

Removing the Jews from the City of Shoes: The Holocaust in Zlín

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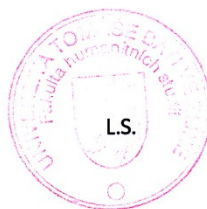
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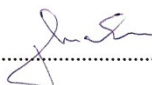
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ABSTRAKT

Předmětem této bakalářské práce je nastínit odlišnost židovské komunity ve městě Zlíně, spojené především s rozvojem obuvnického koncernu Baťa. Poměrně pozdní vývoj židovské komunity a nenáboženský přístup firmy Baťa ke svým židovským zaměstnancům měly za následek pozitivní a vzájemně výhodné soužití Židů se zbytkem obyvatel města. Židovská vzdělanost a schopnosti významně přispěly k rozvoji firmy Baťa. Postupy firmy v předválečném období napomohly k emigraci židovským zaměstnancům a jejich rodin, čímž došlo k jejich záchraně před zvyšující se hrozbou holocaustu. Hitlerova představa o Zlíně bez Židů se pak naplnila v roce 1945. Židovský hřbitov tak zůstal jediným odkazem kdysi vzkvétající židovské komunity ve Zlíně.

Klíčová slova: holocaust, Židé, židovská komunita, antisemitismus, nacisté, město Zlín, Zlínsko, Československo, Morava, obuvnická firma Baťa, Tomáš Baťa, Jan Antonín Baťa

ABSTRACT

This bachelor's thesis demonstrates the distinctiveness of the Jewish community in the city of Zlín, connected with the success of the Baťa shoe company. The comparatively late development of the Zlín Jewish community and the secular approach of the Baťa shoe company resulted in the peaceful and profitable coexistence of the city's residents, regardless of religion. The knowledge and skills of Zlín's Jewish residents significantly contributed to the development and success of the company. As a result, the Baťa shoe company helped many of its Jewish employees and their families emigrate before World War II, thereby saving them from the Holocaust. In any case, Hitler's goal of a Jewish-free Zlín was achieved by 1945, leaving only a cemetery as a memorial to a once-thriving Jewish community.

Keywords: Holocaust, Jews, Jewish community, anti-Semitism, Nazis, the city of Zlín, Zlín Region, Czechoslovakia, Moravia, Baťa shoe company, Tomáš Baťa, Jan Antonín Baťa

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INTRODUCTION

“I left Zlín when I was eighteen months old roughly and I returned to Zlín for the first time, I suppose I was in my fifties, and I found the experience extremely moving.”
Tom Stoppard¹

Sir Tom Stoppard, the well-known British playwright, was born Tomáš Stráussler on July 3, 1937 in Zlín, Czechoslovakia. When Tomáš was still a toddler, his father, Eugen Stráussler, a Jew and a doctor employed by the Baťa shoe company, received a transfer to the company's Singapore branch and moved with his wife and two sons there. Before Japan attacked and occupied Singapore, Eugen Stráussler sent his family to safety in Australia, but he himself remained behind, thinking his medical skills would be of use. Captured by the Japanese, he died in a POW camp when Tomáš was just four years old. Upon learning of Eugen's death, Marie took her sons to India, where she married an English officer, Kenneth Stoppard. The officer adopted both of Marie's sons, giving them his last name and changing Tomáš into Tom.² After the war, the family moved to England, and Tom Stoppard became an Englishman. For this reason, few are aware of Stoppard's Czech Jewish roots or that, due to the Holocaust, he is one of only a handful of survivors of a once-thriving Jewish community in Zlín.

The comparatively late development of Zlín and the Jewish community within it, connected above all with the success and growth of the Baťa shoe company, caused the societal position of Jews in Zlín in the first decades of the twentieth century to be in many respects different than that of Jews living in older Czech towns. The secular approach of the Baťa shoe company towards its employees resulted in the peaceful coexistence of the inhabitants of Zlín, regardless of religion. However, this period of peace and prosperity experienced by the Zlín Jewry gave way in the mid-to-late 1930s due to the increasing belligerence and anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany. The German menace led to a wave of Jewish emigration from the Czech lands. The Baťa shoe company management, aware of the Nazi threat to their Jewish employees, transferred many of them, including the

¹ BBC Radio 3, “Transcript of the John Tusa Interview with Tom Stoppard,” accessed December 29, 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio3/johntusainterview/stoppard_transcript.shtml.

² Biography.com, “Tom Stoppard biography,” accessed December 29, 2012, <http://www.biography.com/people/tom-stoppard-9496135>

Sträussler family, supposedly out of harm's way to factories abroad. This act saved some Zlín Jews from the tragedy of the Holocaust.

Even so, the Holocaust, the post-war nationalization of the Bat'a shoe company's Zlín properties, the persistent accusation that Jan Antonín Bat'a was a collaborator, and the anti-Semitism that prevailed in the early communist era, combined to destroy the Jewish community in Zlín. Those few Jews who survived the war and returned to Zlín did not stay long, emigrating to places that offered better opportunities. As a result, most current residents of Zlín are ignorant of the city's Jewish heritage.

1 THE POSITION OF THE JEWS IN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY OF ZLÍN

Zlín, the capital of the Zlín Region, which itself consists of four districts, is situated in southeastern Czech Republic, not far from the Slovak border (see appendix I). Zlín's location in the borderland of three cultural areas, Moravian Slovakia, Wallachia and Haná, contributes to a unique local culture rich in folklore. Even though Zlín is the youngest city in the Zlín Region, it became a cultural, social, economic and industrial center during the twentieth century, mainly due to the Baťa shoe company, which had both Jewish employees and suppliers. Indeed, the origins of the Jewish community in Zlín can be largely traced to the establishment of the Baťa shoe company in 1894, a fact which made the Jewish community in Zlín different from the older Jewish communities in nearby towns. Generally, the relationships between Jews and gentiles in the city of Zlín, with a few notable exceptions, were rather positive.

Jewish communities arose in the nearby towns of Kroměříž and Uherské Hradiště at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in Vsetín in the fifteenth century. The development of Jewish communities in these locations during the medieval period led to anti-Semitic views that survived, in some cases, for centuries. Even though this region has deep Catholic roots, historian Marcel Sladkowski notes that the Baťa company did not discriminate based on religion in its hiring practices. It hired capable people, including Jews. Although the Jews in Zlín were in many respects different from the rest of the population, they also shared similar values with the gentile inhabitants of the city. To understand the connections between Zlín and the rest of the region, as well as the position of the Jewish community within Zlín, some historical background is needed.³

³ Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 27; Petra Dřevojánková, "Forgotten?: The Jews of Vsetín and the Historical Memory of the Holocaust" (bachelor's thesis, Tomáš Baťa University Zlín, 2012), 16; Marcel Sladkowski, Zlín, January 22, 2013, e-mail message to the author.

1.1 The Jewish Position in the Czech Lands during the Medieval Period

1.1.1 The First References to Jews in the Czech lands

Jews have occupied the Czech lands, comprised of the historical regions of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, for at least a millennium, migrating mostly from the south across the Alps or through the Balkans. The major cause of the Jewish diaspora⁴ was the disintegration of the Jewish state in Palestine in 70 AD, with Jews choosing to inhabit the Czech lands mostly for economic reasons. The first references to the Jewish population in the territory of Bohemia and Moravia come from the seventh century and coincide with the arrival of the Frankish merchant Sámó, reputedly of Jewish origin. By the beginning of the tenth century, notes historian Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, “the Jewish population began to grow in most countries.” The Czech lands were no exception. By 965 AD, Jews inhabited Prague, working mostly as merchants. But, notes, Ben-Sasson, “the Jews were not restricted to the large cities.” Czech scholar Josef Prokeš agrees, contending that Jews were dispersed throughout the Czech lands by the end of the tenth century.⁵

In the early Middle Ages, Jews travelled across Europe mainly to trade. At the time, the Czech lands were poorly inhabited and people had to travel long distances between towns for the purpose of doing business. Starting in the tenth century, important trade routes crisscrossed Bohemia and Moravia, leading to centers of trade such as Olomouc,⁶ Brno and Znojmo.⁷ These trading centers became home to the first Jewish communities in Moravia. In turn, these communities spawned others. Although it is likely that medieval-era Jews passed through Zlín during their travels, their presence in the city went unrecorded. Indeed, Zlín does not enter the historical record until 1322 AD.⁸

⁴ A Greek term denoting the dispersal of the Jews from their homeland in Palestine.

⁵ Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 11; Rudolf Turek, *Čechy v raném středověku* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1982); Hayim H. Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 394; Josef Prokeš, *Dějiny Prahy* (Praha 1948).

⁶ A city in central Moravia.

⁷ Cities of southern Moravia.

⁸ Pěkný, 12; “Historie města Zlína,” accessed October 22, 2012, <http://www.puldomky.cz/historie/mesto-zlin>.

1.1.2 The Legal Status of Bohemian and Moravian Jews

According to historian Tomáš Pěkný, the status of the Czech Jews was rather favorable until the end of the eleventh century. The situation changed with the First Crusade (1096 – 1099), when mass anti-Semitic murders occurred. Furthermore, the Jews of the historical lands of Bohemia and Moravia were “under the “direct jurisdiction” of the Czech kings. Even so, the situation of the Jews in the Czech lands was not bad, that is until the clerical council in 1215, when Pope Innocence III dictated the total segregation of Jewish populations living in Christian countries.⁹

In principle, this order commanded all Jews to wear special markings of different forms and fulfillments. This obligation also differed depending on region and era. The Jews were compelled to wear special clothes such as cloaks, hats, hoods, etc. Mainly, the Jews were forced to live only on streets especially reserved for them, which came to be known as ‘ghettos’.¹⁰ Furthermore, the Jews were restricted from associating with the Christians and from practicing crafts. The only admissible source of livelihood was dealing with money, which just increased the anti-Semitism among gentile people. The only permissible contact with Christians came in business or judicial spheres, these fields being considered exceptional. As Pěkný notes, the Jews suddenly developed a unique status. Strictly speaking, they were forced to the fringes of the social hierarchy. To concisely describe the Jewish position towards the king at this time, historians frequently use a Latin term *servi camerae regiae*, “servants of the royal chamber”. Jews were bound to pay high taxes in exchange for protection. Indeed, this principle functioned until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when Jews were being banished from kingly towns. Importantly, all restrictions until the middle of the thirteenth century were social guidelines imposed by the church. No civic laws dealt with the status or rights of the Jews. This changed with the *Statuta Judaeorum*.¹¹

⁹Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 11 – 19; Dřevojánková, “Forgotten?”, 13; “Analýza: Dějiny osídlení Židů v Čechách a na Moravě do roku 1848,” Demografický informační portal, accessed January 20, 2013, http://www.demografie.info/?cz_detail_clanku&artclID=364.

¹⁰ A street or part of a city where people of the same religion live, mostly used in connection with the Jewish community.

¹¹ “Analýza: Dějiny osídlení Židů v Čechách a na Moravě do roku 1848.”; Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People*, 397; Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 19 – 21; Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2006), 8.

1.1.2.1 *The Significance of “Statuta Judaeorum” for the Czech Jews*

Statuta Judaeorum was the first law enacted in the Czech lands that clarified the rights of the Jews. King Přemysl Otakar II issued this legal decree around 1254 AD. Taxes paid by Bohemian Jews amounted to a significant percentage of the king’s financial resources. For this reason, this legal document protected the Jews living in Bohemia, not only by guaranteeing certain conditions for them, but by granting them privileged status within the royal chamber, and prohibiting any violence against them. The Jews, in return, were willing to pay high taxes for the king’s privileges. Based on this evidence, historians believe that the relationship between Přemysl Otakar II and the Jews was altogether positive. *Statuta Judaeorum* brought a certain “stability” to the Bohemian Jews and it shielded them from great pogroms¹² like those that occurred in other European locations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³

In 1268 AD, King Přemysl Otakar II extended the enforcement of *Statuta Judaeorum* to the Moravian Jews, despite the fact that Moravia fell partly under the jurisdiction of the regional church synod in Vienna. Instantly, these regulations became valid for the Jews of Brno. Not longer after, the rights were extended to all Jews in Moravia. Brno, Olomouc and Jihlava were the locations of the first recorded Jewish communities in Moravia. Since Zlín was in its infancy at this time, a lack of references to a Jewish community in the town is not surprising. But, records do document Jewish communities in Znojmo, Uničov and Uherské Hradiště,¹⁴ the latter being important in connection with the development of Zlín Jewry. Furthermore, Pěkný indicates that by 1348 there was a Jewish community in Uherský Brod as well.¹⁵ According to Sladkowski, these two royal towns – Uherské Hradiště and Uherský Brod – had a significant impact on the development of Jewry in the city of Zlín.¹⁶

¹² Riots against Jews, often resulting in murder.

¹³ “Analýza: Dějiny osídlení Židů v Čechách a na Moravě do roku 1848.”; Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 22 – 25, 28 - 34.

¹⁴ A district town located around 30 km from Zlín, originally a royal town rich in culture and history.

¹⁵ Another town situated in the Zlín Region which influenced the development of Jewry in the city of Zlín.

¹⁶ Jaroslav Klenovský, *Židovské památky Zlínského kraje* (Zlín: Krajská knihovna Františka Bartoše, 2010), 115; Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 27, 31, 33; Marcel Sladkowski, Zlín, February 5, 2013, e-mail message to the author.

1.1.3 The Jews as Traders and their Involvement in and Contribution to Finance

Once the Jews had settled in the Czech lands, they significantly contributed to the development and advancement of domestic trade. Petra Dřevojánková has noted that “as the barter economy gradually gave way to monetary commerce around the eleventh century, the potential and importance of money and finances increased.” Jews were during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries restricted largely to pecuniary exchange. Christians were “forbidden by the church to deal with money.” As a result, the Jewish townspeople became administrators of financial resources and also money lenders to both citizens and noblesse. The annual interest rate ranged between 30 and 90 percent. Since the interest was taxable, “the king profited from the usury business.” Ben-Sasson gave a concise account of the Jewish situation by stating that Jews “were foreigners, both valuable and vulnerable.” Further, he added, “this type of commerce has come to be regarded as the economic activity most characteristic of all Jews at that period.”¹⁷

Certainly, not all the Jews were wealthy enough to provide money-lending services; the rest were entirely dependent on activities within the ghettos.¹⁸ Additionally, due to the high level of education, some Jews practiced medical or judicial professions, and even art.¹⁹

1.2 Riots against Jews in Europe and the Czech Lands

Although the Jews were legally protected, they were not completely shielded from the violence and pogroms instigated by the Christian population. In Bohemia and Moravia, pogroms were not as widespread as in other parts of Europe. To fully understand the motivation and origin of these pogroms, it is worth noting some of the main differences between Christians and Jews at that time.²⁰

1.2.1 Differences between Christians and Jews

From a historical point of view, there were events, mostly racially motivated, that influenced religiously, economically, psychologically and socially the relationship between Christian and Jewish populations world-wide. Several aspects must be carefully considered

¹⁷ Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 12; Dřevojánková, “Forgotten?”, 14-15; Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People*, 390, 398, 470 - 471.

¹⁸ See Pěkný’s chapter on Jewish payments, finance, trade, enterprise and business, 278 – 320.

¹⁹ See Pěkný.

²⁰ Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 32 - 33.

in order to understand the anti-Semitic attitudes of many Christians. Even though the term anti-Semitism was first used in the nineteenth century by German anti-Jewish activist Wilhelm Marr, the tradition of anti-Semitism is rooted deeper in history. Historian František Graus concurs, noting that for centuries Europe reared children to be anti-Semitic.²¹

1.2.1.1 Religious Distinctiveness and the Libels of Jews

Christianity and Judaism had commonalities but also significant differences. These differences resulted in a wide spectrum of violence. To understand fully the similarities and differences between these two religions, a brief background is required.

Despite the fact that Christianity and Judaism are historically and theologically closely linked, the Jews are convinced they alone are God's chosen people. Christianity and Judaism have in common "Jesus, the twelve disciples, the authors of most of the New Testament, and members of the earliest Christian churches" who were mostly Jews. Even so, important variances remain, mostly dealing with Jesus. The Jews identify Jesus as a prophet but do not believe he was the son of God or that he was resurrected. Christians, on the other hand, accuse Jews of murdering the Messiah. These differences fuel the flames of hatred and distrust between Christendom and Jewry.²²

Such religious differences made Christians superstitious of Jews, which frequently led to pogroms. The Jews in the Middle Ages were accused of ritual murders using the blood of Christian children during sacred acts – the blood libels. This rumor of killing Christian children first enters the historical record in the eleventh century. Historian Ivo Cerman claims these superstitions arose so Christians could prove to themselves that Judaism is a second-rate religion that does not have the salvable power of Christianity. Christians probably created this rumor intentionally, along with rumors concerning the desecration of the host, the poisoning of wells, etc. Last but not least, the Jews were alleged creators and spreaders of the plague. Nevertheless, the main terrifying impulses were ritual murders and

²¹ Adam Hrdý, "Antisemitismus, aneb jak vyučovat o holocaustu" (Master's thesis, Tomáš Baťa University, 2009), 13; Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 248; František Graus, *Židovská menšina v dějinách* (Olomouc: Votobia, 1997).

²² Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 244 - 250; "Comparison of Christianity and Judaism," accessed January 5, 2013, http://www.religionfacts.com/christianity/charts/christianity_judaism.htm, see the chart describing differences between Christianity and Judaism for more details.

the usage of Christian blood. Ben-Sasson identified this phenomenon as “a vicious circle”, describing the worsening situation of Jews with every single baseless accusation.²³

1.2.1.2 Economic Differences and Money-Lending

Economic variables significantly increased distinctiveness between Christendom and Jewry, causing sizeable discrepancies between the two groups. From the economic perspective, Christians have historically considered Jews to be men who profit from the labor of others.²⁴

Jews settling somewhere were supposed to pay high taxes for permission to stay. Often, these Jewish settlers contributed to the local economy. Afterwards, when legal regulations – proposed by Christians - came into effect, the Jews were forbidden to practice crafts. The only way to make a living was through finance, as Christians were not allowed to operate with money at that time, as it was considered dirty. As a result, and based on previous experience, the Jews excelled in financial matters. Monarchs, nobles, and later on businessmen made use and took advantage of their services. Suddenly, Christians had another pretext to express their hatred towards the Jews. Besides denoting Jews as the murderers of Jesus, now their ways of making money were also sinful.²⁵

1.2.1.3 Psychological and Sociological Aspects Influencing the Relationship between Christians and Jews

Psychological and sociological aspects can be included in the formative process of anti-Semitism. Psychologically, gentiles became jealous of the accomplishments of Jews in certain fields (medicine, law, art, etc.), a jealousy that bred spitefulness. According to Helena Pavlincová, the Jews’ unwillingness to completely assimilate into society, led to them being used as scapegoats.²⁶

²³ Dřevojánková, “Forgotten?”, 15; Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 258 - 259; Česká televize, “Nekupujte u židů cukr, kafe, mouku...” Videoarchiv Historie.cs Adobe Flash Player video file, 6:10, <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/10150778447-historie-cs/212452801400006-nekupujte-u-zidu-cukr-kafe-mouku/video/> (accessed November 21, 2012); Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People*, 481.

²⁴ See Hrdý, “Antisemitismus”, 13.

²⁵ Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 12, 287; Ben-Sasson, *A History of the Jewish People*, 470 – 471; Zdeněk Pokluda, interviewed by the author, Zlín, February 12, 2013.

²⁶ Hrdý, “Antisemitismus”, 13; Helena Pavlincová et al., *Judaismus, křesťanství, islám* (Olomouc: Nakladatelství Olomouc, 1994), 21.

1.3 The Jewish Dilemma in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The situation of European Jews during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is closely associated with the Hussites, whose reformatory movement the Jews not only welcomed but financially supported. The Hussite revolution weakened the feudal system and, as a result, the Jews were no longer under the jurisdiction of the king but fell under control of nobility. But, since Christians were allowed to handle money at the end of the fifteenth century, Jews lost their monopoly in this field and were forced to compete for a living. In response, some Jews willingly migrated, while others were later forcefully expelled.²⁷

The Hapsburg king Albrecht II became displeased with the Jews for their Hussite inclinations and started expelling them from certain Czech royal towns. This act took place mainly in 1454, but in Uherské Hradiště this expulsion came belatedly in 1514. The banishment led the Jews to settle in nearby towns. Although Zlín was probably not a final destination for the Jews after their expulsion from Uherské Hradiště, they did move to places like Uherský Brod, Uherský Ostroh and Holešov.²⁸ These settlements are directly connected with the first occurrence of Jews in the city of Zlín.²⁹

1.4 The First Jews in the City of Zlín

1.4.1 Non-Resident Jews in Zlín

The first historical record acknowledging the appearance of Jews in the city of Zlín comes from the 1580s. Zlín has always been associated with shoe making. Even in the sixteenth century, cobblery was the main industry. Inasmuch that raw materials were insufficient in Zlín at that time, local cobblers were dependent on outside suppliers. Historian Josef Polišínský notes the appearance of two Jews, Oks and Josef, both from Holešov, in connection with monetary loans made to Zlín shoemakers in the 1580s. This evidence is consistent with sources from the Zlín archives, which suggest that Jews did not permanently reside in Zlín in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sladkowski notes that only transient Jews appeared in the city of Zlín at that time – just like Oks and Josef or Jakub and Lazar from Uherský Ostroh. These Jews were money-lenders who financed Zlín businesses. Sladkowski also notes the appearance of other transient Jews in Zlín at the turn

²⁷ Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 50.

²⁸ Towns located nearby Zlín (see Appendix I).

²⁹ Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 43 – 49; Klenovský, *Židovské památky*, 63 – 64; Marcel Sladkowski, Zlín, February 5, 2013, e-mail message to the author.

of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1590, self-employed Zlín residents owed money to a Jew named Kohut from Bzenec. Later, between 1629 and 1632, a Jew named Abrahamek appears in connection with an outstanding debt for wool and cloth. Further, a Jew, Izák Kolman, supposedly from Uherské Hradiště, visited Zlín repeatedly between 1626 and 1632 in connection with an outstanding debt for steel. The records also show the Jews trading in a broad range of commodities. Indeed, loan repayment records demonstrate strong business relationships between gentiles and Jews at that time.³⁰

1.4.2 The First Jewish Settler in the City of Zlín

The first Jew to settle in Zlín did so at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Before then, Jews only appeared in Zlín to do business. According to Dřevojánková, “since spirits were very popular among the local gentile community and the Jews were forbidden by their religion to drink alcohol, running a distillery represented a very productive and profitable business.” A Jew named Kolman Oks recognized the potential of such a business and rented a distillery from local authorities.³¹ The distillery belonged to a fifteenth-century chateau that served as a noble residence from the Renaissance through the neoclassical period (see Fratišek Zedník’s 1846 painting – appendix II). The willingness of the nobility to rent a distillery to a Jew might serve as evidence of a lack of discrimination towards Jews at that time. Even so, historian Karel Stloukal claims that Oks remained the only Jewish inhabitant of Zlín during the first decade of the eighteenth century. The historical records are, in this case, insufficient. Whether Oks had a family or was a successful entrepreneur remains unknown. Nor is it known what became of him or his distillery business.³²

The end of the eighteenth century brought certain societal advancements for Czech Jewry. Emperor Joseph II’s 1781 *Patent of Tolerance* set the stage for negotiation

³⁰ Josef Polišínský, “Ekonomická a sociální struktura Zlína na přelomu XVI. a XVII. století” in Gottwaldovsko od minulosti k současnosti “97 – Sborník Okresního archivu v Gottwaldově (Gottwaldov: Okresní archiv v Gottwaldově, 1997), 118; Marcel Sladkowski, “Židé na Zlínsku v 16. a 17. století” (paper presented at the annual meeting Židé a Morava, Kroměříž).

³¹ Although Oks was a common Jewish surname in the area, existing historical records do not establish any direct connection between Kolman Oks and the Oks from Holešov who visited Zlín during the 1580s.

³² Dřevojánková, “Forgotten?”, 17; Josef Polišínský, “Zlín na přelomu 17. a 18. století” in Gottwaldovsko od minulosti k současnosti “82 – Sborník Okresního archivu v Gottwaldově (Gottwaldov: Okresní archiv v Gottwaldově, 1982), 126; “Zámek Zlín,” last modified January 9, 2013, <http://www.zlin.eu/page/267.zlinsky-zamek/>; Karel Stloukal, “Historie mého života” in Gottwaldovsko od minulosti k současnosti “87 – Sborník Okresního archivu v Gottwaldově (Gottwaldov: Okresní archiv v Gottwaldově, 1987), 9 – 10.

concerning the freedom of worship. Even though this enactment did not concern Jews directly, Pěkný claims that Judaism was tolerated to a similar extent as other religions. Jews were no longer required to wear special markings, they were allowed to study at universities and to practice all trades and crafts, except for holding government offices. Further, the implementation of general court rules placed Jews and Christians under the same jurisdiction. Additional reforms encouraged the assimilation of Jews into society. Joseph II's attitude towards Jews differed from the attitude of his mother, Maria Theresa, a devout Catholic who implemented anti-Jewish regulations. Ivo Cerman claims that Jews responded to the reforms by becoming less orthodox. He also adds, and Hillel Kieval concurs, that Joseph II did not necessarily want Jews to be treated equally but to be "more useful to the state." The Revolution of 1848 caused a significant change in the Jewish legal status. Jews gained freedom of settlement and marriage. This process of emancipation was completed in 1867 when a change in the Austrian-Hungarian constitution guaranteed equal rights for everyone including Jews. Even though the Jews lived among Christians in peace, a minority disliked the increasing Jewish presence in Zlín, as evinced by an 1848 petition of protest (see appendix III, IV, V and VI). Sladkowski claims that after the revolution in 1848, Jews were moving from overcrowded housing estates back to the royal cities, but also to lesser towns such as Zlín. He also adds that this natural development could not be stopped by a petition signed by a few Zlín residents.³³

According to Stloukal, Jews settled in the city of Zlín in larger numbers towards the end of the nineteenth century, buying rural estates and opening shops, especially in the square. Several families lived in the square,³⁴ including the Schindlers, Hirschs, Meisels and Fuchs. Other Jewish families lived within walking distance of the square – the Wassermanns, Weinsteins and Brills. Records document thirty-seven Jews living in the city of Zlín in 1880, out of a total population of 2,739.³⁵

³³ Peter G. M. Dickson, "Joseph II's Reshaping of the Austrian Church," *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 1 (March 1993), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2639517> (accessed March 25, 2013); Pěkný, *Historie Židů*, 107 – 128; Česká televize, "Nekupujte u židů cukr, kafe, mouku..." Videoarchiv Historie.cs Adobe Flash Player video file, 18:10, <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/10150778447-historie-cs/212452801400006-nekupujte-u-zidu-cukr-kafe-mouku/video/> (accessed November 21, 2012); Hillel J. Kieval, *Languages of Community, The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 27; Marcel Sladkowski, Zlín, February 5, 2013, e-mail message to the author.

³⁴ The square has been renamed several times. Originally called simply the Main Square, it then became Masaryk Square and now the Square of Peace.

³⁵ Stloukal, "Historie mého života," 9 – 10; Klenovský, *Židovské památky*, 115;

1.4.3 The Occupations of Zlín's Jewish Residents

The Jews occupying Zlín at the end of the nineteenth century earned a living in various ways. Those Jews living in the square opened shops: Schindler owned and ran a mercantile shop, while Fuchs was a tobacconist. One more shop in the square is mentioned in the historical records as being run by Hirsch. Probably the most successful Jewish businessman in Zlín at that time was Karel Meisel, a Vienna-born fruiterer who became a significant supplier for most of the local distilleries, including Rudolf Jelínek's distillery in Vizovice.³⁶ Zdeněk Pokluda claims that Meisel's business was one of the most prosperous in Zlín at that time, doing business not just locally but internationally, exporting annually more than two hundred wagons of dried plums abroad. As a result, Meisel's family became one of the wealthiest in the town. According to historian Jožka Baťa, the position of Meisel was so powerful, that his firm became a creditor to most suppliers in Zlín during World War I when financial institutions refused to extend loans. Based on this evidence, the mutual relationship between the gentile population and the Meisel family might be presumed as positive. Zlín's small but vibrant Jewish community was about to greatly expand, however, thanks to the success of the Baťa shoe company, which in the early twentieth century would become the largest employer in Zlín for both Jews and Christians alike.³⁷

³⁶ A distillery situated in Vizovice - a town east of Zlín. Jelínek is currently one of the largest manufacturers of spirits in the Czech Republic.

³⁷ "O starém zlínském náměstí," accessed March 12, 2013, <http://www.zlin.estranky.cz/clanky/stary-zlin/o-starem-zlinskem-namesti-hlavnim-masarykove-miru.html>; Stloukal, "Historie mého života", 9; Marcel Sladkowski, *Království slivovice* (Vizovice: Rudolf Jelínek a. s., 2005); Marcel Sladkowski, "Z dějin palírenské výroby ve Vizovicích," (paper presented at the annual meeting Židé a Morava, Kroměříž, November 3, 2004); Jožka Baťa, "Ze zlínských údalostí, pamětí a pověstí," in *Zlínsko od minulosti k současnosti 1999 – Sborník Státního okresního archivu ve Zlíně* (Zlín: Státní okresní archiv ve Zlíně, 1999), 125.

2 THE JEWS AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF BAŤA'S SHOEMAKING EMPIRE

2.1 Tomáš Baťa and the Foundation of the Baťa Shoe Company

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Jewish community in Zlín was already established and the Jews were at least partially assimilated into Zlín society. The greatest growth of the Zlín Jewish community came in the early twentieth century in connection with the expansion of the Baťa shoe company. When Tomáš Baťa, along with his sister Anna and brother Antonín, founded a shoemaking company in 1894, he certainly could not have imagined how significant an impact their business would have not just on the family but on the whole city of Zlín. After formidable beginnings, Tomáš Baťa became the only owner of the company, and by 1910, Zlín was a significant shoemaking center. The greatest expansion, under the direction of Tomáš Baťa, came during World War I, when Zlín produced millions of pairs of shoes for the Austrian-Hungarian army. A rapid post-war decrease of production led to economic trouble for the Baťa shoe company. Faced with this problem, Baťa cut shoe prices by half. In doing so, he cornered the Czechoslovakian market and earned the nickname “the shoe king.” Tomáš Baťa did not just build a global shoemaking empire. He also transformed Zlín into a thriving company town, providing cradle to grave care for his employees and their families. As a result, Baťa encouraged thousands of people to move to, live and work in Zlín, Jews among them. Looking at the development of the population in Zlín, Baťa's influence is irrefutable. In 1921, Zlín had approximately 4,678 inhabitants. By 1930, the population had increased to 21,582. This development was economic, and religious aspects did not play an important role. When Tomáš Baťa suddenly died in 1932, his half-brother Jan Antonín Baťa took control of the firm. Under his direction, the company expanded even more. At that time, the Jewish community in Zlín experienced its greatest growth and advancement. But even then, ominous warning signs from Hitler's Germany foretold of troubles to come.³⁸

³⁸ Klenovský, *Židovské památky*, 115; Marcel Sladkowski, Zlín, February 5, 2013, e-mail message to the author; Nadace Tomáše Bati, “Historie firmy Baťa,” accessed November 23, 2012, <http://www.batovavila.cz/CZ/Nadace-Tomase-Bati-Historie.html>; Official Website of the City of Zlín, “The Centre of the Baťa Shoemaking Empire,” accessed December 2, 2012, <http://www.zlin.eu/en/page/30907.the-centre-of-the-bata-shoemaking-empire/>, for further information see Miroslav Ivanov, *Sága o životě a smrti Jana Bati a jeho bratra Tomáše* (Vizovice: Lípa, 1998).

2.2 The First Czechoslovak Republic and the Anti-Semitic Wave of 1918

The end of WWI led to the establishment of the first independent Czechoslovak Republic on October 28, 1918. Within its borders were Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia. The Declaration of Independence signed by the first Czechoslovak president, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, established a democratic republic that guaranteed basic human rights such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion. The diversity of the country's inhabitants necessitated such guarantees. It was this diversity, however, that provoked a wave of anti-Semitism in Moravia at the end of 1918. The unrest occurred in Zlín as well, when a fight broke out in the main square between a Jew named Bernard Weinstein and some gentiles over Weinstein's desire to establish a German school in the city. This fight led to vandalism against Jewish owned businesses, but police restored order before any Jewish businesses were destroyed. The Jews of the neighboring town of Holešov, into which the violence spilled over, were not so lucky. A pogrom there resulted in the death of two Jews and the ransacking of many Jewish-owned shops and businesses. According to historical records, the 1918 incident was the only case of physical violence between Jews and gentiles in Zlín, and its origins were more rooted in anti-German sentiment than in anti-Semitism.³⁹

2.3 The Development of the Jewish Community in Zlín, 1900 – 1940s

By the end of the nineteenth century, more than fifty Jews lived in the city of Zlín. These Jews did not originally work for the Baťa shoe company. Instead, they were merchants. The number of Jews in Zlín changed only minimally between 1900 and 1921. According to the census, there were forty-nine Jewish inhabitants in Zlín out of total number of residents of 2,975 in 1900, fifty-three Jews out of 3,557 citizens in 1910, and only forty-six Jewish residents in 1921. These numbers might suggest natural demographic development, but on the other hand, since Jews are historically migratory, some of them could have left the town and some others might have come into Zlín. Historian Martin

³⁹ Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia*, 27; Dřevojánková, "Forgotten?", 33 – 34; Holešov jinýma očima, "Vývoj židovské obce v Holešově," accessed March 20, 2013, <http://holesov.jinak.cz/zide.php?zide=vyvoj&menu=2>; Marcel Sladkowski, Zlín, January 22, 2013, e-mail message to the author.

Marek notes that the number of Jews living in Zlín was not necessarily accurate due to the fact that some people might not have named Judaism as their religion on purpose.⁴⁰

The Jewish community in Zlín experienced its greatest growth in the 1930s, coinciding with the Baťa shoe company's success and the city of Zlín's growth. According to the last national population census mentioning Jewish inhabitants in Zlín in 1930, 101 Jews lived in the town. This number is not conclusive though, for official records of the Baťa shoe company show that at the beginnings of the 1930s the company employed ninety-nine Jews, and some of these Jews must have had families. As a result of the growth of the company and the increasing number of employees, a natural fluctuation of manpower occurred. On September 9, 1935, eighty-six Jewish workers were employed in the company (see appendices VII, VIII, IX and X). Even though Nazis occupied the city on March 15, 1939, some Jews were still working in the factory on April 15, 1942 when anti-Jewish regulations concerning working for companies were enforced. Neither Tomáš Baťa nor Jan Antonín Baťa specifically asked Jews to come to work in the factory. Instead, the arrival of Jews in Zlín was a product of natural demographical development. Even though Jews were not asked to come to work for Baťa, they were extremely valued in the firm for their financial and language skills.⁴¹

2.3.1 Tomáš Baťa on Jewry

Records of Tomáš Baťa's speeches include a short deliverance in 1930 concerning the Jewish question. At that time, Baťa was employing tens of Jews in his factory and, was in touch with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in London. In one of the letters sent to this agency, Baťa pointed out the importance of the Jewish contribution to world trade. Further, Baťa encouraged the whole world to let Jews participate in public service, stating that without Jews there would be no world trade. Importantly, Baťa emphasized the significance of Jewish assimilation into society, stressing the fact that the contrary could lead to war. At the end of the letter, Baťa expressed his deepest satisfaction with the Jewish

⁴⁰ Klenovský, *Židovské památky*, 115; Martin Marek, interviewed by the author, Zlín, March 27, 2013.

⁴¹ Klenovský, *Židovské památky*, 115; Česká televize, "Dynastie Baťů. Jak se z malých ševců stali světoví výrobci obuvi" Videearchiv Historie.cs Adobe Flash Player video file, 23:40, <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/10150778447-historie-cs/211452801400010/>; Marcel Sladkowski, Zlín, January 22, 2013, e-mail message to the author; Zdeněk Pokluda, interviewed by the author, Zlín, February 12, 2013.

employees working for the Baťa shoe company. This pro-Jewish policy was further promoted by Tomáš's successor, Jan Antonín, who declared his support for Jews.⁴²

2.3.2 Zlín's Jews working in the Baťa Shoe Company

Zlín Jews had worked for the Baťa shoe company for decades and did not necessarily hold positions connected with finance. The character of Jewish employment differed. Even though the majority of Jews held higher positions, some of them were employed as regular workers in the factory. Baťa's Jews had the same conditions and opportunities as other gentile employees: they were provided housing, there was no difference in the salaries of Jewish and gentile workers, the children of the Jewish families were allowed to attend same schools as gentiles, etc. Additionally, some of the Jews were neighbours with non-Jews. Those who were not given a house, or had no family, lived in the Hotel Společenský Dům (see appendix XI).⁴³

The Meisel family played a prominent role in the Zlín Jewish community once again during the mid-1920s when Meisel's son Siegfried held the office of commercial director in the Baťa shoe company. Meisel was in direct contact with Tomáš Baťa and was one of the first Jews to work for the Baťa shoe company. Siegfried Meisel died in Zlín on 4 June 1941. His wife Rosa was deported on 23 January 1943 to Terezín from which she was transferred to the Auschwitz concentration camp in December 1943 (see appendix XXVIII, XXIX and XXX).⁴⁴

Sometimes whole families were employed by the Baťa shoe company, and their children attended Baťa's schools. Baťa was aware of the importance of education and emphasized it. Some Jews participated in educational programs sponsored by the Baťa shoe company, which were designed to prepare young people for later work in the company. Records from the Zlín archives document the success of these programs. Part of Baťa's concern was not just shoemaking, but also other manufactories supplying the production. One such manufactory was a chemical plant where several Jews worked. A few Jews worked as bookkeepers or clerks. In the majority of cases, however, Jews held white-collar management positions. Executives and managers of Jewish origin were

⁴² Josef Mach, "Baťa o Židech," in *Baťa zblízka : anekdoty a intimní projevy Tomáše Baťi* (Praha: Orbis, 1933), 49 – 50.

⁴³ A dormitory intended for accommodation of Baťa workers. During the German occupation of Czechoslovakia the hotel served as a Gestapo headquarters. Later on, the hotel has been renamed to Hotel Moskva; OÚ – ONV Zlín, inventory number 1035, file 28 – 198, State Archive Zlín.

⁴⁴ Zdeněk Pokluda, *Baťovi muži* (Zlín: Kovárna VIVA, 2012), 92.

usually sent abroad to work in local branch offices. Eugen Fränkel worked for the Baťa shoe company in Germany before 1936 when he moved to Zlín. He had no family and lived in one of the occupational boardinghouses. A Jew named Fritz Goldstein spent only a short time in Zlín while being trained. Afterwards, he was sent to one of the branches in the Netherlands. Before 1936, Jews Arnošt Meisler and Karel Morgenstern worked in Germany and Spain. On April 1, 1936 Meisler moved to Zlín and was allotted a house. The broad scope of Baťa's empire is evinced in the various business activities of Arnošt Striemer in Africa before 1939. A special category of employees of the Baťa shoe company were doctors. The Baťa hospital in Zlín was founded in 1926, and Jews represented a significant minority of its personnel.⁴⁵

2.4 Jan Antonín Baťa as a “Czech Jew”

After Tomáš Baťa's death in 1932, Jan Antonín Baťa became director of the Baťa shoe company, a difficult job during the global economic depression in the 1930s. Jan Baťa was, in many ways, different from his brother. Tomáš was the founder and creator of the system, whereas the position of Jan could be characterized rather as a modern manager and entrepreneur who maximized the system during difficult economic times, allowing for further global expansion. Under Tomáš Baťa, the company had twenty-four plants. Jan increased the number to one hundred and twenty. Expansion also occurred elsewhere. The number of salesrooms increased five times to 5,810 and the amount of employees increased from 16,560 to 105,700. As a result of this massive expansion, the Baťa shoe company ultimately manufactured fifty-five percent of the world's shoes. Global competitors disliked Baťa's domination and called a meeting in London to combat the issue. As a result, the German press released an article accusing J. A. Baťa of being a “Czech Jew.” This imputation, especially in the prewar period, resulted in the closing of Baťa's factories in Germany. This affair also damaged business relations with France. In reaction to the accusation, Jan Antonín Baťa ran a campaign called “Baťa, a Czech Jew,” issuing 100,000 copies of a homonymic article proving the Catholic – thus Aryan – origin

⁴⁵ Ivanov, *Sága o životě a smrti*; Kristýna Trněčková, “Založení Baťovy nemocnice ve Zlíně” (bachelor's thesis, Masaryk University Brno, 2011).

of his family going back to the end of the sixteenth century. In the article, Baťa comments upon Nazism and explicates his attitude towards Jewish townspeople.⁴⁶

2.5 Jan Antonín Baťa's Attitude towards Anti-Semitism

To summarize Jan Antonín Baťa's response in the article "Baťa, a Czech Jew," he stated that if he were Jewish he would not be ashamed for all people are equal. Baťa never discriminated against any employee based on religion. He was not anti-Semitic. Instead, he respected the Jews for their skills in the fields of finance and languages and their contribution to the Baťa shoe company. Some historians, however, argue that Baťa's cooperation with Jews was not humanitarian, but was purely economically motivated.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ivanov, *Sága o životě a smrti*, 123; "Baťa, český Žid," accessed January 28, 2013, <http://janbata.wz.cz/ceskyzid.htm>.

⁴⁷ "Baťa, český Žid", Vít Strobach and Martin Marek, "Batismus a židovská otázka na přelomu 30. a 40. let dvacátého století" (paper presented at the annual meeting Židé a Morava, Kroměříž).

3 THE EFFECT OF WORLD WAR II ON THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ZLÍN, 1938 – 1945

March 1, 1938, the day when German troops occupied the Sudetenland, significantly affected the political scene in the republic as well as Baťa's business concerns. The tense political situation in Europe increased the threat of war. Baťa, fully conscious of this menace, began to implement protective steps. The accusation of Baťa being a Czech Jew predicated a rather negative German opinion towards Baťa himself. Jan Antonín Baťa also interfered in the sphere of politics during the brief Second Republic.⁴⁸ He initially pressured members of the government to prepare for defense of the state, but when met with refusal, he decided to implement a removal plan, the aim of which was to decentralize the shoe production and management from Zlín to other plants around the world, mostly America, but also in Asia and South Africa. By sending qualified people and machinery abroad, the business could be saved in case Hitler's regime would nationalize the plant in Zlín. Among the employees chosen to leave the country were Jews. They were suitable for removal thanks to their high level of education. Official records note forty-four Jews sent abroad before March 15, 1939, or approximately a quarter of the total number of employees chosen for removal before the arrival of the Nazis. The transfer of resources continued even after March 15. According to the official records, another thirteen Jews were delegated to go abroad. In comparison with the hundreds of people who were dispatched to the foreign plants, this amount is trivial. Concerning the removal policy of the Baťa shoe company, some have argued that this displacement was not intended in order to save Jews from the Nazis, but only economic. On the other hand, some historians believe that the Jews were given the choice to stay or leave. No matter the interpretation of the policy, there is little doubt that this action saved Jewish lives.⁴⁹

When the decentralization plan was completed, more than fifty Jews were still working in the factory in Zlín. Later on, these Jews had to face anti-Semitic regulations and Nazi enforcement. Comparatively different was the situation of Jews who were not

⁴⁸ The Second Republic lasted from October 1, 1938 until March 15, 1939 when the Nazi army began the occupation of the Czechoslovakia. At that time, the status of the country changed to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

⁴⁹ Strobach and Marek, "Batismus a židovská otázka na přelomu 30. a 40. let dvacátého století"; Ivanov, *Sága o životě a smrti*, 198 – 192; "Jan Antonín Baťa," Baťastory.net, accessed March 2, 2013, <http://batastory.net/cs/milniky/jan-antonin-bata>; Pavel Dias, interviewed by the author, Zlín, January 21, 2013.

salaried employees of the Baťa shoe company. Despite the fact that the majority of the Jewish community in Zlín used to work for Baťa, some of them were still loyal to their original occupation, trade (see appendix XII). Unless these Jews managed to leave the country, they were subjected to the “final solution.”⁵⁰

3.1 The Exile of Jan Antonín Baťa and the Black List

A dispute between Jan Antonín Baťa and the government of the Second Republic and later on of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in conjunction with the German occupation led Baťa into exile in 1939. At the beginning of World War II, Baťa was denounced by President Beneš for not supporting the government-in-exile in London. In reality, Baťa offered financial help to Beneš even before the German occupation and the reason of his non-public support was due to his desire to protect his employees in Zlín. As a result of this misunderstanding and his alleged negotiations with Hermann Göring, Baťa was put on the allied black list of companies supporting the Nazis. Moreover, when in April 1940 German troops conquered Norway and gained a colossal supply of shoes that were supposed to be bought by the British, the international position of J. A. Baťa further deteriorated.⁵¹

3.2 The Destiny of the Jewish Physicians in Zlín

Some of the employees of the Baťa shoe company were physicians. In the 1930s, Jewish physicians were moving to Zlín in order to work in, at that time, an above standard hospital. According to an official record, there were twenty-three Jewish physicians working in the Baťa hospital between 1937 and 1939 (see appendix XIII). Although the work of these Jewish doctors was really valuable, their destinies differed. Approximately half of them left town before 1939, Eugene Sträussler being one example. Others managed to escape just before the arrival of the Nazi army in 1939. Some of these Jewish doctors participated in the Czechoslovakian resistance movement all around the world. Ozias Apfelbaum, Pavel Löwy and Valter Recht escaped with their families to England before entering Czechoslovakian army. Gerhard Freund left the country for Poland, where he

⁵⁰ Martin Marek, interviewed by the author, Zlín, March 27, 2013.

⁵¹ Ivanov, *Sága o životě a smrti*, 214; Česká televize, “Dynastie Baťů. Jak se z malých ševců stali světoví výrobci obuvi” Videoarchiv Historie.cs Adobe Flash Player video file, 41:30, <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/10150778447-historie-cs/211452801400010/>; “HISTORIE: Proces s Janem Baťou,” accessed February 20, 2013, http://neviditelnypes.lidovky.cz/historie-proces-s-janem-batou-1-de8-/p_spolecnost.asp?c=A070427_203442_p_spolecnost_wag.

participated in the resistance movement. Alex Gelert escaped to Kenya where he joined the Czechoslovakian legion and fought on the side of the allies. Klinger Bedřich and Krausner Vilém, who did not manage to escape, later died in concentration camps.⁵²

What could happen to the Jewish inhabitants in Zlín after the arrival of the German troops is depicted through the atypical story of a Jewish physician named Leo Moravec. His foresight and the forbearance of neighboring fellow-citizens saved his life before the deadly transports. Moravec managed to prepare a hiding place in the basement of the house in which he lived. When all Jews were obligated to report to a Zlín gendarmerie on October 19, 1939, Moravec's wife, who was Christian, announced that her husband had escaped abroad. Truthfully, Moravec hid in the basement for three years. His presence was not a well-kept secret but no one reported Moravec to the Gestapo office, then located in the Hotel Společenský Dům (appendix XI). The story of Moravec is indicative of a good relationship between Jews and gentiles in Zlín. Even so, violent death awaited the vast majority of Zlín's Jewry.⁵³

3.2.1 The First Victims of the Nazi Occupation in the City of Zlín

Historians have claimed that Miroslav Horáček, who was assassinated on May 15, 1939, was the first victim of the Nazi regime in the Zlín Region. This, however, is not true. Maybe due to the anti-Semitism of Soviet historians, the story of Jewish resident Desider Ornstein, a dentist employed in the Baťa hospital, was lost. On March 22, 1939, Ornstein, out of fear of the Nazis, murdered his two children. His wife Kamila escaped. Ornstein then committed suicide by jumping off the top floor of the Hotel Společenský Dům (see appendix XI). Kamila Ornsteinová immediately left town, moving to Prague. In 1942, she was registered in a German transport going east. Her ultimate destination was a labor camp in Ujazdów. This family tragedy demonstrates the extreme stress placed on the Jews under the German occupation.⁵⁴

⁵² E. Máčel, "Židé a my, občané zlíňští (zejména židovští lékaři fy. Baťa)," 1996, file 80, Prague Jewish Museum.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ "Příběh Desidera Ornsteina," [holocaust.cz](http://www.holocaust.cz), accessed October 10, 2012, <http://www.holocaust.cz/cz/resources/pres/stories/ornstein/ornstein>; Marcel Sladkowski, "Tragédie rodiny Ornsteinovy" (paper presented at annual meeting Židé a Morava, Kroměříž, November, 1999); Máčel, "Židé a my, občané zlíňští."

3.3 Corruption within the Zlín Gestapo

Among the Jews who managed to leave the country before the German occupation was the Reiser family. Although, this family did not live in Zlín, they have an evident connection with this city. Jewess Marie Reiser travelled to Zlín in order to obtain a permit to leave the country and move to France. The Reisers were wealthy, which enabled Maria to corrupt the Zlín Gestapo and obtain the necessary travel documents (see appendix XIV). The family escaped to France before the final solution was implemented. The reason Maria travelled to Zlín in particular remains unknown. Existing records do not note any other cases of Jews gaining a permit from the Gestapo in Zlín. The only parallel might be the Klausner family, who lived in Zlín and by the help of Hynek Baťa obtained visas to the USA. However, the youngest son, Tomáš, was deaf and mute and as such was not allowed to leave the country. The family refused to depart without him and stayed in Zlín. Later, the father Vilém was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to Buchenwald. The rest of the family was imprisoned in Terezín and later perished in Auschwitz. As demonstrated by such stories, Jews tried a myriad ways to cope with the Nazi threat, but most of them were not successful.⁵⁵

3.4 Anti-Semitic Regulations and their Negative Impact on the Jewish Community in Zlín

The German occupation brought a number of anti-Semitic regulations which were gradually introduced and limited Jews in their everyday lives. Immediately after the arrival of the Nazis, all public offices were required to check whether any of their employees were of Jewish origin. In October 1939, gendarmeries in the Protectorate were obligated to compile a list of Jewish citizens (see appendices XVII – XXVI). Later on in 1939, Jews were forced to quit public service occupations. Further modification of the regulation in April 1940 forbade Jews from practicing certain private professions. In 1941, all remaining Jewish businesses were closed. Additionally, all debts owed to Jews were canceled. Segregation continued, and on October 4, 1941, Jews were forced to wear a special marking in the shape of the Star of David. Every time a Jew entered the public sphere, the marking had to be clearly worn on the left side. The anti-Semitic regulations went so far as

⁵⁵ Kathy Kacer, *Restitution: A Family's Fight for Their Heritage Lost in the Holocaust* (Toronto: Second Story Press, 2010), 80 – 83; Máčel, “Židé a my, občané zlíňští”; Katherine Kacer, Toronto, February 2, 2013, e-mail message to the author.

to prohibit Jews from using public transportation or riding a bike.⁵⁶ The Jewish persecution culminated in Zlín on January 23, 1943. On that day, Jewish property was confiscated, including their homes, which were given to Gestapo officers. The Jews were then rounded up, transported to Uherský Brod, then to Terezín, and then onto Auschwitz, their last earthly destination. The gas chambers and cremation ovens of Auschwitz became the tools of extinction of Zlín Jewry.⁵⁷

3.5 The Increasing German Influence in Zlín

Based on the provided evidence, the pre-war coexistence of the Jews and gentile resident in Zlín could be characterized as rather positive. In spite of the efforts of Jan Baťa in exile, protecting Zlín from German influence proved impossible. Even though the official records claim that the company acted independently from the Nazi administration, the lack of information concerning the transportation of Zlín Jews on January 23 in the local press may suggest that the management of the Baťa shoe company, to a certain extent, was influenced by the German regime. Instead of reporting about the deportation of the remainder of Zlín's Jews to Terezín, the *Svět* newspapers, owned and operated by the Baťa shoe company, stressed the tenth anniversary of the Hitler's dictatorship. The only article mentioning Jews concerned the supposedly negative influence of French Jews on the government. With the omission of reports on the transport, a certain shift of the attitude towards Jews becomes apparent. What used to be "us" in the discourse of the Baťa shoe company becomes, quite abruptly, "not us." Whether this change of opinion was caused by the Nazi influence or the management decided to implement these steps in advance, in order to protect the company at the expense of a minority of its employees, remains unknown. On the other hand, economic motives connected with the displacement of the Jews and the anti-Semitic behavior of residents of nearby towns might suggest that at least part of Zlín society welcomed the "final solution" of the Holocaust.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ For detail information concerning anti-Semitic regulations see Helena Petrův, *Právní postavení Židů v Protektorátu Čechy a Morava, 1939 – 1941* (Praha: Sefer, 2000).

⁵⁷ Files of the State Archive Zlín; "Protižidovská opatření na území Protektorátu Čechy a Morava a jejich realizace (1939 – 1942)," accessed February 28, 2013, <http://www.ustrcr.cz/cs/protizidovska-opatreni-na-uzemi-protektoratu-cechy-a-morava#add1>; Pěkný, *Historie Židů*; Pavel Dias, interviewed by the author, Zlín, January 21, 2013; Katherine Kacer, Toronto, March 11, 2013, e-mail message to the author.

⁵⁸ *Svět – Zlín*, January, 27, 1943, 1 -7; Strobach and Marek, "Batismus a židovská otázka na přelomu 30. a 40. let dvacátého století."

4 POSTWAR FADE-OUT OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ZLÍN AND THE LAWSUIT WITH JAN ANTONÍN BAŤA

Generally, the postwar situation of the Jewish Holocaust survivors was not easy, with much of society viewing the returning Jews unfavorably. Many, Jews sensed that they were no longer welcome in their communities, and with little incentive to remain, emigrated, mostly to the United Kingdom and United States. These countries offered greater potential, both religious and economic. In this respect, the situation in Zlín was not dissimilar. The Jews who managed to leave the country before the war found little to no motivation to return to Zlín. The rest were victims of the German Nazi regime. The rapid industrial development of Zlín and the priority placed on production meant that Zlín's Jewish community had little time to develop its cultural heritage. The Jewish cemetery is the only extant memorial to a once-thriving Jewish community, and that in itself is in neglect.

4.1 History of the Jewish Cemetery in Zlín

Zlín has a Jewish cemetery, but except for relatives of the interred, few Zlín inhabitants are aware of its existence (see appendix XXVII). This neglected burial-ground is now the only remembrance of the defunct Jewish community in Zlín. Originally, the cemetery was purposefully built as communal and open to all, regardless of religion. Despite the fact that it was originally designed to hold up to a thousand human remains, only thirteen graves are located in the one-hectare cemetery. Between 1936 and 1942, sixteen burials took place in the cemetery, the first of them in September 1936. Victims of the Nazi era, including the Ornstein family, also rest in the cemetery. The extinction of Jewish communities in Moravia after WWII led to the disregard of Jewish cemeteries throughout the region, including Zlín. The Weinstein family, members of which are buried in the cemetery, are presumably the only surviving relatives of Zlín Jews still living in Zlín. The family refuses to publicly talk about the past or their heritage, but after the war, they did succeed in reclaiming family property, including a building in the square.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Marcel Sladkowski, "Židovský hřbitov ve Zlíně" (paper presented at the annual meeting Židé a Morava, Kroměříž, November 7, 2001).

4.2 Post-war Legal Cases Concerning Jan Antonín Baťa

The positive pre-war attitudes towards Jews dissipated during the war, and this trend continued even after the war. The Jewish contribution to the Baťa shoe company and the city was, intentionally or not, forgotten. Nationalization of the Baťa shoe company plant in Zlín and the denigration of the Zlín icon Jan Antonín Baťa led to a certain loss of identity among residents of Zlín during the post-war period. According to one of the Beneš Decrees, all companies employing more than four hundred people fell under state administration. This regulation applied to the Baťa factory in Zlín. Paradoxically, J. A. Baťa succeeded in protecting the plant during WWII by redistributing shares, so Germans were not able to “aryanize” the company. He did not, however, manage to protect the factory from nationalization. As the only owner of the company, still in exile in Brazil, being on the allied black list of people who collaborated with the Nazis, Baťa was not entitled to claim any compensation. In 1947, Jan Antonín Baťa was convicted in absentia of being a collaborator and quisling. The verdict was supported by arguing that Baťa had a pro-Nazi attitude and did not publicly support the exiled government in London. Even though it might be claimed that Baťa supported the government-in-exile financially, this argumentation is not demonstrably well-founded. On the other hand, Baťa offered President Beneš financial support even before the war that was intended for the defense of the state from the German occupation. J. A. Baťa remained in Brazil until his death in 1965. Recently, the legal case against Baťa was reopened at his family’s request and Baťa was officially rehabilitated in 2007. Presently, the Baťa family is requesting compensation in the amount of fifty-six million Czech crowns. The rehabilitation and subsequent legal proceedings are the strongest proof yet that Baťa was not a Nazi sympathizer.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Ivanov, *Sága o životě a smrti*, see chapter “Národní soud 1947”; ČTK, “Baťa’s Descendants Claim Compensation from Czech State,” *Prague Daily Monitor*, March 8, 2013, accessed March 9, 2013, <http://praguemonitor.com/2013/03/08/ba%C5%A5-descendants-claim-56-million-compensation-czech-state>.

CONCLUSION

Even though, Jews visited the city of Zlín in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were not residents. Their appearance in Zlín was primarily connected with trade. Historical records document only one Jewish resident prior to the last decades of the nineteenth century, when Jewish families started to settle in Zlín. The first Jewish families in Zlín adhered to their ancestral source of income: trade. According to accessible sources, Jews lived peacefully among gentiles, even when the rapid development of the Baťa shoe company in the 1920s and 1930s led to a population boom in the town. Among the new residents of Zlín were also Jews, who proved to be extremely valuable to the Baťa shoe company, as evinced by the statements of both company directors. Here the parallels of the Zlín Jewish community with other nearby more deeply rooted communities come to an end. The Baťa shoe company benefited from the service of Jews, and perceiving the German threat, started relocating resources to branch offices abroad, Jewish employees included. This act became a subject of controversy, with some authorities considering Jan Antonín Baťa a hero for saving Jewish lives, while others claim that his actions were simply economically motivated. An examination of records indicates the pragmatic and opportunist approach of J. A. Baťa which, nevertheless, protected approximately fifty-seven Jews from the “final solution.” Those Jews who did not manage to escape on their own mostly met with destruction, Leo Moravec being an exception.

Although records are scarce, the harsh reality is that some Zlín residents turned the Holocaust to their favor. Getting rid of Jewish competition, confiscating Jewish property and erasing debts owed to Jews served as motivations for some Zlín residents to collaborate with the Nazis in the liquidation of the local Jewish community, or at least to look the other way while the liquidation happened. Certainly no one openly protested the removal of the Jews from the city of shoes.

The exile of Jan Antonín Baťa and the legal proceedings against him, as well as the nationalization of his Zlín properties and the policies of the communist regime, led to a loss of identity in Zlín after World War II. This fact was compounded by the loss of the Zlín Jewish community, the survivors of which saw little reason to return to Zlín or stay there after the war. Indeed, few have ever even bothered to visit, Tom Stoppard being a notable exception. For these reasons, the historical significance of the Jewish influence on the Baťa shoe company and the city of Zlín was largely forgotten. The only existing

memorial of the past Jewish presence in Zlín is the Jewish cemetery, which is currently neglected.

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APPENDIX I: THE ZLÍN REGION



Map issued by Topograf s.r.o., 2006.

APPENDIX II: FRANTIŠEK ZEDNÍK'S 1846 PAINTING OF THE "CITY OF ZLÍN"



Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX IV: PETITION OF PROTEST FROM 1848, PART II

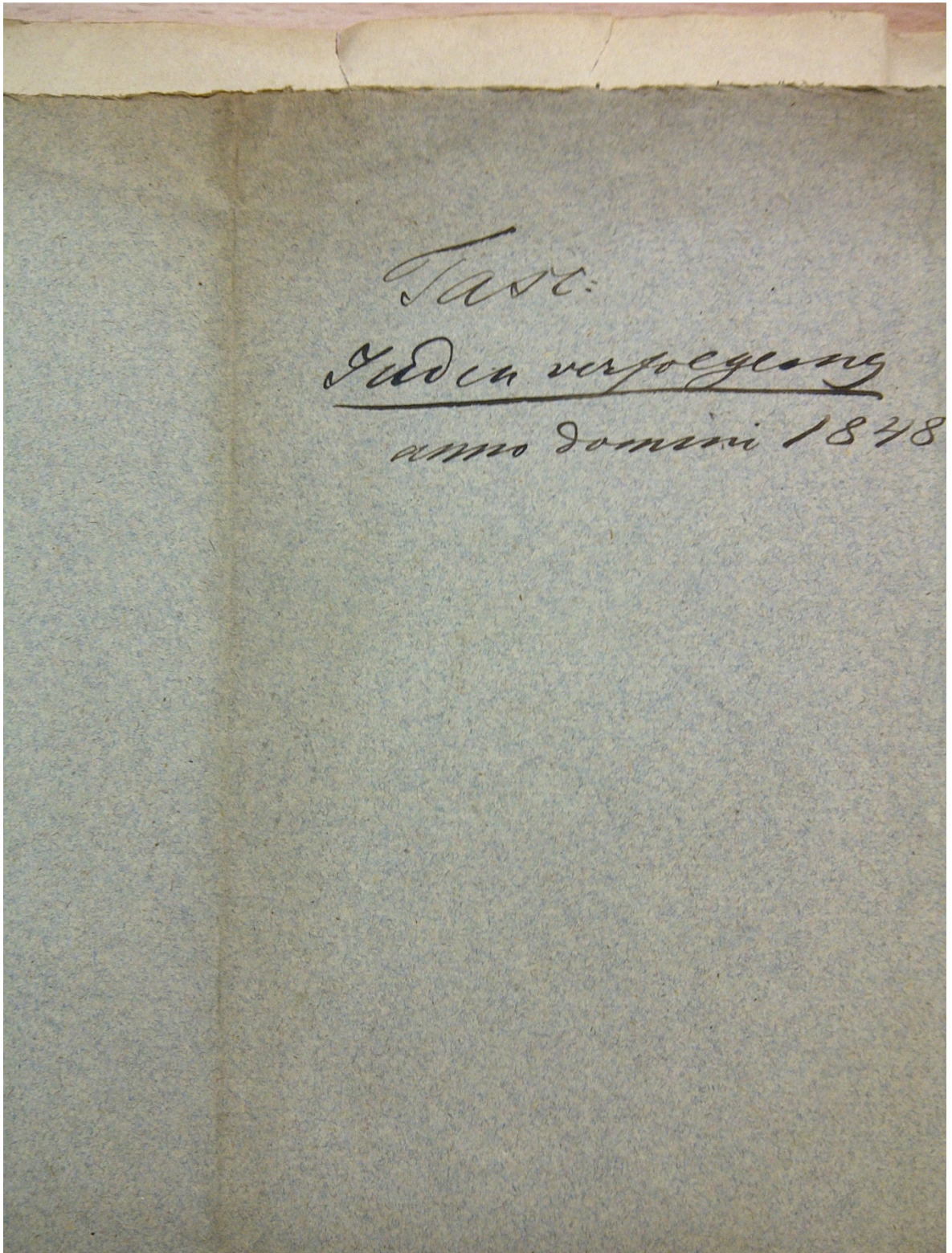
J. Gorchovj vradě
" Zlině !

Právě občan v Zlině
prošje o prád.
volbu j. židů
Jiljeh Šnotman
yrguzati sje v,
a židů J. židů
a n. židů vby
a za Zlině do
j. židů židů
vby v. židů vby

Šafellin v. židů
Šafellin

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlin.

APPENDIX V: PETITION OF PROTEST FROM 1848, PART III



Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX VI: PETITION OF PROTEST FROM 1848, PART IV

Dozvoleno nam jest
kazati, ze yciu se
zveoua povolau ycu
y znuu y bylati ycu
muviti micit. In
ze znuu do povgy
zuvovijy ubij voj.
pogovet.
W znuu dca
D pny m 848

J. Dvchij vrad
Znuu k ij
Wnuu vbracij y znuu
pnyj y pnyj vbracij
ziva filijy Djavta.
mav. filijy y
mijy y mnyjy
voj y znuu
do povgy znuu
voj voj pogovet.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlin.

APPENDIX VII: LIST OF THE JEWISH EMPLOYEES OF THE BAŤA SHOE COMPANY FROM 1935, PART I

Semnou zaměstnanci náboženského úřadu.

odd.	Jméno:	narož.	stav	bydliště	co u nás dělá ?	
587	Adler Jakub	1909	svob.	Zlín, Internát šití nartů		5. 9. 1923
000	Barth Arnošt	1909	svob.	Zlín, Smet. 774	korespondent	7. 3. 33
582	Beck Emil	1909	svob.	Zlín, Dlouhá 2699	modelář	2. 9. 1920
000	Beck Max	1907	svob.	Zlín	kontrolor	Litva 12. 9. 33
380	Feder Moric	1917	svob.	Zlín, Internát 1545	korespondent	9. 9. 1931
553	Fried Leo	1906	svob.	Zlín, Zahradní	kraječ	25. 3. 1930
1303	Friedman Mezes	1903	svob.	Bačov 191	štosování strojen	PROPUŠT.
899	Friendlender Evžen	1906	<u>ženat</u>	Zlín, Tyršovo 487	konstruktér	17. 11. 31
1313	Izák Bernad	1903	<u>ženat</u>	Bačov 527 2535	koželuh	10. 11. 27
4200	MUDr. Eckstein Emil	1901	<u>ženat</u>	Zlín, Kamená	zubní doktor	PROPUŠT.
4200	MUDr. Gellert Alex.	1907	svob.	Zálešná 2617	lékař	10. 8. 31
4200	MUDr. Klinger Bedři.	1904	svob.	Čepkov 1583	lékař	20. VI. 33
4200	MUDr. Sträussler E.	1908	<u>ženat</u>	Zálešná 2617	lékař	4. 2. 32
4200	Dr. Dionys Washsberger	1907	svob.	Zálešná 600	lékař	24. 6. 31
4200	MUDr. Recht Valter	1904	<u>ženat</u>	Zálešná 637	lékař	2. 9. 30
61 ex.	Korálek Arnošt	1903	svob.	Dolní nám. 512	korespondent	19. 10. 32
413	Lebovičová Malvina	1908	svob.	Internát II	skládá	7. IV. 34
1631	Litmanovites Stan.	1912	svob.	Vila, Smus,	korespondent	PROPUŠT.
119	Heim Bedřich	1909	svob.	Růmy 2510 1795	korespondent	3. 8. 29
77 ex.	Ronai Arpad	1908	svob.	Zlín, Smetanova	účetní	8. III. 32
741 101	Herskovitz Izák	1908	svob.	Tyršovo 466	sazeč	21. IV. 31.
Frankl Kurt	1908	svob.	Tyršovo 192	korespondent	PROPUŠT.	13. VIII. 29
141	Politzer Alfréd Ing.	1907	<u>ženat</u>	Spol.ům	vedoucí skupinář	
6192	Lachs Erich	1904	svob.	Dlouhá 98	roz.práce	6. 12. 32
000	Němčík Josef	1910	svob.	Zálešná 1138	vedoucí	30. 3. 32
1780	Stain Arnošt	1911	svob.	Smetanova 2503 1591	účetní, korespon.	25. IV. 27
101	Meisl Frýda	1882	<u>ženat</u>	Nad Ovčírnou 1828	vedoucí	2. VIII. 33
1795	Grünberger Pavel	1888	<u>ženat</u>	Pod Flustou	stavby v Bestu	25. 2. 37.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX VIII: LIST OF THE JEWISH EMPLOYEES OF THE BAŤA SHOE COMPANY FROM 1935, PART II

1311	Hoffman Majeř	1903	<u>ženat</u>	Bařov	koželuh	31. III. 27.
591	Fleischmann Otto	1909	svob.	Internát	kovorytec	13. IV. 33.
144	Ing. Vodák Erich	1902	svob.	Tyrřovo náb.	vedoucí	30. V. 33.
103	Wurm Rudolf	1898	svob.	Fügnerovo náb.	je v Itálii	28. III. 33.
1641	Akierman S.W.	1917	svob.	Internát	sazeř	prof.
1641	Studnia Lejbus	1916	svob.	Internát	tiskař	prof.
143	Ing. Otto Heilig	1905	svob.	Smetanova 802	korespondent	10. X. 33.
000	Dr. Stein Jiří	1909	svob.	Smetanova 2503	korespondent	12. V. 33.
162	Ing. Jelínek Hugo	1907	svob.	Tyrřovo náb. 22	vedoucí	10. V. 33.
1823	Sušická Eliřka	1911	svob.	Podlesí 2089	prodavařka	20. III. 34.
760	JUG. Aron Jakub	1912	svob.	Vysoká 2092	redaktor	prof.
1201	Galmon Glaus	1914	svob.	Dol. náměstí 680	korespondent	24. I. 34.
6 ex.	Fürst Max	1912	svob.	řtefanikova 2594	korespondent	14. XI. 34.
444	Fischerová Magdalena	1915	svob.	Ovčírna 598	barvení řnytů	20. II. 34.
2660	Friedman Mikuláš	1914	svob.	Hřuboká 813	korespondent	18. IV. 34.
1630	Gelb Herz	1903	svob.	Tyrřovo náb. 192	reklama	prof.
1670	Haas Julius	1910	svob.	Nivy 2435	najimací	prof.
104	Joachym Valter	1903	svob.	Sokolská 573	korespondent	6. V. 34.
899	Ing. Marmořstein H.	1902	svob.	Tyrřovo náb. 748	konstruktér	22. V. 34.
1620	Repper Richard	1897	<u>ženat</u>	Tyrřovo náb. 2368	skupinář	27. X. 33.
156	Seger Kurt	1914	svob.	Fügnerovo náb. 1797	účetní	28. XI. 33.
110	Seidler Vilhelm	1907	svob.	Fügnerovo náb. 1797	korespondent	9. X. 34.
587	Steiner Frant.	1919	svob.	Internát	roz. řýsek	26. 9. 34.
1441	Ing. Vogel Bedřich	1902	<u>ženat</u>	Podlesí 2089	ing. chemie	26. VI. 34.
1681	Weiss Stibor	1920	svob.	Internát	ražení	4. X. 34.
743	Taus Jindřich	1911	svob.	Hradská 2507	účetní-výplatní	prof.
1442	Weil Vojtěch	1907	svob.	Batizovce 1284	vedoucí	3. V. 28.
899	Beck Otto	1906	rozv.	Nad Ovčírnou	knihovník	15. IV. 34.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX IX: LIST OF THE JEWISH EMPLOYEES OF THE BAŤA SHOE COMPANY FROM 1935, PART III

301	✓ Ing. Turnovský J. 1896	ženat	Zlín, Letná	výroba barev	20. 3. 34
4200	✓ Censorová Stel. 1903	svob.	Nemocnice 600	ošetřovatelka	11. 34.
424	✓ Teovlovič Isák 1909	ženat	Pod Tlustou 1056	předcvikař	31. 34
4500	✓ MUDr. Lövy Pavel 1907	svob.	Nemocnice 600	zubní lékař	6. XI. 34
4500	✓ MUDr. Apfelbaum O. 1907	svob.	Smetanova 2401	zubní lékař	17. X. 1934.
476	Buchsbaum Erich 1920	svob.	Internát 4	svob. povol. vyšetř. gumování	31. VII. 34.
export	Dohan Arnošt 1909	svob.	Spol. dům	korespondent	1. XI. 33.
1871	✓ Gellert Mikuláš 1900	ženat	Pod Tlustou 1057	hotel-boy	16. VIII. 33
831	✓ Heller Bruno 1896	ženat	Podvesná 2422 1818	vrtář	17. 12. 34.
1060	Kellner Valter 1900	ženat	Por Rozhlednou	kontrolor	od 1. 7. 33 v Chelmeby
439	Kögelová Edita 1920	svob.	Internát 3	dává nabývk. barvení	8. VIII. 34.
108	Mannheimer J.A. 1901	svob.	Na Požáře 2404	korespondent	21. IV. 32.
1642	Riesenfeld Alfréd 1915	svob.	Internát 5	svob. povol. popis. výroby	20. VIII. 30.
338	Riesenfeld Rudolf 1918	svob.	Internát 4	zavazovací kladení-přidování	16. 8.
332	Riesenfeld Jindřich 1918	svob.	Internát 4	vyzouvání	19. 12. 33.
66 ex.	Rothbart Ignác 1907	ženat	Díly 2600	okrskový kontrolor	24. 3.
192	Schenk Karel 1903	ženat	Pod Tlustou 1051	ve Francii v naší továrně.	12. V. 24.
1332	<i>friedr. Viliam 1919</i>	<i>svob.</i>	<i>Internat (ml. muž)</i>		
18	<i>Wassermann Otto 1917</i>	<i>ženat</i>	<i>Kotěrova 994</i>	<i>red. skup.</i>	<i>29. VIII. 33</i>
6131	Brügel Erich 1907	svoboděn	Sadová 2704	skladník	28. 5. 35
724	Frönkl Eugen 1908	svob.	Spol. dům	dopravčí	28. 5. 35
1620	Stern Osvald 1897	ženat	Pod Tlustou	prodejce pneu	25. 7. 34
1395	Rezek Vilém 1896	ženat		nákupce	20. 2. 34
161	Dr. Balla Desider 1912	svobod.		zaprac. sklad gumy	15. 3.
883	Ing. Chaim Teicher 1905	svobod.	Ovčárna 1335	chemik na praxi	17. 2.
4200	MUDr. Kurz Walter 1910	svobod.	Společ. d. ňm	lékař	10. 7. 35
4500	MUDr. Ornstein Des. 1894	ženat	Kotěrova 1670	zubní lékař	2. 5. 35.
152	Morgenstern Karel 1901	ženat	Lípová 1631	nákupce	14. 8. 35
466	Tausova Helena 1911	svobod.	Hradní 2240	dělnice	25. 9. 34
425	Rubin Smil, Aron, Emil 1919	svobod.	Internát	ml. muž	6. 8. 35
442	Gross Hean, Moses 1920	svobod.	Internát	ml. muž	5. 3. 35.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX X: LIST OF THE JEWISH EMPLOYEES OF THE BAŤA SHOE COMPANY FROM 1935, PART IV

4.

158ex.	Weiss Karel	1904	svobod. Spol.dům	rayonista	28.8.35
156	Weiss Hans	1905	svobod. Spol.dům	kontrolor	2.2.35
2710	Weisz Ludevit	1911	svobod. Bartošová 47	korespondent	20.2.35
2585	Wortmann Samuel	1880		skupinář	18.7.34
54ex	Prupas Dave	1910	svobod. Spol.dům	zásobovatel	24.7.35
2710	Kováč Josef	1903	svobod.	rayonista	6.2.35
1630	Marmorstein Eugen	1909	svobod. Mostní 2428	inserce	6.2.35
2699	Berger Artur	1903	ženat Spol.dům	okrskář pneu	17.9.35
1637	Eisner Erich	1910	svobod.	film-scenarista	17.9.35
2660	Friedmann Mik.	1914	svobod. Hluboká 813	korespondent	18.7.34
1201	Karel Herz	1907	svobod. Nám/práce 1512	zásobovatel	7.5.35
1391	Vodňan Vlad.	1902	ženat - flau, led nepřítomno	školník	3.7.34

Rekapitulace:

Svobodných	62
Ženatých	24
Celkem	86

24.9.35.

Kramm

30

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XI: HOTEL SPOLEČENSKÝ DŮM, THE PLACE WHERE MANY EMPLOYEES OF THE BAŤA SHOE COMPANY LIVED, INCLUDING JEWS. IT WAS OFF OF THE TOP FLOOR OF THIS BUILDING THAT DESIDER ORNSTEIN JUMPED, COMMITTING SUICIDE. LATER ON, DURING THE WAR, THE HOTEL WAS HEADQUARTERS OF THE GESTAPO.



Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XII: A LIST OF JEWISH INDUSTRIAL AND TRADING BUSINESSES, 1939

SEZNAM židovských průmyslových a živnostenských podniků, Dodatek k učednějsmu čís. jedn. 10.187/39./

Čís. poř.	Forma obchodu/akc.spol., spol. s r.o., fyzická osoba atd./	Výše kapitálu:	Počet všech pracovních sil	Obrat sa-rei:		Z toho připadá na export v roku:		Poznámka:
				1937	1938	1937	1938	
1	Bernard Weinstein a Zdenka Weinsteinová, obchod střížním zbožím.	ve zboží asi 140.000 K 2 domy v ceně 800.000 K	5	886.039.15 K	837.720.80 K	-	-	
2	Morice Aschkenes, obchod smíšeným zbožím a střížním zbožím.	ve zboží asi 330.000 K dům asi 250.000 K	6	708.750 K	790.235 K	-	-	
3	Leopold Stiasny a syn, obchod smíšeným zbožím	ve zboží asi 100.000 K dům v ceně asi 140.000 K	4	598.525 K	641.496 K	-	-	
4	Jakub Schindler, obchod smíšeným zbožím	ve zboží asi 4.000 K dům v ceně 400.000 K Lauh 200.000 K	2	152.552.65K	184.426.25 K	34.188.80 K	-	
5	Dr. Otto Hoffmann, obchod sklem, porcelánem, keramikou, galvanickým zbožím a bižutiérií.	ve zboží asi 150.000 K	4	139.123.25 K	208.530 K	-	-	
6	Greta Tausová, provd. Mikysková, modistka	ve zboží asi 6.000 K	2	36.243.30 K	44.238.70 K	-	-	
7	Leo Moravec, velkoobchod vínem	ve zboží asi 35.000 K	1	115.541.05 K	125.307.75 K	-	-	
8	Hugo Slattner, zubní technik	v zařízení asi 120.000 K	5	271.024.50 K	225.884.95K	-	-	
9	Marek Kukly vdova a spol. parní pila v Nov. Hrozenkově, třířádný sklád dřeva ve Zlíně	Zlínský sklád v hodnotě asi 100.000 K	3	480.220 K	630.230 K	-	-	
10	Albert Kohn, obchod vinou, modním zbožím, výšivky, čištění perli a prouej perli.	ve zboží asi 8.000 K	3	72.268.60 K	107.027 K	-	-	
11	Alexandr Deutelbaum, obchod potravinami, lahvojným pivem, vínem a likéry.	ve zboží asi 500 K	1	-	9.200 K	-	-	
12	Rudolf Adler, pekařství	ve zboží asi 12.500 K	4	90.800 K	140.000 K	-	-	
13	Šimon Herškovič, prodej hotového prádla	ve zboží asi 10.000 K	1	26.000 K	105.000 K	-	-	
14	Helena Herškovičová, švadlena	v zařízení asi 2.000 K	1	7.000 K	7.000 K	-	-	
15	Leopold Fischer, obchod ovocem	500 až 700 K	1	9.100 K	20.000 K	-	-	
16	Berta Herzková, obchod ovocem	asi 2.000 K	2	25.000 K	30.000 K	-	-	
17	Bedřich Müller, obchod střížním zbožím	ve zboží asi 140.000 K	2	-	-	-	-	
18	Hanns Tauber, obchod barvami a láky	ve zboží asi 230.000 K	3	341.088.50 K	336.628.50 K	-	-	
19	Hugo Redlich, obchod autosoučástkami a autovýzbrojí	ve zboží asi 45.000 K	2	220.000 K	269.000 K	-	-	
20	Vilém Gráf, výroba a oprava okenních rolet	ve zboží asi 8.000 K	2	45.571 K	88.283 K	-	-	

Zlín, 7. červenec 1939.

Velitel stanice
M. M. K. K.

ČR-Moravský zemský archiv v Brně
Státní okresní archiv ve Zlíně
13.3.2013

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XIII: A LIST OF JEWISH PHYSICIANS WORKING IN THE BAŤA HOSPITAL, 1937 – 1939

Výkaz o odchodu židovských lékařů v Baťově nemocnici
roku 1937 až 1939.

J m é n o:	Domovská obec	Datum odchodu:	Datum vyřazení ze stavu:
1 Dr. Krámer Tibor	Vozokany okr. Nitra	1937 3.1.	1937 3.1.
2 Dr. Eiser Arthur	Rájec n. Rajč. okr. Žilina	1937 30.9.	1937 30.9.
3 Dr. Apfelbaum Ozias	Mor. Ostrava	1938 14.5.	1938 14.5.
4 Dr. Adlerová Lýdia	Lučenec	1938 30.6.	1938 30.6.
5 Dr. Waelsch J.H.	Brno	1938 31.8.	1938 31.8.
6 Dr. Waelschová L.	Brno	1938 31.8.	1938 31.8.
7 Dr. Groszmann Zolt.	Polom - okr. Rim. Sobota	1938 10.10.	1938 10.10.
8 Dr. Schwartz Max	Berehovo	1938 30.11.	1938 30.11.
9 Dr. Freund Gerhard ^{n. evanj.}	Ústí n. Labem	1938 30.11.	1938 30.11.
10 Dr. Masárek Rudolf	Klatovy	1938 14.12.	1938 14.12.
11 Dr. Klinger Bedřich	Tovačov, okr. Přerov	1938 31.12.	1938 31.12.
12 Dr. Löwy Pavel	Most	1939 21.2.	1939 14.3.
13 Dr. Friedmann Im.	Spišská N.Ves	1939 21.2.	1939 14.3.
14 Dr. Gellért Alex.	Prešov	1939 1.3.	1939 15.3.
15 Dr. Görtlerová Est.	Dvůr Králové	1939 15.2.	1939 15.3.
16 Dr. Kirchenberger W.	Údlice, okr. Chomutov	1939 1.3.	1939 15.3.
17 Dr. Posner Erich	Karlovy Vary	1939 1.3.	1939 15.3.
18 Dr. Rado Bedřich	Sl. Ostrava	1939 1.3.	1939 15.3.
19 Dr. Sperber Karel	Tachov	1939 1.3.	1939 15.3.
20 Dr. Ornstein Desid.	Mukačevo	1939 21.2.	1939 22.3. †
21 Dr. Sträussler E.	Brno	1939 1.3.	1939 15.3.
22 Dr. Recht Walter	Olomouc	1939 1.3.	1939 22.3.
23 Dr. Wachsberger D.	Revúca	1939 1.3.	1939 31.3.

Po celou dobu trvání Baťovy nemocnice nebyl v ústavě zaměstnán žádný lékař cizí státní příslušnosti / ~~emigrant~~ / mimo krátkodobé praktikování Dr. Sonaka Melarana, který v ústavě pracoval jako placený externí lékař od 4.8.1933 do 6.11. 1933, byl Ind.

Za: BAŤOVA NEMOCNICE
B. E. Kupec,

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XIV: KAREL REISER'S EXIT PERMIT ISSUED BY THE ZLÍN GESTAPO

Durchlaßschein Nr. 3378

Der ~~die~~ *Karel Reiser*
(Vorname, Familienname, Beruf)

aus *Zlin*
(Mündiger Wohnort, Straße, Hausnummer)

ist berechtigt, unter Vorlage des Passes (~~Paßes~~)¹⁾
Nr. *6674*,
ausgestellt von *Bez. Beh. Rakovník*
in der Zeit vom *23. 6.* 1939 bis zum *31. 7.* 1939
einmal²⁾ — ~~wiederholt~~ — über die an der Grenze des Protektorats Böhmen und Mähren amtlich zugelassenen Übergangsstellen das Gebiet des Protektorats zu verlassen und in dieses Gebiet wieder einzureisen.

Zlin, den *23. 6.* 1939
Geheime Staatspolizei
Einzel-Dienststelle Brünn
Ausländendienststelle Zlin.
(Unterschrift)
Koška



¹⁾ Nichtübertragbar. ²⁾ Bei Nichtübertragbaren ist nur ein Paß, bei Ausländern ein Paß oder Paßersatz zulässig.

Courtesy of Katherine Kacer, Toronto, Canada, Published in *Restitution: A Family's Fight for Their Heritage Lost in the Holocaust* by Katherine Kacer

APPENDIX XV: THE ARRIVAL OF THE GERMAN ARMY TO THE CITY OF ZLÍN, MARCH 15, 1939



Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XVI: A SWASTIKA FLAG IN THE TOWN



Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XVII: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART I

Metnická stanice Zlín, okres Zlín.
 M. s. jedn. 18057/39.
 Přec: Židé a míšenci.

S e z n a m - A -

Židů ze Zlína.

Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská příslušnost	Státní příslušnost	Poznámka
Maxmilian Kohn	obchodní příručí	Zlín, Dlouhá ul. 94. <i>2.3.1940 vkl. do Cechy</i>	31.1. 1901 <i>1</i>	Nové Město n/V.	slovenská	14. 11. 1938 Slovenský nos ze dne 24. 8. 1939 umrnou!
Irena Kopolovičová	studující	Zlín, Pod Stráněmi č. 2516	20.9. 1921	Roztoky okres Volovské	Maďarsko	20. 5. 8. 1939 vkl. do Cechy vkl. do Cechy 4. 1. 1940 vkl. do Cechy
Albert Kohn	obchodník	Zlín, Dlouhá ul. č. 94. <i>2.3.1940 vkl. do U.S.A</i>	4.11. 1903 <i>2</i>	Nové Město n/V.	Slovensko	1. 1. 1935 Slovenský nos ze dne 24. 8. 1939 umrnou!
Rosa Kohnová roz. Schwitzer	domáčí	Zlín, Dlouhá ul. č. 94. <i>2.3.1940 vkl. do U.S.A</i>	10.6. 1906 <i>3</i>	-, -	-, -	1. 1. 1935 Slovenský nos ze dne 24. 8. 1939
Lotte Kohnová	školačka	Zlín, Dlouhá ul. č. 94. <i>2.3.1940 vkl. do U.S.A</i>	28.3. 1933 <i>4</i>	-, -	-??-	1. 1. 1935
Otto Dr. Hoffmann	obchodník	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati č. 190.	17.12. 1903 <i>1. 1. 1903 koncent. tábor</i>	Kroměříž, okr. Kroměříž	Protekt. Čechy a Morava	20. 3. 1937
Hilda Hoffmannová Färberová	domáčí	Zlín, Malinová ul. č. 57. <i>2. 3. 1940 vkl. do Cechy</i>	14. srpna 1913 <i>6</i>	-, -	-, -	1. 1. 1938

Okresní úřad Zlín.

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XVIII: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART II

Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská příslušen.	Státní příslušen.	Bydlí v Protektorátu nepříteli PO - vz. známka
Oskar Herzka	<i>1. 9. 1941 vstřel. do táb. do koncentračního táb. do M. Opatova</i> dělník	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati č. 560	17.10.1902 7	Zdounky, okr. Kroměříž	Protekt. Čechy a Morava	1. 12. 1936
Berta Herzková roz. Summerglück	<i>1. 9. 1941 vstřel. do M. Opatova</i> domácí obchodnice		19.5.1903 8			1. 12. 1936
Otto Herzka	<i>1. 9. 1941 vstřel. do M. Opatova</i> školák		1.11.1931 9			1. 12. 1936
Šimon Herškovič	obchodník	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati č. 37	1.8.1913	Munkačevo	Maďarsko	19. 12. 1938 1. 3. 1. 1940 vstřel. do Prahy 3. 11. 1936
Helena Herškovičová	<i>1. 3. 1940 vstřel. do Munkačevo</i> švadlena	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati č. 560	17.12.1915 10			
Vilém Graf	roletář	Zlín, Štefanikova 658	17.7.1886 11	Turkovice okr. Čáslav	Protekt. Čechy a Morava	10. 11. 1935
Pavel Grünberger	<i>15. 6. 1940 vstřel. do Prahy</i> inženýr	Zlín, Podvodojemem č. 2715	5.6.1888 12	Praha		15. 9. 1931
Ernetina Grünbergerová roz. Popperová	<i>15. 3. 1940 vstřel. do Prahy</i> domácí	-,-,-	25.3.1892 13		-,-,-	15. 9. 1931
Ruben Grünberger	žák		20.7.1922			15. 9. 1931 vstřel. 19. 12. 1939 do Prahy
Daniel Grünberger	žák		23.10.1923			15. 9. 1931 vstřel. 19. 12. 1939 do Prahy
Etela Feuereizen	domácí	Zlín, Dlouná č. 94 <i>1. 3. 1940 vstřel. do Banova</i>	6.5.1903	Lemešany	Slovensko	12. 1. 1936
Leo Fried	svrškař	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati č. 1545	8.7.1906	Jihlava, okr. Jihlava	Protekt. Čechy a Morava	15. 3. 1930 vstřel. 27. 12. 1939 do Jihlavy

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XIX: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART III

Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská přísluš.	Státní přísluš.	Poznámka <i>Dobrá + Průběh židovské nemoci Židů od</i>
František Dux ing. (2)	obchodní úředník	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati č. 3340	30.7. 1899 14	Dub, okr. Vodňany	Protektor. Čechy a Morava	24. 1. 1939
Vilma Duxová roz. Kohnová (3)	domáci	<i>Sadová č. 184</i>	26.9. 1903 15			24. 1. 1939
Hana Duxová (4)	./.		31.9. 1937 11			24. 1. 1939
Alexander Deutelbaum (5)	obchodník	Zlín, Kvítková č. 1569	15.5. 1880 17	Halénkov okr. Vsetín	Protekt. Čechy a Morava	15. 8. 1938
Julie Deutelbaum r. Kleinová (6)	domáci		23.7. 1888 18			17. 8. 1938
Otto Brässler	strojní zámečník	Zlín, Pod Tlustou č. 1710	11.11. 1904	Uh. Hradiště, okr. Uh. Hradiště	-, -	16. 1. 1937 vzhledem 15. 11. 1939 Sociálního ústí na Tábor
Jetty Brässlerová r. Hornunková	domáci		6.11. 1906			- -
Karel Brässler	./.		16.9. 1937			od narození - -
Marie Bondi (7)	soukromnice	Zlín, Sadová 184	26.1. 1883	Břeclav,	Sudety	28. 10. 1938
Siegfried Brügel	<i>14. 5. 1940 zemřel ve Zlíne</i> obchodník	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati č. 37	8.12. 1873 20	Hlinsko, okr. Hlinsko	Protektor. Čechy a Morava	27. 4. 1938
Emilie Brügel r. Reichmannová	domáci	<i>13. 8. 1941 odhl. do Prahy</i> -, -	2.3. 1879 21			27. 4. 1938
Zdenka Bergerová	krejčovská pomocnice	Zlín, Nad Sokolovnou č. 357 <i>(16. 5. 1941 odhl. do Plzně)</i>	2.7. 1919	Slavičín okr. Uh. Brod	Protekt. Čechy a Morava	24. 3. 1939 přístava je Slavičín, na k. h. Brod

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XX: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART IV

č.	Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská přísluš.	Státní příslušnost	Bondl v Protěboratě Po- ka nahrávané rod
2	Eugen Brichta	<i>30.1.1940 nahřl. do Prahy</i> účetní	Zlín, Potoky č. 2699	22.5.1889	<i>23</i> Holešov, okr. Holešov	Protěkt. Čechy a Morava	19.1935
3	Dora Brichtová r. Morgenstern	<i>15.9.1941 nahřl. do Holešova</i> domáčí		30.1.1890	<i>24</i>		19.1935
4	Ernest Brichta	<i>7.2.1939 nahřl. do Prahy</i> strojní zámečnick		38.6.1931	<i>25</i>		19.1935 12.1939 25.1939 25.1939
5	Lidie Brichtová	<i>15.9.1941 nahřl. do Holešova</i> žáčka		11.11.1934	<i>26</i>		1.9.1935
6	Rudolf Beck	<i>8</i> pensista	Zlín, Sokolská č. 418	10.9.1874	Zlín	-, -	10.10.1923
7	Regina Becková r. Arnsteinová	<i>9</i> domáčí		20.9.1875			17.7.1924
8	Emil Aschkenes	<i>10</i> soukromník	Zlín, Sadová č. 184	15.4.1878	Břeclav	-, -	20.10.1928
9	Erna Aschkenesová r. Bondi	<i>11</i> -, -		25.3.1887			25.10.1928
10	Hermína Aschkenesová	<i>12</i> žáčka		4.2.1925			27.12.1928
11	Moric Aschkenes	<i>na 8.8.1941 w vagóně</i> obchodník	Zlín, Rašínová ul. 68	7.3.1881	Zlín, okr. Zlín		1904
12	Karola Aschkenesová r. Wassermannová	<i>na 1.9.1941 w vagóně</i> -, -		18.10.1888		-, -	narození
13	František Adler	<i>8.2.1941 nahřl. do Kyjova</i> pekař	Zlín, Dolní Náměstí č. 34	24.12.1907	Kyjov, okr. Kyjov		3.5.1937
14	Rudolf Adler	<i>na 13.12.1939 w koncent. táboře</i>		9.1.1913		-, -	24.4.1937

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XXI: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART V

č.	Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská příslušnost	Státní příslušnost	Poznámka
5	Alexander Rudeš	elektromonter <i>9.3.1900</i>	Zlín, Dlouhá ul. č.98	3.9.1903	Myjava	Slovensko	<i>2.10.1939</i> <i>od</i> <i>od</i>
6	Leopold Stiassny	obchodník <i>20.3.1889</i>	Zlín, Kvítková č.477	14.10.1870	Zlín	Prot. Čechy a Morava	<i>1889</i>
7	Gisela Stiassny r. Jellinek	domácí <i>1905</i>		31.3.1878			<i>1905</i>
8	Ernst Stiassny <i>13</i>	obchodník		9.4.1906			<i>od narození</i>
9	Edita Štajglová r. Bergerová <i>14</i>	domácí	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati č.31	13.4.1911	Prostějov okr. Prostějov	Prot. Čechy a Morava	<i>16.8.1939</i> <i>od</i> <i>od</i>
10	Heinrich Schindler	soukromník	Zlín, Masarykovo Náměstí č.10.	14.3.1866	Zlín	-, -	<i>narození</i>
11	Helena Schindlerová r. Jellinková <i>15</i>	domácí		12.2.1878			<i>1897</i>
12	František Dr. Schindler <i>16</i>	advokát		20.4.1897			<i>4.6.1929</i>
13	Greta Schindlerová r. Glásová <i>17</i>	domácí	<i>Zlín - Masarykovo nám. č.10.</i>	22.6.1904			<i>10.6.1929</i>
14	Leo Schindler <i>18</i>	žák		24.4.1929			<i>10.6.1929</i>
15	Eva Schindlerová <i>19</i>	. / .		27.12.1936			<i>11.1.1937</i>
16	Jakub Schindler <i>20</i>	obchodník	Zlín, Masarykovo Náměstí 64	6.4.1885	Zlín	-, -	<i>14.12.1919</i>
17	Irma Schindlerová r. Büchler <i>21</i>	domácí		13.3.1894			<i>14.12.1919</i>

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XXII: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART VI

Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská příslušen.	Státní příslušen.	Práci v Protektorátu nemají Poz-námka
19 Bedřich Schindler	(22) student	Zlín, Masarykovo náměstí č. 64.	14.10.1920	Zlín	Protector. Čechy a Morava	margin
20 Petr Schindler	(23) student		3.5.1924			
Rosa Taus r. Druckerová	domáci 15.9.1941 vzhl. do Jákova	Zlín, Hrnčířská ul. 2507	30.11.1873	Zlín, okr.		1907
Olga Tausová	(24) úřednice		4.2.1901	Zlín.	-,,-	3.11.1928
Heinrich Tauss	(25) úředník		30.4.1911			margin
Isák Tevlyovics	17.2.1940 vzhl. do Prahy obuvník	Zlín, Pod Tlustou č. 1056	8.8.1909	Ternovo, okr. Tačevo.	Maďarsko	26.3.1930
Berta Tevlyovicsová r. Weiss	(30) domáci	17.2.1940 vzhl. do Prahy	28.7.1904			2.1.1932
Olga Tevlyovicsová	(27) žačka		28.10.1933			margin
Ela Tevlyovicsová	./.		18.12.1935			
Josef Wassermann	obchodník 28.1941 vzhl. do Prahy	Zlín, Zálešenská ul. 3124	13.7.1880	Zlín	Protector. Čechy a Morava	26.7.1938
Kamilla Wassermannová r. Mandlová	(26) domáci		22.3.1892			20.8.1938
Alexander Weinreb	obchod. zástupce 11.8.1941 vzhl. do Jákova	Zlín, Smetanova ul. 13	3.10.1879	Lukov, okr. Holešov.	-,,-	19.2.1937
Pavel Weiss	tovární dělník 10.8.1941 vzhl. do Jákova	Zlín, Losky č. 3074 vzhl. do Valčovic	10.1.1904	Olomouc, okr. Olomouc	-,,-	15.7.1939 přel. z Brna

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XXIII: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART VII

Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská příslušen.	Státní příslušen.	Popis v Protektor. Po- známka, neměstjanská
Ernst Weiss	úředník	Zlín, Čepkova č. 774	7.8.1919	Skřipov, okr. Litovel	Protektor. Čechy a Morava	22.3.1937 vhlášen 15.12.1939 zahraní
Bernhard Weinstein	obchodník	Zlín, Masarykovo Náměstí č. 170	23.2.1879	Zlín	-,-	1906
Zdenka Weinsteinová r. Reichsfeld	obchodnice	10.9.1941 odhl. do Hlávky	23.4.1887		-,-	1907
Rudolf Zuckermann	obchod. zástupce	Zlín, Tr. Tomáše Bati č. 37	10.1.1900	Piešťany	Slovensko	11.2.1936 vhlášen 1.12.1939 vhlášen
Teresie Zuckermannová r. Feuermannová	domáci		9.6.1900			18.10.1938
Leopold Zweigenthal	inval. pensista	Zlín, Štefanikova č. 658 12.5.1941 odhl. do Mrs. Ostrov	29.12.1880	Opava	Protektor. Čechy a Morava	18.10.1938
Rachel Pilátová	domáci	Zlín, Kudlov č. 180	23.12.1907	Liptál, okr. Vsetín	-,-	8.7.1937 vhlášen 9.10.1939 do Prahy
Erne Dr. Rudašiová	zubní lékařka	Zlín, Dlouhá č. 98 25.6.1940 odhl. do Hlávky	27.3.1900	Velké Topolčany	Slovensko	25.10.1938
Hugo Redlich	obchodník	Zlín, Štefanikova č. 3803	5.4.1904	Olomouc	Protekt. Čechy a Morava	22.8.1933
Blanka Redlichová r. Eislerová	domáci		21.6.1909			22.8.1933
Richard Redlich	.i.		18.4.1937			1.6.1937
Josef Reichsfeld	automechanik	Zlín, Santražiny č. 1489 10.1.1940 odhl. do Hlávky	3.12.1918	Hrubá Vrba, okr. Hodonín	-,-	14.12.1939 vhlášen vhlášen

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XXIV: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART VIII

č.	Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská příslušnost	Státní příslušnost	Opisil r. Protektorát Poznámka
3	Leo Reichsfeld	žák	Zlín, Družstevní ul. 2495 ^{2.2.6. 1940} <i>rodil. do Veselí (Mor.)</i>	17.8.1937	Hrubá Vrba, okr. Hodonín	Protektor. Čechy a Morava	15.9.1938
4	Arnold Politzer	úředník	Zlín, Sokol- ská č.19	3.8.1888	Malenovice okr. Zlín	-,-,-	20.2.1937
5	Leo Panzenn	obchodní komision.	Zlín, Pod Stráněmi č. 2516	4.2.1905	Zlín, okr. Zlín	-,-,-	2.7.1937
6	Margita Paunzenn r. Adlerová	domácí	<i>Kulhova 777</i>	2.10.1911			21.9.1936
7	Hubert Panzer	úředník	Zlín, Díly 2986	9.1.1911	Podivín, okr. Hodonín	-,-,-	18.11.1938 <i>střelba</i> 20.12.1939 <i>Praha</i>
8	Osvald Müller	pomocník u zub. techn.	Zlín, Školní ul. 85 ^{rod. 29.3.1941} <i>ve veselí</i>	22.10. 1902	Holešov, okr. Hole- šov	-,-,-	6.11.1937
9	Hilde Müllerová r. Taussová	domácí	Zlín, Pod- vrškem č. 2728 <i>Stavánska 2510</i>	29.11.1908	Baška, okr. Frydek	-,-,-	<i>urození</i>
10	Leo Morawetz	zubní technik	Zlín, Tr. Tomáše Bati č.190 <i>Střaněm 1557</i>	25.8.1906	Brno, okr. Brno	-,-,-	1.10.1930
11	Margareta Mikysek-ová r. Tausse	modistka	Zlín, Hrn- čířská č. 2510	13.3.1904	Vídeň	Německo	1926
12	Karel Meisel	soukromník	Zlín, Sado- vá č.184	6.7.1856	Zlín	Protektor. Čechy a Morava	1.8.1938
13	Rosa Meiselová r. Kulka	domácí		22.9.1866			1.8.1938
14	Hynek Markovicz	instalater	Zlín, Soudní ul. 6. ^{10.3.1910} <i>rodil. na Slavkově</i>	20.5.1913	Hatmeh	Maďarsko	17.3.1939 <i>je zahřívá</i> <i>ku. Slavkov</i>

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XXV: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART IX

č. s.	Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narození	Domovská příslušnost	Státní příslušnost	Průběh a poznámka
5	František Mandler	(37) autospráv.	Zlín, Štefanikova 14	7.1.1901	Tovačov, okr. Kroměříž	Prot. Čechy a Morava	15.19.1936
6	Herbert Loebl	konstrukter	Zlín, Masarykovo náměstí 66	14.10.1917	Praha, Újezd, okr. Rokycany	-,-,-	8.9.1937 Pražský 24.12.1939 Praha
7	Olga Linkenheld r. Reissová	domáci (38)	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati 201	5.3.1911	Zlín, okr. Zlín	-,-,-	23.1.1934
8	Ing. Olang Lederer	chemik	Zlín, Čepkovská č. 774	12.5.1912	Praha	-,-,-	18.1.1938 Pražský 18.12.1939 Praha
9	Hilda Kyjevská r. Steinschneiderová	(39) kontorist.	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati 193	2.1.1899	Přerov, okr. Přerov	-,-,-	15.6.1932
10	Berta Kindová r. Becková	(40) prodavačka	Zlín, Sokolská 418	6.12.1899	Hořepník, okr. Pelhřimov	-,-,-	16.5.1934
11	Leopold Fischer	strojn. zámečník	Zlín, Santražiny 1570	27.11.1892	Holič, okr. Skalica	-,-,-	1.1.1933
12	Bruno Heller	(41) zámečník	Zlín, Nová Podvesná 3422	24.2.1896	Přerov, okr. Přerov	-,-,-	22.1.1932
13	Sylva Hüttl r. Waldhorn	domáci	Zlín, Padělký 1785	31.12.1913	Luhov, okr. Stříbro	-,-,-	24.2.1933
14	Otto Kafka	(42) zeměd. dělník	Zlín, Mladcovská 388	30.7.1897	Milevsko, okr. Milevsko	-,-,-	14.1.1931
15	Marie Pomališová	(43) soukromnice	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati 3252	28.12.1895	Napajedla, okr. Uh. Hradiště	-,-,-	28.12.1938
16	Jakub Süßler	(44) majitel čistírny	Zlín, Lešetín I/338	15.6.1891	Zlín, okres Zlín	-,-,-	16.11.1918
17	Rosa Slovenčíková r. Kohutová	obchodnice	Zlín, Štefanikova 2527	2.5.1898	Malenovice, okr. Zlín.	-,-,-	22.7.1934
18	Elisabet Bergmannová	(44) domáci	Zlín, Buková 1724	25.8.1911	Sázava, okr. Kut. Hora	-,-,-	13.10.1936

Courtesy of the State Archive, Zlín.

APPENDIX XXVI: A LIST OF THE JEWS OF ZLÍN, PART X

Jméno a příjmení	Zaměstnání	Bydliště	Narozen	Domovská příslušnost	Státní příslušnost	Opak. r. Průk. Po- znám- ka
Cecilie Čitková r. Steinerová	domáci (45)	Zlín, Příkrá 2779 <i>Průk. o. 3088</i>	25.5.1909	Radětice, okr. Příbram	Prot. Čechy a Morava	10.11.1935 12.8.1939 12.9.39 <i>Průk.</i>
Bedřich Müller	obchodník (43)	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati 3240 <i>Průk. o. 302</i>	23.3.1895	Zlín, okr. Zlín	-,-	4.2.1932
Emilie Křemčilová	domáci (46)	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati 31 <i>Průk. o. 203</i>	5.8.1916	Brno, okr. Brno	-,-	25.6.39 <i>Brno</i>
Julie Pomališová	./.	Zlín, Tř. Tomáše Bati 3250 <i>Průk. o. 302</i>	22.5.1910	Napajedla, okr. Uh. Hradiště	-,-	25.12.38
Eugen Friedländer	tech. úředník (47)	Zlín, Tyrš. Nábřeží 487 <i>Průk. o. 302</i>	13.12.1906	Lip. Sv. Mikuláš	Slovensko	14.1.1937 <i>Průk. o. 302</i>
František Pachner	rod. rada v. v. (48)	Zlín, Lasy v 3365	21.1.1889	Nov. Chtava	Prot. Čechy a Morava	od narození
Božena Pachnerová	domáci	"	2.4.1886	"	"	"
Petr Pachner	lekár	"	12.4.1913	"	"	"

Zlín, 12. říjen 1939.

Velitel stanice

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APPENDIX XXVII: THE JEWISH CEMETERY IN ZLÍN



Photo by the author.

APPENDIX XXVIII: TABLE OF THE HOLOCAUST VICTIMS OF THE CITY OF ZLÍN, PART I

Databáze obětí holocaustu, Židovské muzeum v Praze / Victims of the Holocaust Database, Prague Jewish Museum

Počet záznamů: 47 / Number of records: 47

Legenda / Key

01 Identifikátor rodiny / Family identification number

02 Příjmení / Sure name

03 Jméno / First name

04 Narozen/a / Date of birth

05 Poslední bydliště před deportací / Place of residence before transportation

06 Transport do Terezína (označení, číslo v transportu, místo odjezdu, datum příjezdu) / Transport to Terezín (mark, number of transport, place of departure, date of arrival)

07 Transport na východ (označení, číslo v transportu, místo odjezdu, datum odjezdu, cíl) / Eastwards transport (mark, number of transport, place of departure, date of arrival, final destination)

08 Místo a datum úmrtí / Place and date of death

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08
25625	Aschkenes	Emil	15.04.1878	Zlín	Cn, 830, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Dm, 3828, Terezín, 06.09.1943, Osvětim	
25626	Aschkenes	Mořic	07.02.1881	Zlín			Osvětim, 27.11.1941
25625	Aschkenesová	Erna	20.03.1887	Zlín	Cn, 831, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Dm, 3829, Terezín, 06.09.1943, Osvětim	
25625	Aschkenesová	Hermína	04.02.1925	Zlín	Cn, 832, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 719, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim	

Courtesy of Prague Jewish Museum, edited by the author.

APPENDIX XXIX: TABLE OF THE HOLOCAUST VICTIMS OF THE CITY OF ZLÍN, PART II

25626	Aschkenesová	Karola	18.10.1888	Zlín				Ravensbrück, 11.05.1942
44667	Beck	Rudolf	10.09.1874	Zlín	Cn, 834, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943			Terezín, 28.07.1944
44667	Becková	Regina	20.09.1875	Zlín	Df, 70, Ostrava, 30.06.1943			Terezín, 16.04.1944
44668	Bondíová	Marie	26.01.1883	Zlín	Cn, 833, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Dm, 3830, Terezín, 06.09.1943, Osvětim		
25627	Deutelbaum	Alexandr	15.05.1880	Zlín	Cn, 838, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	DI, 1900, Terezín, 06.09.1943, Osvětim		
25627	Deutelbaumová	Edita	08.05.1920	Zlín	Cn, 836, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	DI, 1004, Terezín, 06.09.1943, Osvětim		
25627	Deutelbaumová	Julie	22.07.1888	Zlín	Cn, 837, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	DI, 1901, Terezín, 06.09.1943, Osvětim		
25628	Dux	František	30.07.1899	Zlín	Cn, 841, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 723, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25628	Duxová	Hana	21.09.1937	Zlín	Cn, 839, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 721, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25628	Duxová	Vilma	26.09.1902	Zlín	Cn, 840, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 722, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25629	Eisler	Völgang	05.11.1913	Zlín				
44670	Frankl	Leopold	08.07.1913	Zlín	Cn, 846, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 727, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
44669	Graf	Vilém	17.07.1888	Zlín	Cn, 844, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 725, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25630	Gregorková	Helena	11.03.1914	Zlín				Ravensbrück, 05.03.1942
44672	Heller	Bruno	24.02.1896	Zlín				Osvětim, 10.04.1942
44671	Hermann	Ota	14.07.1894	Zlín				Osvětim, 12.11.1942
25631	Herzka	Oskar	17.10.1902	Zlín				Osvětim, 16.11.1942
44674	Hoffmann	Ota	17.12.1902	Zlín				
44673	Holzer	Josef	04.04.1912	Zlín				Osvětim, 27.08.1942
25632	Hüttlová	Sylva	31.12.1913	Zlín				Ravensbrück, 11.03.1942
44675	Kindová	Berta	06.12.1899	Zlín	Cn, 850, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 731, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
48423	Kyjevská	Hilda	02.01.1899	Zlín	Cn, 882, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 755, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		

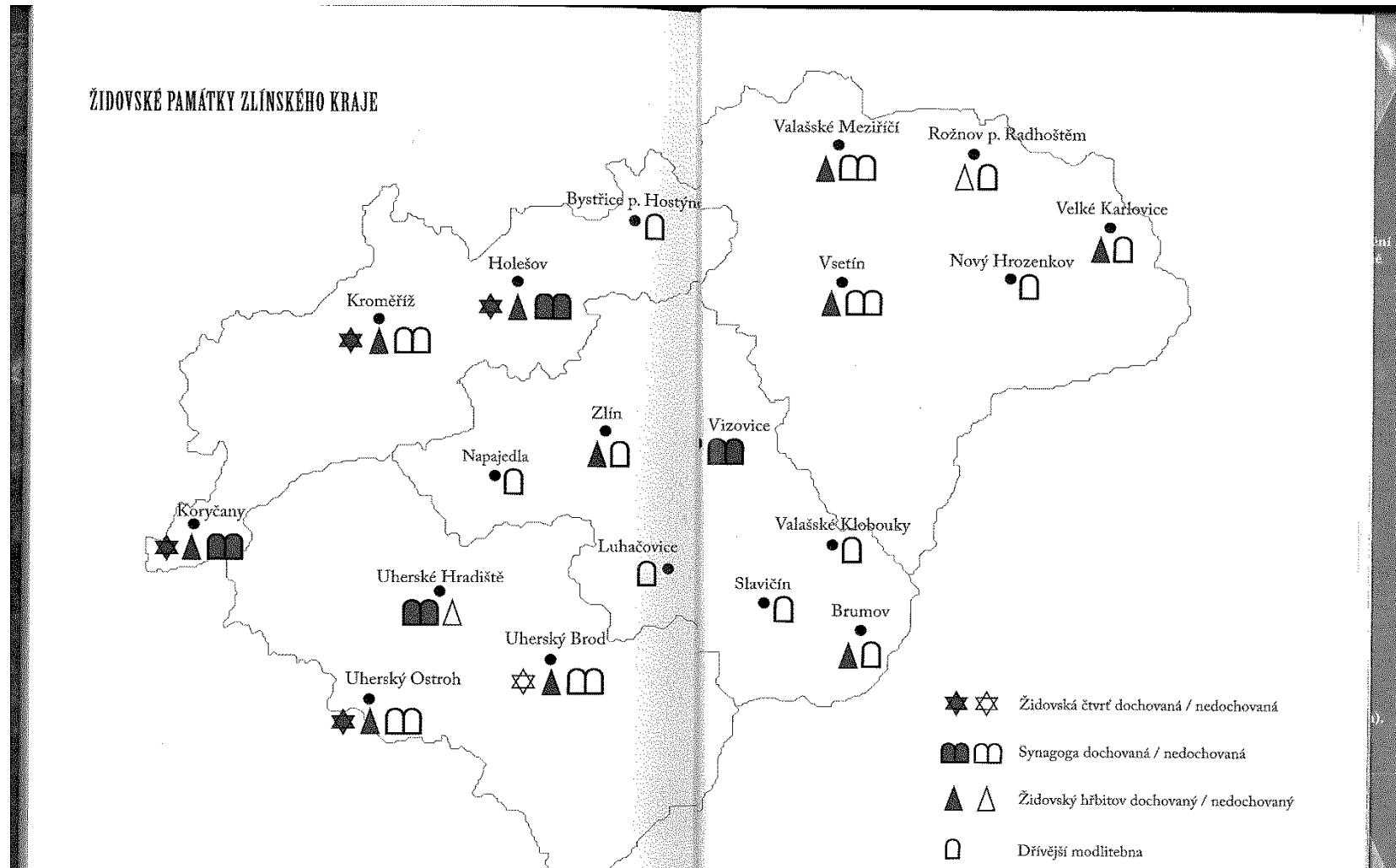
Courtesy of Prague Jewish Museum, edited by the author.

APPENDIX XXX: TABLE OF THE HOLOCAUST VICTIMS OF THE CITY OF ZLÍN, PART III

25633	Langfelder	Ota	30.07.1911	Zlín				Osvětim, 16.02.1942
44678	Mandler	František	07.01.1901	Zlín	Cn, 845, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 726, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
44676	Meiselová	Růžena	22.09.1866	Zlín	Cn, 842, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Dr, 1404, Terezín, 15.12.1943, Osvětim		
25634	Paunzen	Leo	04.02.1905	Zlín	Cn, 847, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 728, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25634	Paunzenová	Markéta	02.10.1911	Zlín	Cn, 848, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 729, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
44679	Politzer	Arnold	03.08.1888	Zlín	Cn, 843, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 724, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
48022	Pomališová	Julie	22.05.1910	Zlín				Ravensbrück, 14.03.1942
44680	Pomališová	Marie	28.12.1895	Zlín	Ed, 8, Praha, 16.06.1944	Es, 576, Terezín, 19.10.1944, Osvětim		
25635	Redlich	Hugo	05.04.1904	Zlín	Cp, 9, Uherský Brod, 31.01.1943	Ek, 2115, Terezín, 28.09.1944, Osvětim		Preissing, 30.05.1945
25635	Redlich	Richard	18.04.1937	Zlín	Cp, 11, Uherský Brod, 31.01.1943	En, 951, Terezín, 04.10.1944, Osvětim		
25635	Redlichová CZ	Blanka	21.06.1909	Zlín	Cp, 10, Uherský Brod, 31.01.1943	En, 950, Terezín, 04.10.1944, Osvětim		
25637	Schindler	Bedřich	14.10.1920	Zlín	Cn, 862, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 740, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25636	Schindler	František	20.04.1897	Zlín				Dachau, 20.05.1942
25637	Schindler	Jakub	06.04.1885	Zlín	Cn, 860, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 738, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25637	Schindler	Petr	03.05.1924	Zlín	Cn, 863, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 741, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25637	Schindlerová	Irma	03.03.1894	Zlín	Cn, 861, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 739, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
25638	Stiassný	Arnošt	09.04.1906	Zlín	Cn, 849, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Cs, 730, Terezín, 26.01.1943, Osvětim		
44682	Süssler	Jakub	15.06.1891	Zlín				Osvětim, 16.02.1942
44681	Štajglová	Edita	13.04.1911	Zlín	Dt, 128, Praha, 10.01.1944	Es, 584, Terezín, 19.10.1944, Osvětim		
25639	Wassermann	Josef	13.07.1880	Zlín				Osvětim, 26.11.1941
44683	Weissová	Bedřiška	07.01.1884	Zlín	Cn, 864, Uherský Brod, 23.01.1943	Ct, 958, Terezín, 29.01.1943, Osvětim		

Courtesy of Prague Jewish Museum, edited by the author.

APPENDIX XXXI: A MAP OF THE JEWISH HERITAGE OF THE ZLÍN REGION



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