orphanage, and later from Terezín, to describe Hanuš are quite similar from one child to another. Timid, shy, introverted, head in the clouds, thin and sickly, frail, physically weak, big sad dark eyes, very very sad, sensitive, brilliant, having an understanding of life and their circumstances far beyond his years.

However, Hanuš and Leo became good friends. Leo said that he and Hanuš walked to school together. The straight route from the orphanage, in the Vinohrady section of town just behind the National Museum, to the only Jewish school still open, located on Jachymova Street in Josefov, went through the majestic business center, Wenceslas Square (see previous picture). That route was about one and a half miles each way.

Leo related how he and Hanuš (and the other children) had to take a circuitous route to school – all little back streets. To venture into Wenceslas meant almost surely being stopped by Nazi officers. After September 1941 all Jews had to wear the yellow star and the children were even more a target than before. A few months later this last Jewish school was closed, and the children then were educated within the orphanage.

Leo also talked about going to the sports complex Hagibor, one of the few places in Prague that Jewish boys could play sports. He says he went there as late as 1942, before his deportation to Terezín. Hanuš never went there, he said. Sports were not of any interest to him.

There were not many places that the children were free to explore in Prague. Just go to school and get back home. Stay out of the awareness of police or Nazi officers.

Another friend of Hanuš, Zdeněk Ornest, had been raised in a very literary family in the small town of Kutná Hora, not far outside Prague. He was placed in the orphanage at the end of 1940 because his widowed mother feared for his safety. The Hitler Youth were quite active and cruel. Zdeněk was about to be 12 years old. In *We Are Children Just the Same*, he talked about being homesick, unable to see his mother or siblings.⁸

He said he had a “wonderful” friend in Hanuš. Zdeněk said, “Our friendship had its ups and downs, its crises. Hanuš was a little odd, and so was I, and we often quarreled, but we had interesting discussions... He was extremely well read and unusually knowledgeable for his age. He was a pale, weak boy, and what I remember most vividly are his eyes. He was physically in very poor condition, impractical, always somewhere up in the clouds, his feet barely on the ground.”²

No record survived of how Hanuš performed at school. He may have been attending the Jachymova St. school before he entered the orphanage. Others said he was very knowledgeable about many subjects. The adjective “brilliant” is often used to describe the poetry he wrote.

His first known poem, *Heroica*, was written at about age 12, while still at the orphanage.¹⁰

When the stormy tempest whips sea water into foam
And the seagull perches on the mainmast
Oh, I am never ever mournful here
My soul little heeds those wild terrors.

When stormy waves beat violently against our ship
And everyone rushes from deck to shelter
And when all clasp their hands together in despair
My soul feels a delightful calm in the storm

But when the rays of the sun in the azure
gild the peaceful wavelets with its radiance
and all rush up on deck
I never enjoy that contentment.

For life's destiny is a relentless, eager struggle.
I can always be inflamed for a strenuous fight
A man must always be eager for victory
And everyday wrest happiness for his life.

This – from a 12 year old who had been through so much in his young life.

Perhaps some of his determination to live a happy life, to put up “a strenuous fight,” as seen in so many of his poems, came in part from his great great grandfather. If Hanuš had lived, what would he have accomplished, would his path have been as successful as Seligmann's?

In June of 1942 Hanuš, Leo, Emil Kopel (another friend who would also go to Terezín with him) and several others, had a group Bar Mitzvah at the orphanage. This was likely the last of the yearly group Bar Mitzvahs. Hanuš wrote in their remembrance books the following variant of the last two lines of his poem: “To be a winner, man must be willing to want life and he will then have luck and happiness every day. I wish you all the best in life. Your Friend, H.H.” The inscription is dated June 5, 1942.¹¹

How did this sad, isolated little boy maintain within himself such a strong urge to live, to succeed? What held him back from participating in the games the others played? Did he find any comfort with his teachers or caregivers in the orphanage? One has the definite impression that even if his roommate Leo or another of the boys urged him to participate in a game or an activity, he declined. He spent much time alone, quite likely already writing poetry.

His mother had moved one more time, the residence record said on January 2, 1941, from Kolinska St to district XIII, no definite address listed on the residence record. However, on the deportation record from Beit Theresienstadt her last address was listed as district XIII, King George 25. Google Maps pinpointed the King George Hotel on Lilliova St, a short walk from Old Town Square, but much farther away from the orphanage. It's not district XIII there, so not clear what is true yet. But why had she stayed at the previous address for only a few months? What was she doing at the King George? Did she still go to see Hanuš?

It was from this last address that Eliška Epstein Hachenburg was deported to the “waiting room prison” of Theresienstadt (German) or Terezín (Czech name). Did she have enough notice to tell Hanuš what was happening? Did she even know about her son's Bar Mitzvah that week? She went on transport AAe-70 on June 6, 1942.

Four months later, on October 24, 1942 Hanuš, Zdeněk, Emil – a total of 1000 people - were transported to Terezín on transport Ca-711. How frightened or worried were they? What did they know about this supposed “gift to the Jews” town, as Hitler had called it for his propaganda machine? Did Hanuš think he would find his mother there?

Scholar Daniel Pražák wrote that deportees were identified only by number – Hanuš' number was 13794. These were not the infamous tattoo numbers – that came for most at Auschwitz and other death camps later.

Daniel said that Hanuš and the school would have had about three days' notice as to who was going. They did not all go at the same time. Leo had already arrived at Terezín in July 1942.

Daniel said that when the deportees gathered at the Holešovice fairgrounds (not far from center city) they would have been relieved of all their money, personal identification documents, ration tickets and house keys. Then they had to wait for the trains, sometimes several days, in rather unsavory conditions, extremely crowded together.^{[12](#)}

CHAPTER THREE 10/24/1942 - 12/18/1943

HANUŠ AT TEREZÍN

The town of Theresienstadt (German original name) was built by the Austro-Hungarian Habsburg/Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II as a fortress town for his Austrian troops fighting the Prussians (later Germans) in the 1780's. It was named for his mother, Empress Maria Teresa. Theresienstadt is about 41 miles north of Prague, in what was then still called Bohemia. Some years later it became an ordinary town, of about 7000 inhabitants. There were huge earth and stone walls around it, but it was not inaccessible or particularly isolated at that time. It actually does not feel closed in or claustrophobic walking around that area today. But of course now there are no Nazi guards at the entrances or guarding the moat that surrounded the town.

In November, 1941 Hitler decided that this highly fortified town would be just right to use as a holding place for Jews. Later, they would be deported farther east, as the Nazi plan for clearing Germany and, they hoped the world, of Jews became more defined. The 7000 residents were moved out; 60,000 Jews were moved in over a fairly short period of time. It is hard to really understand the terrible conditions in which they lived.

Leo Lowy told the bizarre story of a Jewish woman who was a friend of his aunt. The woman had been thrown out of her home in Terezín when all the residents were sent elsewhere. She may actually have gone to Prague. Later, she was deported back to her hometown as an undesirable Jewish prisoner.

Hitler's plan for Terezín was to make it look like a lovely place for Jews to live. Jews in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany and elsewhere were told this would be a perfect haven for Jews, especially the older, wealthier, well educated ones. They would enjoy retirement in each other's company in this lovely "spa" town. They just had to sign over everything they had in their home country and get on the train headed east.

In reality, they had no choice, as life was becoming unbearably restricted and dangerous wherever they lived. They had no idea at first that this was really a prison, a transit camp, on the way to the "final solution." Reinhard Heydrich, a close associate of Hitler's, had been promoted to Deputy Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia in the fall of 1941. Soon after establishing his office in Prague, he took on the assignment of creating this Jewish prison town of Terezín.

In late 1943, when the Danish government and the International Red Cross wanted to see how Hitler was treating his prisoners, this was the camp that was turned into a complete sham "spa" to show them how generous Hitler was. The Danish Jews had just begun to be deported and their government actually worried about them.

The story is unbelievable – the least of it being that Hitler could create this totally false picture. What is much worse is that the head of the International Red Cross in Switzerland, Michel Rossell, made his inspection in June 1944, and then reported that everything was fine! Years later, he was interviewed by Claude Lanzman during his making of the film *Sboah*. The interview was not in that movie, but it was made into a short film called *Un Vivant qui passe* – a visitor from the living (1985). It was shown at the Lincoln Center Jewish Film Festival in New York City a couple of years ago. Absolutely chilling.

Lanzman challenged Rossell, who at first said he did not know what was really going on in the camps (he had previously been to Auschwitz too, and didn't smell anything!). This horrible man said he was only at Terezín for two to three hours, claimed he did not know that what he was shown was a stage set sham, with the rest of the place hidden from him. He said no one asked him for help or said there was any problem. He only vaguely acknowledged, after some browbeating by Lanzman, that yes, maybe it was a scripted, very limited tour that only showed a little bit of the place. Then the man finally admitted that he knew it was a sham. But the Jews in Terezín were the *Prominenten*, he said, the rich privileged ones, and they could buy their way out of the place if they really wanted. Good God!

We do not know exactly what the orphanage boys knew about Terezín. Leo never expressed any sense of fear about going there. Of course, children and parents living together at home would likely have been horrified and frightened to be separated from each other.

But the orphans already had experienced separation, and at that time there was no talk about killing people or unlivable conditions. That was not going on at Terezín as far as most people knew. Well, except for the political prisoners in the special Little Prison, a half mile from the main camp. And maybe one or two people came back to tell the truth, but no one believed escapees from this horrible place.

In reality, people were dying by the dozens every day – from illness, from starvation. They were covered with lice and bedbugs, sleeping all crowded together in triple level bunk beds. Hygiene was at a minimum and the amount of food that prisoners of all ages received each day was barely enough to subsist on. But they did die not from shooting or gassing. That would come later, at other places.

After their few days at the Holešovice fairgrounds in Prague, 1000 people per transport were loaded onto trains and made the approximately 40 mile trip to Bohušovice station. They then had to walk about one and a half miles to Terezín, carrying their baggage and little children, helping the frail, ill and elderly to make the walk.

When the children arrived, they were assigned to a dormitory room or “*Heim*,” (German for home), in the barracks buildings. We know that Hanuš was first assigned to Home 2 in building L417, the Czech boys’ barracks. Each Home had an adult supervisor. Shortly after Hanuš’ arrival someone recognized his extraordinary literary talent and brought it to the attention of the supervisor of Home 1, Valtr Eisinger. Eisinger, a very special mentor beloved by all, was able to have Hanuš transferred to Home 1. This turned out to be probably the best thing that ever happened in his short life.

Leo Lowy had been assigned to Home 1 when he arrived in July. Also from the orphanage and now in Home 1 were Emil Kopel, and Zdeněk Ornest. Leo reported that it was a place where Hanuš actually had some happy times. Leo said that Hanuš finally felt accepted and recognized for his talents. He even may have felt he finally had a few friends.

George Brady, another survivor in Home 1, wrote some of his memories of Terezín and Hanuš as part of the book of Hanuš’ poems, *The White Color of the Clouds Right Alongside*. When we met, George told this writer the same sad description as others had, of Hanuš and what has been believed about his family life. However, George ended his very affecting essay in the poetry book like this: “Seventy years later, I can still see Hanuš and Valtr, bent over his latest piece, editing the work together. It’s healing to think of the unimaginable delight they would have in seeing this book come to light.”¹

According to Hanuš’ own essay, written for the Home’s weekly “magazine” *Vedem*, he longed for understanding and acceptance, to have just a few friends. He was shy and afraid, and so he wrote his thoughts and feelings on paper, having no one else with whom to share them. He wrote about this in the essay *Uvod* (Introduction).² And here is where he finally got his wish.

The most famous child from Home 1 is Petr Ginz. He also arrived from Prague in 1942. He had been at home with his Jewish father, non-Jewish mother and younger sister, Chava. Some people know about him today, because his visionary picture of a spaceship was taken into space by the first Israeli astronaut, Ilan Ramon. On that ill-fated journey, on February 1, 2003 the space shuttle Columbia disintegrated on its way back to earth.

Many others know that Petr was a most industrious and incredibly imaginative and brilliant child in many areas. He was an artist, a writer, and most important, the organizing force in the creation of *Vedem*. He encouraged, Leo said he even coerced, most occupants of Home 1 to participate. Leo always said to this writer that he (Leo) was not much of a writer himself, but even he had some jokes and at least one essay in the “magazine.”

It is unknown how close the friendship was between Petr and Hanuš, but they often are mentioned together as the two most talented children to be in Home 1. Leo said that it was the attention and support of Petr, in addition to Eisinger’s mentoring, that helped Hanuš come into his own. These two boys were the most frequent contributors to the magazine.

Leo talked about their days in the camp. There were chores inside (e.g. cleaning) and outside (e.g. gardening the vegetable plot for the Nazi dinner tables). Leo loved to tell how one boy would be assigned to keep watch for any guard who might come by. About half the boys in the bunk would be doing chores. The other half would be in the attic having secret lessons. The adults assigned to manage these groups usually had not been teachers in their former lives. But many wonderful people, like Waltr Eisinger, became memorable teachers, mentors and supporters of the young men and women in their charge in those extraordinary conditions.

There were two boys to each level of a three tier bunk bed, with a small shelf for personal belongings. The room was quite crowded because there were about forty boys in it at one time. Altogether, about 100 boys went through Home 1 from 1942 to late 1944. Only about 15 survived the war.

In the 2011 film *The Boys of Terezín* Leo Lowy and his fellow survivors were interviewed.³ It is an amazing and beautiful film to see – four old men, talking with great emotion, animation and sometimes humor about their horrendous experiences and how they made a life. All the boys in their Home 1 were Czech, about 12 to 15 years old.

Emil Kopel on the edge of tears, talked about how difficult it was, how sad and scared he was. He felt deprived of a childhood, but also said that “we had a life there.” George Brady, with a bright spirit reported his experiences in a very matter of way, said there were “plenty of fights and arguments” in that tight space and that it was often quite a mess. He described the terrible illnesses that swept through the various barracks – encephalitis, polio, typhoid.

Leo said that the biggest worry was “not to go on a transport (he meant to the East, i.e. Auschwitz). And Sid Taussig, the youngest of the boys, was full of fun and smiles as he told how they did what young adolescent boys do - have pillow fights and talk about girls.

In the film they all talked about Hanuš – his brilliant writing, his sad demeanor. Chava Pressburger, the surviving sister of Petr Ginz, also was interviewed, and she said that “Hanuš Hachenburg was a genius.”

Hanuš' mother, Eliška had arrived at Terezín in June, but not one of the survivors interviewed could remember ever seeing her there. Leo said he just didn't remember that happening. Could it be that Hanuš and his mother did see each other from time to time, somewhere away from the boys' barracks? She would have been housed in the women's barracks, probably the building called Hamburg. Did she know anything about his life?

Terezín by Hanuš Hachenburg (page 65 of *Vedem*)⁴

That bit of dirt within dirty walls
and that bit of wire all around
and 30,000 sleeping,
who'll wake one day
and one day they'll see
their own blood outpoured.

I was once a child – two years ago;
That boyhood yearned for other worlds.
I'm a child no longer – I have seen purple
by now I'm an adult, I've come to know fear,
the bloody word and wasted day.
That's not just the bogey man anymore!

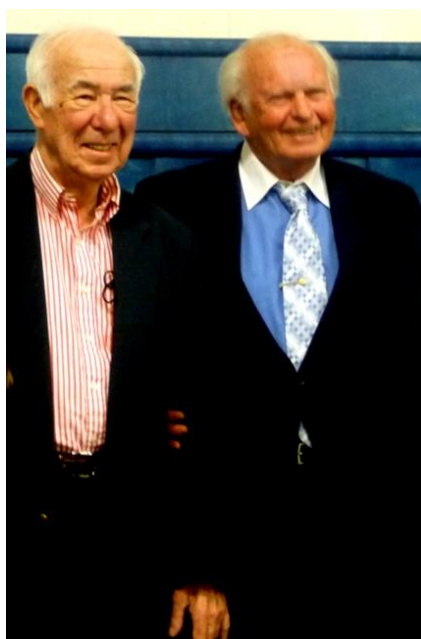
And yet I believe that today I'm just sleeping
that I'll meet again with my childhood
my childhood like a wild rose
like a bell that wakes me from my dream
like a mother who loves the naughty child
with the intoxication of womanhood
like dreadful youth on the look-out
for an enemy, on a tight-rope
like dreadful youth that tells itself:
that one's good, that one's wicked.
There in the distance where childhood sleeps sweetly
on the little pathways of Stromovka
there, above that house on the downward slope
where there was only scorn for me
there, somewhere in the gardens and flowers
where my mother gave birth to me
-so that I might weep.

I sleep on my pallet in the light of a candle
and perhaps one day I'll finally realize
that I was a tiny little creature
as tiny
as the choir –
of those 30,000.

The last composition by Hanuš to be included in the *Vedem* collection was a puppet play. It was saved along with his poems, essays and columns on many subjects, and the *Vedem* writing and drawings of all the boys. The title of that play has been translated as "Looking for a Monster (or a Ghost or Bugbear)."

It is a satirical, occasionally humorous story of a terrible king who does not know how to govern. It seems to be an incredibly aware portrayal of Hitler and what was really going on in the world at the time, even the fate that awaited them. This seems impossible, as Leo Lowy maintained that the children really did not know what was going on “to the east.” But of course, they saw illness, misery and death every day in Terezín.

The only child in Home 1 who did not go on a transport to Auschwitz was Sid Taussig. The story is an amazing one, because it was he who saved *Vedem*. It is a joy to watch him tell this triumphant tale to an audience.⁵ What is even more wonderful and amazing is how these few boys went on to live long, productive, mostly happy lives.



Leo Lowy(l) and Sid Taussig at Drew U. New Jersey. Shoah Remembrance program, 2013⁶

Such good luck was not in store for Hanuš Hachenburg. Hanuš was deported to Auschwitz on December 18, 1943 after little more than a year at Terezín. Leo said they all were surprised in Home 1, because no one else from their room had gone on a transport to the East. They did not know exactly what lay ahead, but they knew it was not going to be like Terezín, as bad as that was. In addition, it was recorded that Eliška Epstein Hachenburg also went to Auschwitz that same day.

Supposedly there were two transports on December 18th, 1943. Eliška was on Ds-676 and Hanuš on Ds-677. Every source consulted listed the same data for both these transports. They say that each transport had 2503 people, that 2000 of them died in the war time and 502 survived, one “fate unknown.” If Hanuš went on one and Eliška on another, they may never have seen each other. If by any chance this is a mistake in record keeping and they were on the same transport, they *still* may not have been together.⁷

One reason there actually may have been two transports totaling over 4000 deportees in one day is that in December, 1943 there was intense effort to prepare the camp for the upcoming infamous Red Cross inspection discussed above. Since Terezín was so overcrowded, many people were deported to make the place look healthier, like a resort, and less like the slum of death that it was.

Who knows how or why Hanuš was chosen at that moment. His mentor Valtr Eisinger could do nothing to change it. Picture a pitifully thin little boy – probably quite small, physically immature and weak-looking for his age of 14. The mesmerizing big dark eyes – everyone who saw him mentioned this. If only we could find a verified picture of him!

The deportees were stuffed into those terrible train cattle cars – you must have seen pictures in books or a television special about the Holocaust. Toman Brod, a Czech boy from another “Home” in the same building, was on the same transport to Auschwitz as Hanuš. He has written a lengthy memoir that is kept in the Jewish Museum in Prague. It also is online. I encourage you to read it, especially the description of the trip from Terezín to Auschwitz and his time in Auschwitz II-Birkenau, family camp, B2b. They were on the same transport and he was with Hanuš in the family camp.⁸

CHAPTER FOUR 12/18/1943 TO 7/10 or 12/1944

HANUŠ AT AUSCHWITZ II - BIRKENAU

How long does that train trip take? How many died along the way? How many people were stuffed into each box car? They arrived in freezing cold, according to Toman Brod, no jackets or gloves, probably no sweater or warm clothes at all.

Birkenau, about a mile from the main buildings of Auschwitz I, was the gigantic killing camp. So, so much worse than Terezín: awful, freezing wooden huts, toilets all lined up in one big hut, no privacy, no sanitation at all. Rats all over. Less food than they had even had at Terezín. And always, all day and night, the smoke and the smell of burning bodies from the four crematoria at the far end of the huge camp. It was the largest of all the Nazi extermination camps.



Arrival at Birkenau and the railroad track into Hell¹

Hanuš and Toman Brod were lucky (if you can call it that). When they arrived, there was no “selection” by Mengele and his henchmen as they got off the train. You know – if you got sent to the right, you worked till you died, if you got sent to the left, you were gassed right away.

Instead, the children and adults from Terezín were assigned to what was called Family Camp (B2b). This had been set up earlier in the year for previous Terezín arrivals.

The plan, some sources say, was to have a “nicer” holding area for the Terezín deportees, so that if any inspectors wanted to follow up (after the Terezín inspection) on where the deportees were sent, they could see them in Auschwitz. This doesn’t sound too likely. It was just impossible to *not* see and smell the rest of what was going on in that hideous place.

In fact, the orders were to hold the deportees for six months in family camp, with some special privileges, like not dying immediately, then to treat them like any other prisoners – work to death or gas immediately. They also were required to write postcards to friends and family in Terezín that were postdated and sent after the person had been killed. So they did not die the day they arrived. People and sources stating that Hanuš died on December 18, 1943 are almost surely wrong. That was the day he left Terezín. That was the day he disappeared from the records.

Hanuš and Toman got another “lucky” break though. Fredy Hirsch, a charismatic young man whom they had known and loved in Terezín, was allowed to organize a children’s activity camp during the day in B2b. He had organized many activities for the children when they all were in Terezín, and in Auschwitz he did the same. Toman said they were warm in that hut at least, but terribly hungry. And at

night they had to go to a regular freezing, crowded barracks to try to sleep. These barracks, almost 300 huts, were almost all destroyed by the Nazis when the Russians closed in at the end of the war.



The B2b children's barracks for daytime activity – only the chimney is left²

There is barely a trace of Hanuš after he left Terezín. Some people have said he was with his mother in the family camp, but no one really knows. There is not any exact record of when Eliška or Hanuš really died. Could they have been together at least at those last moments?

Even the Auschwitz Archives wrote that they had no record of Hanuš.³ Not everyone got a tattoo on his or her arm. And when the Soviets were getting near to liberate the camps, a lot of records were burned by the Nazis and most of Birkenau was burned down.

The only story that seems to point to his survival for a few months is that Hanuš apparently composed at least one poem in Auschwitz. It was called *The Gong*, and it was so evocative that many other prisoners memorized it. It was about the morning wake up gong, which brought a prisoner out of sleep and back to the awful reality of where he was. This story appears on websites and in books, but not one surviving person seemed to have remembered the poem.

In March 1944, the first deportees from Terezín who had been put into family camp (from the previous September), were murdered. In June 1944 it was time to dissolve the transport on which Hanuš had arrived. That happened in early July, the 10th or 12th, which most people believe is when Hanuš perished. The 12th was his fifteenth birthday.

When Ruth H A and Susan H R visited Auschwitz in February, 2011, we were very graciously guided by Mr. František Tichý, founder and director of Přírodní škola in Letnany, Prague. We had been corresponding with him, because under his tutelage his students (secondary school) had made an extensive study of children of the Holocaust. They had championed Hanuš in particular, and are the driving force behind the Czech-English publication of all his poems, especially those that were not in the book published in 1995.

The school continues to undertake projects related to the children of Terezín. And some students have maintained their interest and focus in Hanuš, even after graduation. They have created a very interesting web site (partly in English).⁴

Mr. Tichý guided us and a few teachers and students through Auschwitz, in particular showing us places pertinent to Hanuš, as no ordinary guide could have. When we reached the combination gas chamber/crematorium where Hanuš most likely perished, a student lit a candle and Frantisek asked Ruth to read this poem by Hanuš.

Faith in Nothing by Hanuš Hachenburg (p 361 in *Vedem*)⁵

I am alone
 I dreamt deceptive dreams
 I am alone
 In the distance, shelters collapse
 I am alone
 Black Clouds of terror pass
 I am alone
 We are only wrecks on the sea.
 I am alone
 Flames pour over in waves
 I am alone
 And I fall over the foam
 I am alone
 I am only rags on bone,
 I am alone
 I have lost my strength, my breath.

I am alone
 In the gardens roses grow,
 I alone
 Walk with you silently, close by.
 Alone am I.
 I can embrace the glow,
 Because I am alone,
 Of God's shining heaven.

I am alone.
 Everything is born
 In loneliness
 That the world might drink its fill.
 I am alone
 In ashes left by flames
 And I know:
 THERE IS NOTHING.



Lighting a candle for Hanuš at crematorium no. 4⁶

AFTERWORD

It was pretty amazing in 2007 to see the light go on in our family. Meeting Gary Friedman and hearing the story of Hanuš (as he knew it then) was totally unexpected. We all seemed to be quite curious to know more. But life happens, and nobody went to Prague.

When Ruth and Susan did go to Prague in 2010 it was like a giant searchlight turned on. It is still on, and we are still hoping to find more about our family – and that picture of Hanuš I keep believing must exist! The 2011 trip connected us with many people who care about Hanuš and his work. We felt amazingly at home in Prague, walking where our relatives had walked and lived. It is a feeling very different from that in any other place either of us has visited. The 2014 trip, when we got nine more of us to Prague, was wonderful beyond imagining. Now more of you really know, really get it about Prague.

This little book is just my start. As I was learning to write a family history, there was constantly more to find and verify, more I wanted to include. I have so much more to tell you. We Stamford Library writers have been limited in the scope of our group goals, and that is probably a good thing, or we would be writing till kingdom come, and our families would never see anything. Stopping here is just a resting point.

I have tried to be as accurate as I possibly can. As I wrote, edited, re-wrote, etc. so many questions came up. I have asked some of you some of them already. Now it is your turn to ask questions, make suggestions, tell me what is not correct here (with your evidence please), tell me what you know about that should be in here when I resume writing. My goal is to put every single Hachenburg I know about into this book – from all of Seligmann's children to all of mine and yours, and not just on a long list. I want you to have all the documents too.

I am already compiling my list of why, when and who that didn't get answered on this first go. I will send it to you when I resume writing. Now you all are part of the project.

CZECH WORDS – MEANING AND PRONUNCIATION
(AND A FEW GERMAN OR POLISH ONES)

?? = don't have definitive answer yet

Word in Czech	What it is	Pronounce like this
Arnošt (Ernst)	Hermine H. Weis' son, father of Pavel Weis	Ar – nosht
Belgická	Street of Prague orphanage in District II, Vinohrady	Bel- gitz – ka
Bohumil	Father of Eliška Epstein, died before her marriage to Jiří	Bo - hu – mil
Bubeneč	Area of Prague where Hanuš & parents lived at first?	Bu - ben – itch
Burggraf (German)	Viscount	Say what you see
Dejvice	Area of Prague near Bubeneč	Dey – vitz –a
Eliška	Mother of Hanuš	Eh – lish –ka
František Tichý	Founder, headmaster of Přírodní škola in Prague	Fran – ti shek Tic – key
Hanuš	Our cousin – generation of Robert & Pavel	Ha – ush NOT Han – oosh
Hermine	Sister of Leopold/Josef/Zikmund/Emilie	Her - mean - e
Holešovice	Prague fairgrounds	Ho – le – sho – vit - za
Hradčany	Castle district, Prague I	Hrad – cha - nee
Jáchymova St school	Last Jewish elementary school open in Prague	?? I think the J's are said as y's
Jeiteles	Family Seligmann lived with	??
Jiří	Father of Hanuš	Yizz – e
Judenstadt (German)	Jewishtown now called Josefov, all a part of Old Town	U – den - shtat
Karlův Most	Charles Bridge built in 1300's	Kar – loov Most ??
Łódź (Polish)	Polish town with large ghetto	Woudge
Náměstí (Míru)	Square or Plaza – Míru = Peace	Na - mesh - ti Míroo
Národní	Means national, as in Archives or Theater	Na – rud –nie
Nové Město	New Town	Nov-eh Me- yes - toe
Obchodník	Merchant/shopkeeper – many in the family were	??
Přišzká	Rodeo Drive of Old Town – runs from Old Town Sq. to river along edge of Josefov – see map	??
Přírodní škola	Nature School that studied Hanuš and the other kids	Pri – rud –nie shko - la

Word in Czech	What it is	Pronounce like this
Staroměstské Náměstí	Old Town Square – the center of Prague for millenia	Star – o – mesh - tkay
Terezín	Town turned into “Waiting Room” prison for sending Jews to Auschwitz	Ter – eh - zine
Theresienstadt (German)		Ter - aze - ee - n - stat
Uvod	Introduction – Hanuš wrote very moving one in <i>Vedem</i>	Ooh - vud ??
Václavské Náměstí	The huge Prague plaza of up-scale businesses – where Jiří had his business – see picture	Vatz – laf – skay (means Wenceslas)
velkoobchodník	Wholesaler – Seligmann, Jiří	???
Vinohrady	Neighborhood of orphanage, Prague II	Veen – o – rad - ee
Zdeněk	Friend of Hanuš in orphanage and Terezín	z - den – ek
Zigeuenergasse (German)	Street in Josefov where Seligmann had house, and his synagogue	Zi - goy – ner Gassa
Zikmund	Father of Jiří, grandfather of Hanuš	Zik – mund
Žižkov	Neighborhood near orphanage	Zish – kof

ENDNOTES

1. List of Illustrations, Maps, Family Tree

Note A – Prague Districts Map The original little towns of Prague (Old Town, New Town, Little Town and Castle Area) were incorporated into one city in the late 1300's. The many, many suburbs of Prague began to be incorporated into the city in the mid-1800's. They are the “neighborhood” names on the map. I have only included the ones most relevant for this story.

The Roman numerals (red) indicate the 10 districts used administratively from 1960-1990. Since 2001 there are 22 administrative districts (black) and 57 municipal districts. Government! However, on street signs and for address purposes the neighborhood names and the old 10 districts are used. The building signs usually show the current number of the building in blue and the number from long ago in red.

To make this map I used the outline of the 22 districts from a map created by [Rarelibra](#) 15:16, 2 January 2007 (UTC) for public domain use found on Wikipedia.

Note B – Central Prague Map In Old Town and the other areas of central Prague (see note A) there are a warrens of little streets, much too numerous to include on this map. Almost all the white spaces on this map are really filled with twisty, cobblestoned little streets. The original town walls (from the 1300's) of Old Town ran on the route of today's Narodni, Na Pricope and Revolucni Streets. You can see that they encircle Old Town and Judenstadt from river edge to river edge. New Town started on the other side of the walls.

Note C – This family tree is just bare bones for the purpose of this little volume. It shows mostly people who are relevant to these two stories. **All credit for the beautiful layout goes to Bill Adelman, who also spent hours and hours helping with formatting this book. Thanks so much for your patience with me!**

Part One, Chapter One

1. Dankmar Hachenburg, son of Josef, visited Hachenburg Germany in 1968. He had seen a document, called a *Bürgerliste* of 1791, giving this information. Robert Hachenburg, writing his family memoir *More by Chance* incorporated the information into his writing. We have no copy of the original list, only what Dankmar later typed on his own letterhead.

Below that information he added what he had seen about the children of Seligmann from the Jewish registries in Prague. There are problems with all this information:

a. this was before computers, before digitization, so anything had to be deciphered from old German script. Even the Prague records were mostly in German because it was part of the German lands until 1918. Dankmar probably could read this well, as he was German by birth, but these handwritten documents were subject to human error.

b. Jewish births were rarely recorded until the time of Seligmann's children (early 1800's). That is one possible reason why no one has found a verified record of Seligmann's birth, either in Hachenburg or Prague.

c. how did Dankmar get the information from Prague? His visit was during the time of Communist rule. Records about Jews were hidden, destroyed, surely not easily reviewed by a tourist.

d. In e mail correspondence with the www.landeshauptarchiv.de, Jens Geinitz very kindly did some searching, and then replied: “we believe that we actually found the source from which the *Bürgerliste* from 1791 was taken. It should be from the book “*Geschichte der Stadt Hachenburg*” by W. Söhngen, 1914. We have the Book in our library (although out of print now) and were able to locate the *Bürgerliste* in it. It indeed reads “Baruch Löws Witw., Seifensieder, 1 Frau, 3, Söhne, 4 Töchter” (1 woman, 3 sons, 4 daughters) However, the author does not make any comment about where he saw the (original) list, where it was in 1914 or in later times. We do not hold it in our archive although we do have two *Bürgerlisten*, dating from the early 19th century. We saw them over and are sorry to say that we did not find any hints about your ancestors. Nor are we

able to make any reference to where the list might be now – perhaps it was lost in the time from 1914 to present?.. we found the book to be almost of no use with its lacking of detail and quotation.” Regarding Johann August, Geinitz said, “We have found no documents concerning Johann August which seem to hold any answers to these questions.”

So we have no primary source of information, and nothing at all to verify our family story.

2. Robert Hachenburg stated on p. 3 of his, memoir *More by Chance* (1991), “Most, if not all, of the following information comes to me from Dankmar Hachenburg, my father’s first cousin.” The “following information” is the family history as understood by Dankmar and what Robert and his sister Clara H. Wilderman knew in 1991, with later slight revisions to the genealogy up to 2000. It is all pre-computer era, and there was no research or family travel to Prague after the end of the Communist era. Although Clara H. and Louis Wilderman had visited Prague during the Communist years (1965?), they certainly had not been looking for Hachenburgs or Hachenburg history. Louis took a photograph of the Prague landscape that was later used on a Columbia Records record cover for Mozart’s Prague Symphony conducted by Bruno Walter.

Robert and Dankmar had a wonderful correspondence (and occasional visits) once we all met in 1964. There also was a taped interview with Dankmar, September 1, 1984 that was done by Janice H. Levit, daughter of Bill Hachenburg.

As I worked on this, I have realized that what Dankmar knew was actually what his father Josef wrote in his memoir, which ended in 1937. Dankmar also had a copy of Emilie Hachenburg Witz’s short memoir, written in German in 1927. Not any one of these people had been alive during the life of Seligmann. Emilie and Josef would have written from whatever their father Moritz told them about his life as the eighth son of Seligmann and Eva.

The fact that the same story has been passed down the generations in a very consistent way seems significant. In addition, it is believed that Moritz visited the town of Hachenburg in about 1845, which seems to lend credence to the belief that the family originated there – at least the pregnancy. Really, why else would Seligmann have been given that town as a last name? Why would Moritz go there?

3. Souvenir note card from Hachenburg Germany

4. Struif, Bruno. M. *Hachenburg – ZeitSpuren einer Westerwälder Residenzstadt*. (Traces in time of a Westerwald residence). Hachenburg: City Council of Hachenburg, 1999. p.187.

5. Alemannia Judaica website

6. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hachenburg_Schloss.JPG#file

picture of Hachenburg Castle today, rebuilt in the 1740’s. Author: Hachenburger, posted Oct 21, 2011. This is the way it looked when Seligmann was born.

7. Ibid., Struif, p.112ff.

8. Ibid., Struif, p110.

9. Robert and Dankmar must have agreed on this description, as it was clearly written in Robert’s family history. The Philadelphia Hachenburgs had only a photograph of a portrait of Seligmann as a well dressed young adult. Dankmar’s note said that his father Josef had made a copy of the original oil painting in about 1880. We don’t know where that original portrait is/was, but Dankmar sent the photo to Robert and later to Douglas Hachenburg (son of Gustav H., great grandson of Leopold H.). Doug had studied in Germany and made contact with some of the family there at that time.

Recently, I discovered Seligmann and some of his children on a website related to Ancestry: the Grünhut family tree (see Bibliography). When I corresponded with Mr. Rohel who manages that site he told me that he got all his information from Bruno Struif (whom I already know) in 2009. In addition, Struif sent him a portrait supposedly of Seligmann H., dressed similarly to our picture, but a few years younger (blue

background). Bruno indicated to Rohel that he had gotten that picture from someone in Prague, not clear on that point. Again, not the original portrait, but a picture of a picture.

10. Mr. Struif helped me to understand that we indeed are only Perhapsburgs. The Habsburg dynasty originated in Switzerland/Austria. We do not have Habsburg blood. The royalty from whom we have descended (?), according to family legend, is German.

11. Do you think that these two blue-eyed blondes are the same person? Does anyone know where the portraits are today?

Part One, Chapter Two

1. Čornej, Petr and Jiří Pokorný. *A Brief History of the Czech Lands to 2000*. (translation from Czech original by Anna Bryson), Prague: Práh Press, 2000. p.22.

2. Gribbetz, Judah. *The Timetables of Jewish History*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993. p.184.

3. Ibid., Gribbetz, p. 195.

4. Kieval, Hillel J. *Languages of Community: the Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000. p.238.

5. Meyer, Michael A., *German-Jewish History in Modern Times 1780-1871, vol 2*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. p.55.

6. Maria Theresa was not allowed to become a Holy Roman Emperor because she was a woman.

7. Ibid., Gribbetz, p. 238.

8. pictures taken by Ruth H. Adelman – hereafter noted as RHA.

9. Alternate spellings: Jeitelisz, Jeitteles, Geidels, Geitler

10. www.yivoencyclopedia.org accessed March 17, 2015.

11. Dankmar interviewed by Janice H. Levit September 1, 1984 in New York City.

12. picture by RHA. Today this is the tiny Hotel at the Black Star, Seminarska 6. According to its web site, a building had been there from the 1400's, but some of it dates back even farther. There clearly were several revisions and re-buildings. Remember, Judenstadt flooded or burned down from time to time. All the houses of that area are quite jumbled together. The web site (www.blackstarhotel.com) mentions owners through the centuries, but Seligmann Hachenburg is not on their list. Not prominent enough?

The Archivist, Dr. Matušíková showed us the mark on the conscription record that confirms Seligmann did own it. He moved from #162 (see Richie's Hostel #8 above) around the corner (or across the street, depending on the year) to #177 by about the time his 4th child, Herschmann, was born (1801). According to old maps found in the Spanish Synagogue both of these houses were quite close to one another. #162 was on Zigeunergasse and # 177 was right behind the Zigeunergasse synagogue. One unfinished project is to try to trace the change of streets from before to after the razing of the area.

What you see today is the prettified, tourist-ready hotel, pastel-colored like most of Old Town, recovered from the Communist era of terrible neglect. See the bibliography for an excellent source of information about the old Judenstadt – *The Lost Jewish Town of Prague* by Hana Volavková and Pavel Bělina.

Ruth H. Adelman and Susan H. Reyniers stayed at the Black Star in February, 2011, hoping to be visited by Seligmann's or Eva's ghost, but no – it didn't happen. It was quite difficult trying to imagine that big family living in probably just a few small rooms, but we do not know how the structure was configured when they were there. Further documentation in next edition.

Late note – The Black Star may recently have closed! Shall we buy it back?

13. Trauungs-Matrik 1784-1843. Prague, Národní archiv, fond HBMa, inv.num. 2661, page 85.
14. Dankmar/Janice interview.
15. Robert Hachenburg. *More by Chance*... p.5.
16. More detail about the other children will be included in a future edition.

Part Two

1. Volavkova, Hana and Pavel Belina. *The Lost Jewish Town of Prague*. Prague: Paseka, 2004. English translation by Gita Zbavitelová. pp 5-18 has a great summary of boundaries.
2. Klara was the daughter of Moses Jellinek and Charlotte Treuer. I believe that Treuer also can be spelled Trier, and this would indicate that the families were already connected. One of the witnesses to their marriage was Emanuel Trier, who was married to Seligman's youngest child Judith. So Emanuel was already the brother-in-law of Moritz. It's not that complicated – look on the tree!
3. Photographs of these portraits were sent to Robert H by Dankmar H. At that time the original of Moritz was in possession of Helga H. Bullard in California, and original of Klara was in possession of Hans Walter Hachenburg of Florida, now deceased. Helga indicated the original was indeed in the poor condition seen in this photo.
4. Dankmar/Janice interview and Robert Hachenburg, *More by Chance*, p. 9.

5. RHA He's hanging in my office!

6. Robert Hachenburg, p. 9.

7. Emilie's memoir, and Ruth and Susan had a three hour meeting with Pavel Weis/Irena Weisová, February 18, 2011, Prague.

Pavel Weis (1914-2013), son of Arnošt (Ernst) Weis, grandson of Hermine Hachenburg Weisová. He and his mother Alžbeta survived Terezín concentration camp and returned to Prague to live under the Communist regime. Pavel's father and brother, however, both died at the hands of the Nazis. Pavel married Irena Weisová (1922-2014) after the war. Dankmar had visited them in the 1960's and called Pavel "the last Hachenburg in Prague." Ruth and Susan connected with Pavel with the help of Helga H. Bullard and had a most wonderful visit with two very sharp, animated, and friendly people in 2011.

Unfortunately, both Pavel and Irena died, just a few months apart, in 2013/2014. The amazing part of this is that now we know Pavel and Irena's son Vladimir and *his* daughter, Carolina – a whole new branch of the family for us all. We had a great visit with them in 2014 and they were most generous with photos and information they had – to be included in our next edition.

8. Photo of the three brothers in 1882, the year Leopold went to the USA. Josef would settle in Germany in 1890 or so. Sent to Robert by Dankmar.

9. Pavel Weis/Irena Weisová conversation, Prague, February 18, 2011.

10. Emilie said Zikmund went with his son to the ship. I found National Archives New York Passenger lists, 1820-1957 through www.Ancestry.com. It says Frederick arrived in New York on January 25, 1904. He left from Cuxhaven Germany on the ship Auguste Victoria.

11. Translated by Helga H. Bullard, p. 14.

12. Albright, Madeleine. *Prague Winter*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2012.

See map on p. 46, which shows the territories that made up the new democracy – Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia.

13. Albright, p. 47. Very, very informative and interesting book. She uses Hanuš Hachenburg's poem *Terezín* on page 211!
14. Emilie's memoir, p. 16. As translated by Helga H. Bullard.

Part Three, Chapter One

1. Irena Weisová said to Susan and Ruth, "The last hundred years have been very bad for the Jews." We were talking about why Leopold H. and his wife's family (Prinz) had left Budapest in 1882 – anti-Semitism causing all kinds of difficulties, especially in their business. Irena was 89 at the time we spoke, on February 18, 2011 in Prague. Post World War II was a much more terrible time in Europe than we in the United States ever knew.
2. Mašek, Filip, Daniel Pražák, František Tichý. *The White Color of the Clouds Right Alongside*. Poems of Hanuš Hachenburg. Prague: Baobab Publishers and Přírodní škola, 2013. p.117.
3. Ibid. Mašek, p. 121.
4. E mail from Sidney Taussig to Ruth H. Adelman. 3/23/12.
5. Pavel Weis conversation February 18, 2011 in Prague. His father Arnošt later lost the business to the Nazis. Pavel, his brother František and his wife, their parents and Arnošt and Alžběta, all were deported to Terezín in about 1942. Arnošt quickly died of illness/starvation in Terezín, and František was killed in Auschwitz. Pavel survived as a woodworker in a satellite camp of Terezín. Only Pavel and his mother lived to return to Prague at the end of the war.
6. Pavel Weis conversation February 18, 2011, Prague. Pavel was unaware, however, of what had happened to this part of his family. He was surprised to learn that Hanuš and his mother had been in Terezín, probably at the same time that he was. Of course, Pavel was with the adult men in a satellite camp, Eliška was in a women's barracks, and Hanuš was in the teen-age Czech boys' barracks.
7. Pražák, Daniel V.D. *Hanuš Hachenburg – Orphan and Poet*. Seminar thesis for Introduction to the Studies of History. Prague: Charles University, 2012. P.7.
8. RHA
9. RHA
10. The National Archives gave us (as family members) a copy of the official birth certificate for Hanuš on July 12, 1929. We were informed that Czech privacy regulations state that this document cannot be printed for the public until July 12, 2029 (100 years after his birth), but the information can be told as we have done here. We recently re-confirmed this rule with PhDr. Lenka Matušíková. E-mail 2/16/2015.
11. Pavel Weis - conversation in Prague, February 18, 2011.
12. The document was e-mailed to me by Dr. Lenka Matušíková. She translated this, and parts of many other documents that we saw. She was of invaluable help to Susan and Ruth on our two visits to the National Archives building in Prague VI.

Part Three, Chapter Two

1. Conversations with Leo Lowy in November and December 2011.
2. Admission record from the orphanage records. Shown to us by Katerina Steinova February 19, 2011.
3. An absolutely chilling book, *In the Garden of Beasts*, by Erik Larson, tells about the U.S. ambassador to Germany in 1933-34 and his family, the Dodds of Chicago. It is unbelievable and really quite sickening to learn just how people from the highest rank on down managed to disbelieve what they were seeing, living amidst, every day. The Nazi takeover was just so unspeakable – more than most could absorb. And of

course, there were plenty of people who thought the Jews and other undesirables were just getting what they deserved, and found a rationale for the behavior of beasts.

4. Franěk, Rudolf. *Terezínská Škola*. Prague, MIR publishers, 1965. Pp 18-19. Google translated the information on the title page as follows: “Published by agitation and propaganda Secretariat of the Central Union of Antifascist Fighters - 20th anniversary of the liberation of Terezín by the Soviet Army, as equipment for work among the youth.” It also indicated that Vladimír Konopka had edited this book (I guess so it would conform to Soviet thinking). Leo Lowy had this book in his collection, and he wanted us to know what another friend had said about Hanuš.

5. E mail from Miroslava Kováčiková , Hotel Esplanade. May 12, 2014.

6. Not only does Jiří's residence record show this, but it is consistent with every deportation record source that we found. See bibliography for the names and link to those sources.

7. This picture is of a dormitory in the boys' orphanage. Leo Lowy said it looked just the same when he and Hanuš were there.

8. Křížková, Marie Rút, Kurt Jiří Kotouč, Zdeněk Ornest, editors. *We Are Children Just the Same: Vedem the secret magazine by the boys of Terezín*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995. Translated from Czech by R. Elizabeth Novak. Pp. 112-114.

9. Ibid. Křížková, p.180.

10. Mašek, Filip, Daniel Pražák, František Tichý, editors. *The White Color of the Clouds Right Alongside*. Poems of Hanuš Hachenburg. Prague: Baobab Publishers and Přírodní Škola, 2013. Translated by Gerald Turner, p. 31.

11. A copy of the page was given to Ruth by Leo Lowy, and this was Leo's translation.

12. Pražák, Daniel V.D., p. 9.

Part Three, Chapter Three

1. Ibid. Mašek, Filip, Daniel Pražák, František Tichý, editors. p.15.

2. Ibid. p. 19. *Vedem* was acknowledged to be the best of the many “magazines” that were secretly written in Terezín. It was not a conventional magazine, but a single, handwritten copy that was read aloud every Friday night. Peter would assign other children to write about what was going on in daily life in Terezín, or other stories of interest to them. There was poetry, jokes, fiction, drawings. Petr Ginz was the organizer of it all. It was a very special group of boys in Home 1.

3. Miller, Mina, executive producer & John Sharify, producer, writer, narrator. *The Boys of Terezín*. Seattle, Music of Remembrance, Mina Miller founder & artistic director. Movie premiere May 9, 2011.

4. Ibid. Mašek, Filip, Daniel Pražák, František Tichý, editors. translated by Gerald Turner, p. 27. Probably one of his earlier poems, because of the low page number (there were almost 800 pages of *Vedem* and the play.)

5. The details of the rescue story, and how *Vedem* finally was published in Czech and many other languages will be included in the next edition of this book. Because of Sid's rescue of the pages, and the devoted work of others mentioned here, Hanuš is known around the world.

6. Leo Lowy and Sid Taussig at Drew U. in New Jersey. Yom Hashoah program, 2013. RHA

7. The following sources show the same information from one to the other about Hanuš, Eliška's and Jiří's deportation history.

Database from the Jewish Museum in Prague, from the Jewish Museum Archives

www.holocaust.cz/cz2/eng/victims - Terezín Initiative Institute

Terezín Digital Resource Centre, from the Jewish Museum Archives

www.yadvashem.org - Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names

Beit Theresienstadt Martyrs Remembrance Association, Israel

Archives at Auschwitz

8. Memoir of Toman Brod in the Jewish Museum in Prague. On line at:
<http://www2.holocaust.cz/en/resources/recollections/zm78>

Part Three, Chapter Four

1. and 2. Pictures of Auschwitz , February, 2011. RHA

3. E-mail from Auschwitz Museum Archives, Krystyna Lesniak. Wednesday, January 12, 2011.

"In reply to your request for information on your relatives, we would like inform you that searching through our archived documents of Auschwitz concentration camp didn't get positive results.

Their names are mentioned only on the deportation list from the Ghetto in Theresienstadt to Auschwitz of December 18, 1943. Unfortunately, there is no information about their further fate.

All information you can find in the database on <http://www.holocaust.cz/cz2/victims/victims>

We would like to explain, that during the evacuation and liquidation of KL Auschwitz by order of the camp authorities, almost all important documents of KL Auschwitz, including prisoners' personal files, were destroyed. On the basis of our partially saved documents, it is impossible to assent (sic) full and accurate information on all the persons who were imprisoned at the camp."

4. www.vedem-terezin.cz

5. Ibid. Křížková, p. 184. Translated by R.E. Novak.

6. RHA

7. Memorial quilt made by Lisa H. Taylor, Waldport, Oregon, 2015. Poems on the quilt:

Heroica; Questions and Answers; You Grey Steely Clouds; The Heart; Painting (You Painters of Terezín);

Belief in Nothing

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<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~prohel/names/bach/grunhut.html#12>

Grunhut family tree on Ancestry.com

<http://wn.com/hanushachenburg#> – one of several sites about Hanuš ; they're not all terribly accurate, because – what did they know? Not what we know now!

<http://www.auschwitz.org/en> a lot to see and learn here

http://www.virtual-zoom.cz//terezin_mapa a virtual tour of Terezín.

<http://www2.holocaust.cz/en/resources/recollections/zm78>

Memoir of Toman Brod in the Jewish Museum in Prague.

www.alemannia-judaica.de – Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden im süddeutschen und angrenzenden Raum (Association for the Study of the History of the Jews in southern Germany)

www.badatelna.eu – National Archives of the Czech Republic in Prague.

Not easy to search, even though it can be seen in English and there are instructions for using the site.

www.jewishencyclopedia.com unedited full text of the 1906 Jewish Encyclopedia.

www.landeshauptarchiv.de – German Archives

www.myczechrepublic.com – good Prague history page

www.nacr.cz/english/registers – another way to get to Czech national archives

You can see the old pages here

www.Ushmm.org the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

www.vedem-terezin.cz wonderful website created by kids of Přírodní škola

www.yivoencyclopedia.org

Internet sources to see deportation records (and much more)

Beit Theresienstadt Martyrs Remembrance Association, Israel

Terezín Digital Resource Centre, from the Jewish Museum Archives

www.holocaust.cz/cz2/eng/victims – Terezín Initiative Institute

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