

Stefan Weis

“Entirely Unbeknown to His Homeland...”

The Burgauers. History and migrations of a Jewish family
from the mid-18th until the mid-20th century.



Burgauer & Co. textil factory, St. Gallen

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For Papa

MY GRATITUDE

to my girlfriend Esther, my mother, my family, my friends, my supervisor Ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Thomas Albrich, to the Burgauer family members, to Pierre, in particular, and everyone else who accompanied and supported me on my path and in writing this thesis.

Fragments from the Burgauer story

Foreword by Hanno Loewy, Director of the Jewish Museum Hohenems

The Burgauer family first appeared in Hohenems in 1741, when Judith Burgauer, a young widow of twenty one and mother from the Burgau region near Augsburg settled in Hohenems to marry for a second time. Jonathan Maier Uffenheimer from Innsbruck was a wealthy merchant and gave her a chance to begin a new life. At least one child died young. Their son Abraham married 15 year old Sara Brettauer from Hohenems and moved to Venice. Their daughter Brendel married Sara's brother, Herz Lämle, later the patriarch of the Brettauer family and founder of the first bank in Vorarlberg. Their daughters, Klara and Rebeka also married into successful families, the Viennese Wertheimstein and the Frankfurt Wetzlar family. Another daughter, Judith, married Nathan Elias, the head of the Hohenems community around 1800. This was a successful marriage policy that was rather typical for a Jewish family at the upper end of the social hierarchy. However, most of the Jewish families in that era had a hard time finding marriage partners and places for their children to live.

Of interest is what happened to Benjamin, Judith's first son from Burgau. The sources as to when he definitely settled in Hohenems are scarce. Aron Tänzer mentions the year 1773, so it is possible that he grew up with relatives in the vicinity of Augsburg. In any case, sometime before 1772 Benjamin Burgauer married Jeanette Moos, the daughter of Maier Moos, who for more then 20 years had served as head and representative of the Hohenems Jewish community. These were critical times; the family of the imperial counts of Hohenems died out and the countship fell back into the control of the Hapsburg Empire. Under difficult circumstances, a new letter of protection needed to be settled. The Empress Maria-Theresa was known for her blatant anti-Jewish sentiments. Even though Benjamin's father –in- law successfully secured the future of the community and even though the dream of building a proudly visible synagogue took place while he was head of the community, the community still had to survive restrictions and hardships. In the year of Maier Moos' death, a great fire destroyed both

half the Christian's lane and the Jew's lane. While the Jews were required to contribute financially to the reconstruction of the Christian quarter, support in the other direction was scarce. And the restrictions on settlement and marriage imposed on the Jewish communities, limiting the continuation of a family in Hohenems to one (and mostly the eldest) son and his offspring, continued until the middle of the 19th century. These restrictions forced the vast majority of children to emigrate, if they wanted to marry and create a family.

Two of Benjamin's daughters, Esther and Brendel, found husbands in Lengnau in Switzerland. Brendel married Baruch Guggenheim, one of the many Burgauer-Guggenheim connections that were to come. His son Benjamin Maier stayed in Hohenems, but three of his other children started business in St. Gallen and moved their families to the vibrant hub of textile production. Two other children emigrated in the 1840s and 1850s to the United States of America, particularly to Philadelphia, as did so many other of their fellow Hohenemsers. Family members of subsequent generations continued this migration, even from St. Gallen. And in South America, too, there is a Burgauer line today.

Thanks to Stefan Weis' study „Entirely Unbeknown to His Homeland- The Burgauers. History and Migrations of a Jewish Family from the mid-18th until the mid-20th Century“, written as a diploma thesis in 2013, today we know much more about the origins, migrations, and diversity of the Burgauer family. With a generous grant from the American Friends of the Jewish Museum Hohenems and through the efforts of the Leland Foundation, supported by Jacqueline Burgauer-Leland and Marc Leland, we know are able to offer this English translation of Stefan Weis' book. We hope it will find many readers, among family members, Hohenems descendants and everybody who is interested in the history of the Hohenems Diaspora.

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1 INTRODUCTION

*“Entirely unbeknown to his homeland....”*¹ Thus was regarded Adolf Burgauer’s relationship to his original community of Hohenems by the municipal assembly of the City of St. Gallen on November 19, 1876; he became the first Jew to be awarded municipal citizenship. This was just one of numerous migratory movements shaping the history of the Burgauer family: already earlier on, family members had immigrated to today’s Vorarlberg from the Further Austrian Margravate of Burgau; subsequent generations would spent a large portion of their life outside of the small Countship of Hohenems to engage in commerce; many married and relocated, frequently as a result of economic and bureaucratic pressures; there was also emigration to overseas from Austria as well as from St. Gallen, the United States and Argentina became new homelands; love took them from Hohenems and St. Gallen to other Swiss cantons, to France, or else to Germany; not least, it was National Socialism, which alienated many Burgauer descendants from their homeland and attempted to forcibly render them *“entirely unbeknown”* there—the Holocaust victims represent a reminder of this phase; yet, the large number of Benjamin Burgauer’s descendants worldwide is evidence of life’s prevailing force.

Benjamin Burgauer also constituted the starting point of our research of this family’s genealogy and biography. Based on the raw data published by Aron Tänzer in 1905, which assumed 1773 as the year of immigration and on a research seminar of the University of Innsbruck, which included an excursion to the former Jewish quarter of Hohenems, the history of Benjamin’s descendants was unfurled little by little. Through investigations at the Jewish Museum Hohenems, the State Archives of Vorarlberg in Bregenz, the State Archives of Tyrol in Innsbruck, the Vadiana City Archive as well as the State Archives St.Gallen, study of literature and Internet databases, but also personal contacts at the 2008 Hohenems Reunion or in the virtual world, a continuous historical fabric was woven of this as yet little researched family. Thus, it was possible to retrieve

¹ State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5.

“new,” so far unknown branches and to establish contact with them—also for the benefit of the Jewish Museum and interested family members. In this respect, this work focuses on providing a basis for genealogy researchers, establishes lineages, complements biographical data with information from records found, and places the history of the protagonists in a historical context.

The Burgauers in Switzerland and Argentina, in the USA and Germany, in England and Israel share a common past that started in a small margravate with a young widow and her little son and continues into the present with the eighth generation of descendants.



Fig. 1: Well-dispersed also in this picture—the “Burgauers” among other Jewish descendants at the Hohenems Reunion 2008.

Photo: JMH, http://jm-hohenems.at/img/602_Reunion_08_gr.jpg, accessed 20.3.2013.

The following chapters will start at the first known place of origin, the Further Austrian Margravate of Burgau, and an attempt will be made to locate Benjamin’s family there. The Hohenems episode and the family’s economic rise, spiced up by a few insights into the family’s private, even intimate life, leads over to settlement in the City of St. Gallen where Burgauer members are found in leading social as well as economic positions. The chapter “1930s Anti-Semitism and the Persecution of the Jews” will tell of experiences and victims of this dark stage of history before concluding it with a view on the migration to America. This chapter will shed a brief light on the overseas emigrants. This work will be concluded with a collection of selected portraits of family members and the Burgauer genealogical tree, which comprises about 500 individuals.

2 THE ORIGINS OF THE BURGAUERS: MARGRAVATE OF BURGAU

Seemingly, the history of the Burgauer family in Hohenems can be simply linked to one single year: in 1773,² Benjamin³ moved from the then Further Austrian Burgau to Hohenems in the footsteps of his mother Judith;⁴ in second marriage, she had wedded the court Jew Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer⁵ who resided there as part of the Jewish community. This at least was the view at the outset of the investigations.

2.1 The territory

At first sight, the family's origins seem to be clearly defined; after all, a clear indication of origin is provided through a town's name in today's Bavaria and the family name. Upon closer look, this clarity needs to be put into perspective since it was not the town alone, but the entire margravate that bore the name Burgau. Following the death of Margrave Henry III and, thus, the



Fig. 2: Burgau – Map of the Margravate of Burgau by Johannes Andreas Rauch, 1613 (section).
In: Wüst, Burgau, 4.

end of the ruling House of Berg, the territory—part of Further Austria at the time of Benjamin's and Judith's relocation to Hohenems—reverted as imperial fief to Albert I of Habsburg (1255-1308) who enfeoffed his sons with it. Thus, there is evidence⁶ that it had been in Habsburg possession already since 1304, under Leopold I, Duke of Austria

² Aron Tänzer, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Vorarlberg*, Meran 1905, 131, 704.

³ Benjamin Burgauer, *1741 +13.12.1796 Hohenems – Tänzer, Hohenems, 404, 704.

⁴ Judith Burgauer, *1720 +06.08.1789 Hohenems – Tänzer, Hohenems, 315.

⁵ Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer, *1719 Innsbruck +20.10.1889 Hohenems – Tänzer, Hohenems, 315.

⁶ Wolfgang Wüst, *Günzburg* (Historischer Atlas von Bayern, Teil Schwaben, Heft 13), Munich 1983, 38.

(1290-1326); it was meant to serve the restoration of the Duchy of Swabia⁷—however, this plan, already pursued by King Rudolph, could not be fully accomplished since Albert, too, deceased prematurely after being murdered by his nephew Johann of Swabia (1290-1313). Several times in the course of history, Burgau—situated between Ulm and Augsburg and until its transition to Bavaria in 1805 frequently threatened as well as occupied by the latter—was given in pawn in parts as well as in its entirety.⁸ Nevertheless, its territory can be roughly described. It included mainly the towns of Burgau and Günzburg, at times also adjacent Leipheim, as well as Scheppach, Hochschwang, and Seifriedsberg as well as several other places. However, governmental power did not originate in one of those two towns; governance of the margravate lay in the hands of the court chancery at Innsbruck, later on, of the Konstanz and Freiburg government authorities.⁹ A precise territorial description is found in a *Staats-Geschichte der Markgrafschaft Burgau* (state history of the Margravate of Burgau) of 1788, which means shortly after the Burgauers' emigration:

The Margravate of Burgau is a swath of land in Upper Swabia on the right bank of the Danube. An older geographical description of Swabia says: "Burgau, this district was part of the known Albgau and extended from the Hettenbach river, which near Augsburg empties into the Wertach, and stretched on the right side of the Danube from Augsburg to Ulm. In subsequent times, it was called the Mark of the Duchy of Swabia, and to this day, the Margravate of Burgau is called after the old castle of that name at the Mindel river. This district included the Rechnauerthal, Schmutterthal, Synkelthal, Zusemthal; as well as the Countship of Roggenburg, Schwabeck, Kirchberg, the monasteries Wettenhausen, Ursperg, Edelstetten, Salmshofen, Reitenbach, Schönfeld, and Wiblingen, the fortresses Burgau, Günzburg, Lettingen, Knoerringen, Zimertshausen, Zusmarshausen, Wallishausen, Gersthausen, Leipheim, Thierdorf, Usterbach, Biberach, Aurbach, Fischbach, Reisburg, Wellenburg, Mathsies, Camertingen, Ahelfingen, Norndorf, Rusneck, a.o., above all also the Reisenburg fortress, which is located on an elevation downstream of Günzburg

⁷ Gerhard Nebiger, Entstehung und Entwicklung der Markgrafschaft Burgau, in: Friedrich Metz (Ed.), Vorderösterreich. Eine geschichtliche Landeskunde, Freiburg ²1967, 753-766, here 761.

⁸ Nebiger, Entstehung und Entwicklung der Markgrafschaft Burgau, 762.

⁹ Wolfgang Wüst, Burgau und die habsburgische Städtepolitik in Vorderösterreich (Heimatkundliche Schriftenreihe für den Landkreis Günzburg, vol. 21), Günzburg 1997, 15.

itself to be the largest secular territorial state of eastern Swabia, was shaped not only by the already mentioned pawnings, but also by various legal circumstances.¹¹ The territory was administrated out of the four cameral towns of Burgau, Günzburg, Hochwang, and Scheppach¹² by provincial governors as the most senior civil servants representing the margraves; the latter were frequently absent from the country and laid claim to 24 square miles¹³.¹⁴ Different areas of the territory varied in their power to implement laws and economic measures; hence, they also differed in their population structure. Attempts were made to meet ongoing threats from the outside by concluding bilateral treaties, which included the possibility of border shifts as well. However, these boundaries were limited to specific matters such as safe conduct or the high court; complete enforcement of sovereign privileges was not an inalienable foundation of these treaties. Thus, for instance, the margravate's customs district had to be drawn differently than the judicial- or hunting district.¹⁵

At the onset of the Modern Period, not only local power as represented by central authorities slowly shifted from Burgau to Günzburg. At the start of the 16th century, these two cities with their approximately 550 furnaces gained also increased economic significance through their linen weavers and yarn market, linen inspection and bleaching. However, the economy mainly centered around the agricultural sector and the supply of the small hinterland.¹⁶ Until the mid-16th century, the region evolved to become the supplier of the large neighboring imperial cities with 35,000 (Augsburg) resp. 20,000 (Ulm) inhabitants.¹⁷ In comparison, only as much as 200 years later, around

¹¹ Wüst, Burgau, 15.

¹² Sabine Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft und Konkurrenz. Juden und Christen in Dörfern der Markgrafschaft Burgau 1650 bis 1750* (Publications of the Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 151), Göttingen 1999, 50.

¹³ One Austrian mile equals 7.585936 kilometers, hence, 24 square miles equal about 1381 square kilometers. In: Wilfried Beimrohr, *Alte Flächenmaße in Tirol und Vorarlberg*, Tiroler Landesarchiv 2002, <http://www.tirol.gv.at/fileadmin/www.tirol.gv.at/themen/kultur/landesarchiv/downloads/flaechenmasse.1.PDF>, accessed 6.2.2010.

¹⁴ Wüst, Burgau, 15.

¹⁵ Wüst, Burgau, 16.

¹⁶ Wüst, Burgau, 9.

¹⁷ Wüst, Burgau, 9.

1750, a comparable number of people (52,000) would live in this territory of about 24 square miles.¹⁸

Still at the beginning of the 17th century, Margrave Charles, apart from reorganizing the Günzburg guilds, developed a plan meant to further strengthen the local economy. He suggested to Christoph Fugger to revive in the town of Burgau the at that point no longer extant inspection of weaving products. Besides creating new workplaces, also the Catholic faith, on which every civil servant had to take an oath, should be hereby strengthened.¹⁹ This move was directed against Reformation and the tilting of various areas toward Protestantism. Yet, there were also several Jewish communities in the margravate.

2.2 Jewish life in Burgau

Jewish life in the Burgau territory began in the Late Middle Ages resp. in the Early Modern Period. Until that time, cities such as the imperial cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Memmingen had been the center of Jewish life in the empire. However, in the course of the 15th century, residency of Jews in this area was usually terminated through expulsions, which were largely initiated by municipal authorities for economic, political, and religious-social reasons. Sabine Ullmann explains:

“...the economic displacement mechanisms, as stressed by Markus Wenninger, which were induced by an economic boom in the cities and a deterioration in the legal position of the Jewish communities, might have been at the onset of this development; however, they have been supplemented by newer explanatory approaches, which take into account political considerations of the magistracies and a combination of beliefs among the urban population, social unrests as well as intraurban group conflicts.”²⁰

Special markings for Jews were repeatedly decreed with the obvious goal to discriminate and further ostracize them. Flourishing cities and an improved trade system limited many Jews' economic basis, i.e., trade. In an evermore “Christianized”

¹⁸ Wüst, Burgau, 15.

¹⁹ Wüst, Burgau, 9.

²⁰ Ullmann, Nachbarschaft, 33.

society, people of different creeds were increasingly perceived as alien elements; the spreading of anti-Jewish legends such as those of host desecration, blood libel, or well poisoning resulted in and augmented isolation. Not only the Catholic, but also the emerging Protestant confession turned against the population of Jewish faith, after all, it was in the Reformation period that the notion of the city as “*corpus christianum*”²¹ was born. Not least, however, did the possibility of territorial rulers to demonstrate their power in this area play a role in the expulsion of the Jews from the cities.²²

For Augsburg, situated near the margravate, the expulsion of the Jews can be determined for 1438. There is evidence of Jewish presence dating back to the 13th century. Even though Jews were not always able to live peacefully—such as on November 22, 1348 due to a planned pogrom²³—it is only in the early 15th century that life with their Christian neighbors became tougher. In the Swabian area, urban Jewry turned into rural Jewry; often this is seen as settlement continuity in the region²⁴ even though evidence is hard to come by since detailed source material is missing.²⁵ Yet, this transformation probably did not occur within one generation; after all, in many places there exists an evidence gap for a time span of up to 100 years between expulsion from

²¹ „Die deutsche Stadt des Spätmittelalters hatte eine Neigung, sich als *corpus christianum* im kleinen [sic!] zu verstehen.“ In: Bernd Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation*, Tübingen 2011, 51.

²² Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*, 34-35.

²³ “It is unknown whether the plague raged before or afterward. Suggestions from Burgundy, Savoy, and from Swiss cities to persecute the Augsburg Jews in November were probably sufficient; similarly acting in the same month were Stuttgart, Landsberg, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, and Burgau. Hence, Swabian cities are at the beginning of the slaughtering of Jews in Germany. It is likely that the initiators made use of the latent fear of the plague to gain adherents for the planned pogroms.” In: Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Christen und Juden im Augsburg des Mittelalters*, in: Rolf Kießling (Hrsg.), *Judengemeinden in Schwaben im Kontext des Alten Reiches* (Institut für Europäische Kulturgeschichte der Universität Augsburg, *Colloquia Augustana*, vol. 2), Berlin 1995, 23-38, here 32.

²⁴ “Toward the end of the Middle Ages, the ancestors of the Hohenems Jews lived in the large Southern German cities such as Augsburg, Burgau, Günzburg, or Ulm. Upon their expulsion—lastly in 1499 from Ulm—many of them settled in the imperial-knightly areas of Bavarian Swabia and mainly in the Austrian Margravate of Burgau, which, to a large extent, was pawned to aristocrats and monasteries.” In: Bernhard Purin, *Die Juden in Vorarlberg und die süddeutsche Judenheit im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, in: Martha Keil / Klaus Lohrmann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich* (Handbuch zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich, series B, vol. 2), Wien / Köln / Weimar 1994, 121-129, here 121.

²⁵ “In the process, regional historical research has repeatedly attributed—without any prosopographic evidence—the emergence of rural communities around the cities directly to these expulsions. [...] However, within the Margravate of Burgau—as described in the beginning as an overall tendency—also more complex processes must have taken place [...]” In: Ullmann, *Nachbarschaft*, 41.

the cities and settlement in so-called Jew-villages. Rather, it is assumed that a detour had been made through smaller towns such as Günzburg before moving, for instance, from Augsburg to surrounding villages such as Kriegshaber, Pfersee, or Steppach resp. to margravate settlements such as Ichenhausen, Fischach, and Buttenwiesen.²⁶

Yet, Jewish settlement in the Margravate was not brought about just by push factors, pull factors, too, caused an increase in Jewish presence in Burgau. After the Habsburgs had redeemed the Augsburg bishops' pawn in 1559, their policy as territorial sovereigns aimed at settling Jews in Further Austria. Emperor Ferdinand I (1503-1564) transferred the Margravate to his son Archduke Ferdinand II (1529-1595) and made him ruler of Tyrol and the Forelands. Except for the years 1609 to 1618, when under the rule of Charles, Margrave of Burgau (1560–1618), the territory was not part of the Further Austrian possessions, the area was now governed out of Innsbruck. The planned expulsion of the Jews, proclaimed on March 4, 1617, also falls into this brief period of autonomy:

“We Charles etc. have sufficiently learned through daily incoming and manifold complaints of our subjects residing in the district of the Margravate of Burgau, how much and for how long they have been burdened with excessive and unbearable usury of 12, even 20 and 25 percent by the highly pernicious and baneful Jewry ... the latter has become rooted to such an extent that in several places, the number of Jews has become almost comparable to that of the Christians. ... As well, they may not attend fairs and weekly markets in our cities and villages, rather, they must completely vacate our Margravate of Burgau within a year if they wish to avoid our highest disfavor and a considerable irremissible penalty; they must sell their houses and assets there and truly transfer them.”²⁷

Even though the expulsion was not carried out following the intervention of Prince-Archbishop Dietrichstein of Kremsier (1570-1636), its threat was sufficient to cause many of the area's Jewish inhabitants to move away. Thus, in the hope of a more placid future, Burgau Jews also became part of the first settlement phase in the Countship of Hohenems.

²⁶ Ullmann, Nachbarschaft, 43.

²⁷ Tänzler, Geschichte der Juden, 18-20.

Until the mid-17th century, the settlement phase of the Jewish communities proved to be rather volatile, not only because of the intended expulsion. Battenberg mentions for 1573/74 the expulsion of Jews from Further Austria as well as the refuge (that probably never materialized) of two hundred Jews in Hohenems who had to flee the margravate in the course of the Thirty Years' War.²⁸ These numbers, however, are not backed up by other literature on Hohenems; more on this later. As a result of Günzburg's return to Burgau in 1617, the local Jewish community there was dissolved as well.

2.3 Burgau's economy

Nevertheless, it is possible to verify the existence of 29 settlements with Jewish inhabitants within the Burgau territory already in the second half of the 16th century.²⁹ Until the mid-18th century, the number of Jewish households climbed to a total of 395; they were spread over the following places: Binswangen, Buttenwiesen, Fischach, Hürben, Ichenhausen, Kriegshaber, Pfersee, Schlipsheim, and Steppach.³⁰

Economic reasons were decisive for the, on first sight, surprising concentration of Jewish settlements in the rural region. The Margravate constituted the agricultural



Fig. 4: General map of the "landscape" that was characterized by a tight net of economic, social, and cultural relations in the 17th and 18th century.

In: Martha Keil / Klaus Lohrmann (Eds.), Studien zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich (Handbuch zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreich, series B, vol. 2), Vienna 1994, 129.

²⁸ J. Friedrich Battenberg, Die Juden in Deutschland vom 16. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts (Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte Band 60), Munich 2001, 13, 36.

²⁹ Ullmann, Nachbarschaft, 44.

³⁰ Ullmann, Nachbarschaft, 44.

hinterland of Ulm and Augsburg. Besides the smaller cities of Burgau, Günzburg, Leipheim, or Wertingen, it also included numerous villages with seventeen privileged resp. informal markets at usually easily accessible hubs, which formed secondary centers of local economic significance remote from the already mentioned commercial metropolises.³¹ The markets were located, among others, along two important trade routes that passed through Burgau territory. One route went from Reichenhall and the Berchtesgadener Land through Munich, Augsburg, Burgau, Günzburg, and Leipheim to Ulm, another trade route connected Southern Germany along the river Lech through Augsburg, Schongau, and Landsberg to Italy. The Further Austrian post road, which, parallel to the salt road, passed through Kriegshaber, Biburg, Zusmarshausen, Burgau, Günzburg, and Ulm as well as other link roads and connection routes played an important role in the region's commerce as well.³² Main trading goods were produce and textiles; after all, around 1750, Johann Lambert Kolleffel describes the Margravate as a place “...with quite an abundance of field crops and grain...” and continues:

“...no minor trade [is] conducted with Augspurg, also outside the country with Switzerland, with grain, wheat, barley, and oat. The inhabitants spin the flax grown in these areas, which is their best nourishment, but the yarn is partially woven by local weavers...”³³.

This means that goods were traded as far as Lake Constance and beyond, and starting in 1705 following negotiations, Jews from the villages of Kriegshaber, Pfersee, and Steppach were able to regain access to the already mentioned metropolises, while other Jewish merchants were forbidden to enter Augsburg.³⁴ Thus, they assumed an intermediary role for outside merchants, were able to derive financial profit thereof as well as to establish connections and networks to faraway communities and marry off their own children for economic reasons.³⁵

³¹ Ullmann, Nachbarschaft, 54.

³² Ullmann, Nachbarschaft, 54.

³³ Zitiert nach Ullmann, Nachbarschaft, 55.

³⁴ Purin, Juden in Vorarlberg, 127.

³⁵ Purin presents an example: “Abraham Levi of Sulz was probably able to considerably simplify this process for himself when he managed to marry his daughter to Leb Herz of Pfersee and another one to Leb

Apart from networks and business journeys, on the one hand, as well as expulsions that frequently forced Jews into mobility, on the other hand, another option for emigration was created in the Burgau territory that was not actually directed at the “inmates”³⁶ of Jewish faith. Since 1767, a Danube shipping line existed at Günzburg ever since the area had evolved into a center of Austrian army recruitment as well as of emigration to the eastern parts of the monarchy.³⁷ It was in this last phase of the Habsburg margravate when the death of Benjamin Burgauer’s father occurred. Benjamin, who settled with his mother in Hohenems, is the person who serves as our figure of identification.

2.4 Location of the Burgauer family

In his work on the Jews in Vorarlberg, the Hohenems rabbi and historian Aron Tänzer writes:

*“Benjamin Burgauer—Immigrated in 1773 from Austrian Burgau. A fragment of the ‘Amtsbuch der k. k. Administration’ of the conscription year 1773/74 in the comital archives in Hohenems allows for the precise determination of the year of immigration...”*³⁸

Currently, no ancestors and family links can be ascertained for the City of Burgau or the eponymous margravate; yet, records from the Ichenhausen municipal archive draw attention. Here, on March 16, 1742, about four months after the birth of Benjamin who for the purpose of this thesis is the family’s patriarch, a Hizig Burgauer, Hebrew from Ichenhausen, is mentioned in the council minutes as well as several times between 1745 and 1748 as protected Hebrew.³⁹ As of now, it is not possible to establish whether this Hizig (probably identical to Isaac) Burgauer is a relative of the family examined here.

Ulmer who equally originates from this Augsburg suburb. His nephew succeeded in establishing close family ties to Kriegshaber where his sons, Salomon and Hirsch, got married around 1730.” Hence, migration took place not only southward to escape, wedding migration took Hohenems Jews to the north. In: Purin, Juden in Vorarlberg, 127.

³⁶ Designation for the inhabitants of the territory.

³⁷ Metz, Vorderösterreich, 766.

³⁸ Tänzer, Hohenems, 131.

³⁹ Peter Fassl (Ed.), Dokumentation zur Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Schwaben. I/2. Archivführer (Burgau – Ziertheim, Privatsammlungen), Augsburg 1993, 591-592.

More than these notes, a file from the State Archives Baden-Württemberg stands out, more precisely from the Main State Archives in Stuttgart, which reports for 1743, hence two years after Benjamin's birth, the following:

*"1743 – The widow of the Jew Benjamin Burgauer at Ichenhausen against Wolf Bernheim, Protected Jew at Ichenhausen and former business partner of [Mr.] Burgauer, concerning receivables following the liquidation of the company."*⁴⁰

This case, tried before the court in Isny, Swabia, requires our attention. Unfortunately, this four-page document provides no information about the plaintiff's place of residence, her first name or that of her parents. Yet, there is every indication that said widow of a Benjamin Burgauer is, in fact, Judith Burgauer, born 1720, who was possibly widowed already before the birth of her son Benjamin. Then again, it can be assumed that following his mother's marriage to Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer in Hohenems around 1742, her firstborn son was probably raised by relatives and came to Hohenems only thirty years later to get married there to Jeanette Moos, daughter of the longtime head of the Jewish Community, Maier Moos. There is some evidence that Benjamin Burgauer's father was, indeed, that same Benjamin Burgauer who had passed away around 1741 in Ichenhausen.

- The name: The name Benjamin Burgauer was regularly bequeathed in the family. Hence, this was not only the name of Judith Burgauer's son born in 1741, but also of her only grandson (Benjamin Maier Burgauer) born in 1781 as well as of the latter's 1827 firstborn son. For a long time, it had been customary to give male heirs one's own name as second given name even when German family names were already common. Usually, however, the names of deceased relatives, frequently those of grandparents, were bequeathed as first given names. The placement of the given name Benjamin as first given name throughout several successive generations is at that point still a striking peculiarity.

⁴⁰ Fassl, Dokumentation, 1136.

- Widowhood: Judith Burgauer, later Uffenheimer, certainly got her last name through her marriage before 1741, her maiden name is not mentioned in any known source; the particulars of her marriage, probably in 1742, to Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer remain unresolved as well.
- Profession: Possibly, it was rather the rule than the exception for an individual who was a member of Swabia's rural Jewry to work as a merchant as has already become apparent from observing the margravate's economic situation. The establishment of a company, however, could point to a larger trade network, whose connections might have extended to Hohenems, or else might have been the means for major Hohenems merchants to sell in the cities of Memmingen, Ulm, and Augsburg. Her eventual marriage to Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer, who as a court Jew was part of the elite also beyond the Jewish community of Hohenems, indicates that Judith Burgauer had already had connections to him, either of economic or familial nature.
- The place: Ichenhausen was part of the Margravate of Burgau. This city's Jewish history begins with the first evidence of a Jewish community in 1543, which considerably grew in the wake of the Jews' expulsion from Austrian cameral towns resp. of its threat in 1617. In 1657, Ichenhausen's territory was divided; consequently, the Jewish community, too, split into 58 families belonging to the upper and 92 families to the lower seignury.⁴¹ In 1717, coexistence between Christian and Jewish communities became the subject of legal regulations: Jews were guaranteed full power of disposition over capital and property as well as freedom of



⁴¹ Wüst, Günzburg, 155.

Fig. 5: Ichenhausen cemetery.
In: Wikimedia Commons, commons.wikimedia.org, accessed 12.3.2013.

trade and religion. In return, residents of Jewish faith committed to adhere to the precept of refraining from commercial activities on Christian holidays as well as during procession- and prayer times. Furthermore, the so-called *Judengefälle*, that is, taxes Jews had to pay—which constituted a considerable item in the seigneurial budget despite the Jews’ relatively low number—were recorded in writing for the first time.⁴²

While those deceased in the early years were still interred at the Burgau cemetery, as early as in 1567, a Jewish cemetery was built in Ichenhausen as well, which still exists to this day; its data are being inventoried on an ongoing basis. Whether any connection to Judith and Benjamin Burgauer can be established or whether the genealogical tree can be further enlarged based on the data gathered from the tombstones resp. through inclusion of the records in Stuttgart, could neither be confirmed nor excluded so far due to lack of access.

Until this connection can be conclusively established or refuted, Tänzer’s path must be followed who posits Benjamin Burgauer as the patriarch of the eponymous Hohenems family. Still, as a result of Judith’s second marriage into the Uffenheimer family, we have to go back a bit further in time.

⁴² Wüst, Günzburg, 155.

3 IMMIGRATION TO HOHENEMS

3.1 Early evidence of Jewish life in Vorarlberg

The beginnings of Jewish history in today's Vorarlberg can be assumed in the 13th century as the earliest verifiable period: already from 1286⁴³ onward, Jewish financiers from Lindau or Konstanz were lending money to the Counts of Monfort quite regularly. They assumed the role of lenders in the area of Southern Germany since based on canon law this business had been prohibited to Christians for many centuries. Yet, changing economic conditions and slowly evolving commerce required new methods of financing, and borrowing became a part of economic life. However, dealing in this business involved twofold risks for Jews; then again, they had not the option of taking up most other professions: apart from the understandable problematic nature of the lending business as well as its ill reputation, they entered a risky relationship of dependency: they were tolerated at their place of residence solely due to the sovereign's protection. At any given moment, they were in danger of being expelled or even becoming a victim of a pogrom.

Feldkirch, in the High and Late Middle Ages an emergent city and economic link between the German and Italian market thanks to its advantageous location, needed Jews to stimulate trade, on the one hand and, as already mentioned above, to procure capital, on the other hand. Hence, the Montforts granted them residency; the first Jew of Vorarlberg known by name was a certain Eberlin,⁴⁴ mentioned around 1300 in a tax listing of the City of Feldkirch. Area of origin was mainly the "*Medinat Bodase*,"⁴⁵ a federation of numerous small Jewish communities around Lake Constance with the purpose of regulating their economic and religious affairs. This affiliation was expressed by the Jews of the Lake Constance region through the Hebrew designation of Aramaic

⁴³ Hannes Sulzenbacher, *Die Geschichte der Juden von Hohenems*, in: Hanno Loewy (Ed.), *Heimat Diaspora. Das Jüdische Museum Hohenems*, Hohenems 2008, 49.

⁴⁴ In the so-called "*Feldkirch Mistrodel (dung sled)*" (1307-1313), a register of dung to be delivered, his old and new house is mentioned as well as his obligation to provide three car loads of dung a year. – Sulzenbacher, *Die Geschichte der Juden von Hohenems*, 49 as well as *Regesta Imperii*, accessed online 25.10.2009.

⁴⁵ Sulzenbacher, *Die Geschichte der Juden von Hohenems*, 49.

origin “*medinat*” resp. “*medinah*,” which meant already in the Hebrew Bible “administrative district.”⁴⁶ According to the Nuremberg *Memorbuch*, the district comprises the cities of Feldkirch, Lindau, Ravensburg, Buchhorn, Überlingen, Konstanz, and Schaffhausen; by contrast, St. Gallen as well as those towns affected by the persecutions of 1349, that is, Wangen, Diessenhofen, Radolfzell, Rapperswil, and Bregenz, are not mentioned.⁴⁷ Überlingen, located at the northwestern bank was the center of this district; its cemetery, verifiable since 1226, was the only one in the area of the *Medinah* and served also the Vorarlberg Jews as burial ground at the time. Thus, Überlingen became the heart of the larger community during this period as people would keep meeting one another at the burial site. On such occasions, affairs of joint interest would be discussed as well. In 1332, such a gathering brought about riots against Jews; as a result, 300 to 400 of them perished.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, they continued to live in Überlingen, which was also the first place in the region settled by Jews. Over the decades, Jews had moved further eastward; since 1343, some of them could also be found in Bludenz. On three sides, the *Medinah* was surrounded by other Jewish districts (Switzerland, Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria), while no Jewish settlement can be determined toward Raetia to the south.⁴⁹

From today’s point of view, the number of inhabitants of this larger community was rather modest; yet, proportionally, compared to cities with Jewish residents,



Fig. 6: Medinat Bodase.
In: Burmeister, medinat bodase, 20-21.

⁴⁶ Karl Heinz Burmeister, medinat bodase. Zur Geschichte der Juden am Bodensee 1200-1349 (vol. 1), Konstanz 1996, 18.

⁴⁷ Burmeister, medinat bodase 1, 19-22.

⁴⁸ Burmeister, medinat bodase 1, 57.

⁴⁹ Burmeister, medinat bodase 1, 19.

it was quite significant. Thus, according to Burmeister, Feldkirch is estimated to be inhabited by approximately 100 Jews shortly before the mid-14th century, even though the names of only three heads of family are known. With a total of about 1000 inhabitants, this means that Jews constituted approximately ten percent of the population. At the same time, Konstanz with a population of about 6000, had approximately 350 Jewish inhabitants, Überlingen with 4000 inhabitants, just 130; in total, the *Medinah* near Lake Constance was home to between 1000 and 1500 persons.⁵⁰

The mobility of Jewish inhabitants, which was already common by then, can be discerned in the example of above-mentioned Eberlin of Feldkirch, son of Liepkint, who lived in 1310 in Feldkirch, in 1328 in Konstanz, and in 1336 in Schaffhausen.⁵¹ This capacity for mobility has probably saved many a life in subsequent years as well. After all, the first chapter of Jewish settlement in Vorarlberg came to an end rather swiftly. In 1343, the request was submitted—probably because of an increase in the number of families beneath the Schattensburg castle—to be allowed to emigrate to Bludenz. This was probably rejected; at the very least, the property of those wishing to emigrate had to remain in the city. Still, seven families, that is, about fifty individuals, moved from Feldkirch to Bludenz.⁵² With the outbreak of the plague just five years later, the fate of the Jews changed dramatically. In the entire Lake Constance area, Jews were now subjected to persecutions, and anyone unable to escape frequently ended up at the stake: this happened in Feldkirch on January 21, 1349.⁵³ St. Gallen and Zurich, too, used the opportunity to “separate” themselves from individuals unwelcome by the population and the clergy. Only thirty years later, Jews slowly returned to the region around Lake Constance. However, around 1440 at a time filled with pogroms and blood libels,⁵⁴ they were expelled from all cities yet again. In this period, the name “*Medinah*”

⁵⁰ Burmeister, *medinat bodase* 1, 61-62.

⁵¹ Burmeister, *medinat bodase* 1, 63.

⁵² Burmeister, *medinat bodase* 1, 61.

⁵³ In his book, Aron Tänzer denies the Feldkirch pogrom: “Vorarlberg has never provided a suitable soil for these disgraceful accusations of well poisoning and blood libel.” Tänzer, *Hohenems*, 7.

⁵⁴ Such as those the Jews of Constance were accused of in Ahausen in 1443. Tänzer, *Hohenems*, 8.

vanishes as well, instead, the designation “*Judescheit an dem Bodmensee*”⁵⁵ is frequently seen. While, indeed, the name might have changed, the connections to the old networks within the larger community as well as to the surrounding *Medinot* remained in place.

The second chapter of Jewish immigration starts around 1600. Initially, there was once again a settlement ban, this time following an edict issued by Emperor Ferdinand I for the seignury of Bregenz in 1559;⁵⁶ in its wake, the Jewish population was expelled to the countryside, into the villages. Just one year after this edict, the Free Imperial Knights of Hohenems were elevated to Imperial Counts. This was the onset of the great generations⁵⁷ of the ruling family. Count Wolf Dietrich married Chiara de Medici, hereby becoming brother-in-law of Pope Pius IV. His eldest son, Jakob Hannibal, assumed the rule of “*Emps*” and one of the most important Renaissance cardinals in the Eternal City was Mark Sittich III. In the next generation, too, worldly and clerical aristocracy was united, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau and Mark Sittich IV ruled as Prince-Archbishops in Salzburg from 1587 until 1619, Kaspar at home. The heyday of Hohenems, elevated to market town in 1605, was reflected, among others, in the completion of the Renaissance palace at the foot of the *Schlossberg* (castle mount). There were also plans to revive the economy by granting a charter to Christian merchants. At the same time, Jews were admitted to neighboring regions such as, right before the turn of the century, to Langenargen and Wasserburg⁵⁸ as well as to Rheineck. In 1617, all that brought about the settlement of Jewish merchants and tradesmen as well to support market development through lending, but also to achieve significance as trading place between north and south. Consulted by the merchant Wolf from Langenargen, the comital chancellery drafted this so very important writ of protection⁵⁹ in the hope of advancing Hohenems through increased tax revenues and improved commercial relations. Thus,

⁵⁵ Karl Heinz Burmeister, *medinat bodase. Zur Geschichte der Juden am Bodensee 1350-1448* (vol. 2), Konstanz 1996, 10.

⁵⁶ Sulzenbacher, *Die Geschichte der Juden von Hohenems*, 53.

⁵⁷ Marktgemeinde Hohenems (Ed.), *Hohenems Geschichte. Hohenems Kultur* (vol. 1), Hohenems 1975, 46-50.

⁵⁸ Admission of two Jews by the Count of Montfort-Tettnang. Purin, *Die Juden in Vorarlberg*, 121f.

⁵⁹ Tänzer, *Hohenems*, 22-25.

Jews willing to settle were presented with the prospect of establishing a community and with the pledge enabling them to trade in cloth, garment, grain, wine, and silver and to sell these goods in open stores. Also—and mainly—the anticipated newcomers were allowed to engage in lending at limited interest margins. Moreover, they were promised a cemetery, a synagogue, and a school. They were to receive all that for an annual payment of five thalers and two fattened geese. Dietary laws, too, were included in Count Kaspar's writ of protection; indeed, they were permitted to sell kosher meat. Yet, before this writ of protection became effective, Count Kaspar consulted with his brother Mark Sittich in Salzburg⁶⁰ and asked him for his opinion. Initially, he did not want to permit unrestricted settlement in Hohenems; for this purpose, he built four houses for eight families at a "*special site*" at the Emsbach to keep the Domprobstgasse (lane) "*clean*." The former developed into the Jewish quarter and later the Judengasse (Jews' lane). The latter became the Christengasse (Christians' lane). Both joined at the comital tavern, today's Engelburg Inn.

Unfortunately, it is unknown whether this for the times definitely favorable writ of protection had come to fruition right away. Only for as late as 1632, four families are verifiable. The ancestors of these Hohenems Jews originated from the large Southern German cities of Augsburg, Burgau, Günzburg, or Ulm, whence they had been expelled in the course of the Late Middle Ages. They had then looked for a new homeland in the Further Austrian Margravate of Burgau, hereby remaining loyal to their region, the "*Minhag Swabia*."

"*Minhag*" is the Hebrew term for custom, tradition. The "*Minhag Swabia*" was created in the 13th century and consisted of a written collection of liturgical customs that also concerned the social aspects of life. The economic and familial networks frequently prevailing in a region with little contact to the "outside" can be often explained by this *Minhag*. Evidence of the Vorarlberg Jews' affiliation with this community is their recognition of the *Landrabbiner*, who officiated in Pfersee near Augsburg, as their highest authority in Jewish jurisdiction. While this *Minhag* was recognized by Christian

⁶⁰ Tänzer, Hohenems, 17.

rulers as the parallel resp. sole representation of Jewish law and religion, the Jews themselves likely saw in it more than that: they regarded it as a coherent space, a cohesive region; after all, Vorarlberg in its entirety was called the "*Oberland*" of this Swabian area (in contrast to the term "*Oberland*" still used today for Vorarlberg southwest to the Kuppenberg). This area also conformed to the "*Medine*," the trade region of a Jewish merchant, which offered the advantage of finding an abode for Shabbat at a fellow religionist's home.⁶¹

Initially, no evidence can be found for a cohesive community in Hohenems. The first families settled near the sulfur bath; the cemetery was built there as well. In 1633, the first circumciser and schoolmaster is mentioned, in 1640, the first rabbi and two years later, for the first time, the existence of a synagogue. That same year, a Yosle Levi is recorded as "*Judenammann*," meaning that for the first time, a head of the Jewish community is mentioned who represents all Jews before the count; probably, this completes the separation from the Christian community in the legal sense.

However, as had been the case until then and elsewhere, they did not remain undisturbed for too long in their new homeland of Hohenems. In 1647, toward the end of the Thirty Years' War, Swedish troops invaded Vorarlberg, and the sovereign had to temporarily leave his subjects. Some Christians grasped this opportunity to loot the houses of their Jewish neighbors in quite a pogromlike⁶² manner. For his part, the Imperial Count of Hohenems abrogated the writ of protection in 1663. Those affected found temporary abode, of course against payment, in Altenstadt near Feldkirch. While they were able to return after a few years,⁶³ nine years later, they were expelled once again despite the fact that in the same year, Count Franz Karl had extended the writ of

⁶¹ Purin, *Die Juden in Vorarlberg*, 124-130 resp. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, CD-ROM.

⁶² Extant court files offer insight into this raid within Hohenems. See also: Bernhard Purin, „Der Teufel hat die Juden ins Land getragen“. *Juden und Judenfeindschaft in Hohenems 1617-1647*, in: Werner Dreier (Ed.), *Antisemitismus in Vorarlberg. Regionalstudie zur Geschichte einer Weltanschauung*, 65-83, here 65-69.

⁶³ Purin writes about expulsion in 1663, return in 1667, and renewed expulsion in 1676. Whereas Sulzenbacher reports about a threatened expulsion in 1663, return after two years, and a letter of request in 1676; in it, an admission fee to Hohenems of 100 gulden is mentioned, which is valid for six years, but only three years have passed since. Hence, relocation from Altenstadt to Hohenems must be assumed for 1673 or else, the letter of request, which is kept in the Vorarlberg State Archives, must be dated earlier. Purin, *Die Juden in Vorarlberg*, 122 resp. Sulzenbacher, *Die Geschichte der Juden von Hohenems*, 59.

protection's validity. Thus, on Whitsunday, the Jews had to put up with the renewed loss of their still young homeland.

This legal uncertainty clearly demonstrates the Jews' dependence on the individual sovereign, which also made them susceptible to blackmailing; after all, it can be assumed that the count's excessive indebtedness toward Jewish lenders was usually the reason for their expulsion. To avoid charges or even partial garnishment, the announcement of the loss of the right of residence was used as a last resort. That way, ahead of emigration or in case of renewed settlement, a financial restart was extorted either through increased taxes, new gate money, or complete canceling of outstanding debts.⁶⁴

In 1676, the majority decided to move to nearby Sulz,⁶⁵ which was situated outside the count's sphere of control in Austrian Vorarlberg. Yet, undisturbed life was of brief duration there as well. The *Landstände* (territorial estates) strongly opposed their stay and were successful with their accusations. The Hohenems mayor's endorsement of their good repute notwithstanding, the Jews were initially accused of fraudulent horse-dealing and similar matters, and their trade area was limited to a few places (such as Rankweil, Sulz, and comital Hohenems). In the long term, the doggedness of the *Landstände* and the warnings of the Catholic clerics, who were not pleased with the close contact between Jews and Christians, prevailed. Therefore, in 1688,⁶⁶ most families were expelled from Sulz, only the three wealthiest families were allowed to stay. The others again turned toward Hohenems where the money-starved count was in urgent need of their taxes. Regarding the remaining families, it can already be said that their luck did not last for too long either. While the community grew to ten closely related families in the course of its seventy years of existence and had both a synagogue

⁶⁴ Cf. the count's alternative offer: increase in protection money, one-time fine, and new entry money to safeguard the existing writ of protection. In: Maria Luise Stainer, „Wir werden den Juden schon eintunken!“. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden in Innsbruck, Vorarlberg und des übrigen Tirol, in: Südtiroler Autorenvereinigung / Südtiroler Kulturzentrum, Sturzflüge. Eine Kulturzeitschrift, 5th vol. (1986), no. 15/16, Die Juden in Tirol, 17-32, here 17.

⁶⁵ Some left Hohenems for Southern Germany, there were also migrants to Innsbruck. Bernhard Purin, Die Juden von Sulz. Eine jüdische Landgemeinde in Vorarlberg 1676-1744 (Studien zur Geschichte und Gesellschaft Vorarlbergs, vol. 9), Bregenz 1991, 14-15.

⁶⁶ Sulzenbacher, Die Geschichte der Juden von Hohenems, 60.

as well as a rabbi, it found a violent end as well that led to remigration to Hohenems. More on this later.

As already mentioned, Franz Karl of Hohenems had gotten into dire financial straits as a result of maladministration. Therefore, he regarded the resettlement of Jewish families as a possible way out. Until 1710, their number increased again to twenty despite the two-time threat of renewed abrogation of the writ of protection in 1699⁶⁷ and 1705⁶⁸. While great attempts were made at establishing a flourishing trade, in the beginning, their economic power was still limited. However, they tried to establish business connections with their coreligionists living around Augsburg;⁶⁹ all the more so as in this period, Augsburg as economic metropolis only granted access to Jewish residents of the then adjacent, today incorporated villages of Kriegshaber, Pfersee, and Steppach. This provided them with a profitable middlemen position, which the businessmen of the “Oberland” strove to simplify. Was there a simpler way than that of familial connections? Thus, marriages were contracted between Vorarlberg and Swabian Jews, and commercial structures established as well as simplified. On the one hand, the Southern German market—whose connections reached all the way to the Leipzig trade fair—was now open thanks to one’s own family; on the other hand, old business connections existed to the south as evidenced by the repeatedly mentioned import of citrus fruits.

⁶⁷ Cf. Letter of complaint from this period, in which eight reasons are listed for expelling them again: among other things, refusal to pay property tax, Sunday opening of stores (which supposedly prevented Christians from going to church), poor harvest because of their presence, market impairment through acquisitions and profiteering, admission of “rabble,” which could bring about epidemics, import of infected cattle, and fraud. The probably most interesting, because always topical, accusation was that of an excessive number, which supposedly exceeded that of Christians. In fact, there were 59 Jews facing a majority of far more than thousand Christians in 1696.

By the way, the accusations were investigated, and no evidence could be found for any of these eight points. Hence, not only were the accusations rejected, but additional immigrants permitted. Cf. Purin, *Der Teufel*, 46.

Thus, highly modern accusations (exclusion of foreigners from the social and legal system, crime, lacking integration, “over-foreignization”) can be discerned in this letter of complaint, which might as well derive from a current election campaign.

⁶⁸ Ursula Grabher, “... may they be permitted all activities permitted to Christians” *Aspekte der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der jüdischen Gemeinde in Hohenems in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhundert – dargestellt anhand ausgesuchter Quellen*, Dipl Innsbruck 1999, 7.

⁶⁹ Purin, *Die Juden in Vorarlberg*, 127.

In 1718 as well as in 1738, the writ of protection was extended, each time for twenty years. This, however, did not make any difference in the precarious situation that as a Jew, the decisive issue was not the law but the count's affection.⁷⁰ Still, it must be mentioned here that the imperial counts barely limited religious freedom guaranteed already in the original 1617 writ of protection, and that the controversies between them resp. the population and the Jews were seldom religiously motivated and restricted to the economic area since their settlement had anyway been for financial reasons. From the religious aspect, only the interventions by the bishops of Chur in 1700 (against the Jews of Rankweil-Sulz) and Konstanz in 1710 (regarding the construction of a new synagogue) are worth mentioning.⁷¹

3.2 Migration helpers: the Uffenheimer family

The immigration of merchant Jonathan Uffenheimer⁷² fell into this rather unsafe period, which, however, carried economic potential as well. With the aid of the head of the Jewish community, he started out by inquiring at the comital revenue office in the summer of 1725⁷³ regarding the terms of admission, which were forwarded to him by mail dated August 17, 1725. Already on September 10 of that year, he was admitted to the countship by means of a special writ of protection, which obliged



Abb. 7: Seal of Mair [sic!] Uffenheimer (1719-1789) von Hohenems vom 26. September 1749.

In: Burmeister, Geschichte der Juden in Stadt und Herrschaft Feldkirch, 138.

⁷⁰ Grabherr, handtierungen, 7.

⁷¹ Again the accusations of Sunday openings (connected with the prevention of Christians from going to church) and the equal number of Jews and Christians there. Cf. Purin, Der Teufel, 49.

⁷² As step-grandfather, Jonathan Uffenheimer is the first relative of Benjamin Burgauer who is verifiable in Hohenems.

In: Burmeister, Geschichte der Juden in Stadt und Herrschaft Feldkirch, S. 138

⁷³ Tänzer, Hohenems, 59-62.

him to pay—apart from the obligatory St. Martin’s Day goose—more protection money than the other Jews, namely 25 fl annually (not applicable to his scrivener). In addition, he had to pay a so-called *Einzugsgeld* (entry fee) of 24 fl, which was to become void provided he would lend the count an amount of 500 fl including interest over five years. As can be seen from the following quote, Uffenheimer chose the first option:

“To know that the most gracious count of Hohenems has accepted the Hebrew Jonathan Uffenheimer with his wife and children including the necessary servants, which include an unmarried scrivener, to the countship pursuant to the writ of protection jointly granted to the other Hebrews under this condition that while the other Hebrews must pay 12 fl annually and a St. Martin’s Day goose, he, Jonathan must also pay an annual total of 25 fl and at the start of protection 24 fl entry fee; in return, he will enjoy protection for three years; that he has already deposited 50 fl, but has promised to pay the remaining 49 fl in the coming half year; and after those 49 fl have been paid, the gracious count will have no more claims against Jonathan, but will let him freely reside for three years, that is, until St. Martin’s Day 1728, except that he has to reach an agreement with the community regarding taxes. Moreover, Jonathan is permitted to freely leave together with his dependants, sooner or later, without any fee; however, should this occur within less than three years, the protection money paid will remain in the hands of the gracious count. In witness whereof, he was granted the signature of acceptance under the signet of the comital chancellery and the receipt of 50 fl was acknowledged.”⁷⁴

Hence, at the time of his relocation, he was already married and father of Jakob and Maier; therefore, Innsbruck can be assumed as his sons’ place of birth. Soon after his immigration, Uffenheimer purchased together with Jakob Moos, brother-in-law of the court Jew of the Electoral Palatinate Michael May, half a house each complete with garden and furnishing from Georg Fenkart.⁷⁵ While his family kept growing,⁷⁶ Jonathan Uffenheimer’s economic clout grew as well. It seems that in 1738, he held the Vils

⁷⁴ Text of the certificate of admission. Tänzer, Hohenems, 60.

⁷⁵ Tänzer, Hohenems, 61

⁷⁶ Jakob (*1918, Innsbruck; + probably 1788, Vienna) and Maier Jonathan (*1719, Innsbruck; +1789, Hohenems) were followed by Gabriel (*1727, Hohenems; +1806, Vienna), Josua (*1730, Hohenems; +1786, Kippenheim im Breisgau), Lazarus (*1740, Hohenems; +1814, Innsbruck) as well as at least three daughters. Cf. Thomas Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben in Tirol und Vorarlberg von 1700 bis 1805*, in: Thomas Albrich (Ed.), *Jüdisches Leben im historischen Tirol. Vom Mittelalter bis 1805* (vol. 1), Innsbruck 2013, 259-261.

welfare office.⁷⁷ From 1739 until 1749, he served in Hohenems, on the one hand, as court Jew of the Imperial Count *“with the addendum that he should be exempt of any taxes, even of protection money”*⁷⁸ and, on the other hand, as head of the Jewish community, an office he had to cede on September 26, 1749 at the imperial count’s behest to Yosle Levi who had immigrated from Sulz shortly before.⁷⁹ In 1745, Uffenheimer served in the War of Austrian Succession as army supplier to the Austrian troops and the Vorarlberg *Landesdefension* (territorial defense) as demonstrates a patent of the k. k. Statthalterei-Archiv (imperial-royal governor’s administrative district archive) of 1745:

“We etc. etc. begin by greeting all our subordinates and customs officials and let them know that we have given Jonathan Uffenheimer permission to purchase for the Vorarlberg Landesdefension 30 sheets lead and 20 e. sole leather in this country and export it against a fee; that he, Uffenheimer, shall present the certified document to assure that nothing else might have been taken elsewhere.

We, therefore, order above subordinates and custom officials to permit the passage of authorized lead and sole leather under presentation of this open patent against payment of a customs fee.

*Innsbruck, March 27, 1745.”*⁸⁰

Despite the resistance of the Vorarlberg estates against the Jew Uffenheimer and their numerous petitions attempting to prevent it, on December 15, 1753 at the recommendation of the Upper Austrian government in Konstanz, Jonathan was awarded the *“Spedition- und Hoffaktorenpatent”*⁸¹ (forwarding and court factor patent) by

⁷⁷ Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben in Tirol und Vorarlberg* 1, 260.

⁷⁸ Tänzer, Hohenems, 61.

⁷⁹ Tänzer, Hohenems, 314, 377.

⁸⁰ Tänzer, Hohenems, 417.

⁸¹ In early capitalism, court factors served the modern absolutist princely state in the creation, expansion, and maintenance of its instruments of power. Initially, in the 16th century, Christian financiers were placed in this position; with the ascent of Jewish financiers since the Thirty Years’ War, ever more Jews are found in this position, until eventually all court factors were Jewish. Finally, in the 17th and 18th century, the terms court factor and court Jew were frequently used synonymously. Jewish court factors supported the economy, the court and, thus, the position of the respective prince. In turn, they gained respect and privileges such as tax reliefs. Often, advance financing by court Jews on the prince’s behalf was collateralized with the (partial) cession of tax collection and minting privileges. However, because of the oftentimes additional financial burdens for the general public, this gave rise to frictions with the court,

Empress Maria Theresa. Yet, this distinction, too, failed to change the fact that he was still prohibited from conducting trade in Austrian Vorarlberg. Thus, a special decree of 1755 mandated that goods purchased from him had to be collected by the buyer himself.⁸²

The significance of the Jewish community to Hohenems and the count during the War of Austrian Succession became repeatedly apparent; thus, the local community received advances several times, which, for instance, Jonathan Uffenheimer borrowed himself at high interest rates from elsewhere. In return for such service, he was also promised Hohenems citizenship.⁸³ In 1757, the court factor—by now already retired from his business activities—writes to the Imperial Count's *Oberamt* (administrative authority) in Hohenems and protests the, in his view, excessive taxation that is not being offset against the local community's outstanding debts. Through this letter of complaint, we also learn that apart from the house⁸⁴ mentioned at the start, Jonathan now also owns a house on Judengasse, in which his sons Maier and Jakob reside rent-free.⁸⁵ Moreover, in this letter, he reclaimed those taxes that he had unjustly paid "*based on a decree by the late count that as court Jew, he should be exempted from any protection money and any taxes,*"⁸⁶ and he refers to his money-lending during the War of Austrian Succession:

from which the court factors resp. the entire local Jewish community had to suffer frequently. Quite often, they distinguished themselves from their fellow brethren through a high degree of social assimilation that made them trailblazers of emancipation. In the case of the Hohenems community, one can appreciate their significance, for instance, through the patent awarded to Lazarus Josef Levi in 1795: Its owner enjoyed the special protection of the imperial authorities in the entire territory of the empire, and was able to count on the assistance of this infrastructure. Also permitted was the bearing of arms, which was otherwise unusual for Jews; not only the court factor, but also his family and servants were exempted from government taxes for Jews. Hence, the award of such a patent meant in many areas of life equality with their Christian fellow citizens and, thus, a huge alleviation in social and economic life and conduct. Cf. Heinrich Schnee, *Das Hoffaktorentum in der deutschen Geschichte* (Historisch-politische Hefte der Ranke-Gesellschaft, no. 14), Hamburg o.a., 3-7; Johann Maier / Peter Schäfer, *Kleines Lexikon des Judentums* (Bibel Kirche Gemeinde, vol. 16), Stuttgart 1981, 139; Tänzer, Hohenems, 426.

⁸² Tänzer, Hohenems, 417.

⁸³ Tänzer, Hohenems, 64.

⁸⁴ This house, later known as the Brettauer house and also as rabbinat's house, was demolished in 1969. Before the construction of the synagogue in the 1770s, Jonathan Uffenheimer had made available a room in this house for prayer starting in 1735. In: Tänzer, Hohenems, 554.

⁸⁵ Tänzer, Hohenems, 68.

⁸⁶ Tänzer, Hohenems, 68.

“... 6. as [I] advanced cash to the community upon its repeated requests on December 26, 1741, and I have personally raised a loan and presented the entire correspondence in this matter so that Landammann (magistrate) Weibel cannot turn away from the truth and [...] I have been left without money, and I had to promise to repay within 3 ½ weeks. In contrast, I was promised citizenship by the community, but repayment took place only bit by bit, completely received on April 1, 1755 through former Landammann Rüdissier, and repayment took almost 14 years, and I still have been unable to enjoy citizenship...”⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Tänzer, Hohenems, 68.

This is a detailed historical map of the 'Gräflich-Thiergarten' (Royal Zoo) area in Berlin. The map shows the layout of the zoo, including the 'Gräflich-Thiergarten' (Royal Zoo) on the left, the 'Gräflich-Park' (Royal Park) in the center, and the 'Gräflich-Palast' (Royal Palace) on the right. The map includes numerous numbered plots, streets like 'Indengasse', 'Frei- oder Christengasse', and 'Kirchenplatz', and landmarks such as the 'Gräflich-Palast' and 'Gräflich-Thiergarten'. The map is oriented with North at the top.

12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.	61.	62.	63.	64.	65.	66.	67.	68.	69.	70.	71.	72.	73.	74.	75.	76.	77.	78.	79.	80.	81.	82.	83.	84.	85.	86.	87.	88.	89.	90.	91.	92.	93.	94.	95.	96.	97.	98.	99.	100.											
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.	61.	62.	63.	64.	65.	66.	67.	68.	69.	70.	71.	72.	73.	74.	75.	76.	77.	78.	79.	80.	81.	82.	83.	84.	85.	86.	87.	88.	89.	90.	91.	92.	93.	94.	95.	96.	97.	98.	99.	100.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.	61.	62.	63.	64.	65.	66.	67.	68.	69.	70.	71.	72.	73.	74.	75.	76.	77.	78.	79.	80.	81.	82.	83.	84.	85.	86.	87.	88.	89.	90.	91.	92.	93.	94.	95.	96.	97.	98.	99.	100.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.	61.	62.	63.	64.	65.	66.	67.	68.	69.	70.	71.	72.	73.	74.	75.	76.	77.	78.	79.	80.	81.	82.	83.	84.	85.	86.	87.	88.	89.	90.	91.	92.	93.	94.	95.	96.	97.	98.	99.	100.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.	61.	62.	63.	64.	65.	66.	67.	68.	69.	70.	71.	72.	73.	74.	75.	76.	77.	78.	79.	80.	81.	82.	83.	84.	85.	86.	87.	88.	89.	90.	91.	92.	93.	94.	95.	96.	97.	98.	99.	100.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.																																																																															

Not least due to upheavals within the Countship of Hohenems—Count Franz Rudolf passed away in 1756, his successor was the last Hohenems Imperial Count Franz Wilhelm III—and the extremely difficult, even dangerous situation for the local Jews during this last stage of the free Imperial Countship, it can be doubted whether this request was met with compliance. Between the years 1757 and 1759, the count repeatedly issued requests and orders for the Jews to leave the countship. As a result of his Christian subjects' pleas and probably also because of the extent of indebtedness, the potential chief creditors were left out in later orders; this, however, did not make any difference in the count's "*elimination*" wish.⁸⁸

In 1759, a new era began for Hohenems, Franz Wilhelm died without any offspring, Habsburg was able to annex another small piece of today's Vorarlberg, though only following a brief transition period in 1765. In this period, we also encounter Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer whose marriage to Judith Burgauer marks the beginning of the history of the Burgauer family in Hohenems.

Maier was Jonathan's second son, born in 1719 and married to the widowed Judith Burgauer, born in 1720. As already mentioned, some questions still remain open; based on the documents found thus far and on available literature, they cannot be answered conclusively. Judith's name prior to her marriage resp. her family of origin is unknown. Whether she herself, like presumably her first husband, also comes from Burgau is unknown. Equally vague is the exact time of her immigration to Hohenems; regarding Benjamin, her son from her first marriage, 1773 is documented as his year of immigration with some precision in the "fragment of an 'Official Book' (*Amtsbuch*) of the k.k. Administration' from the military year 1773/74" quoted by Tänzer. By contrast, there is no definite evidence, though a high degree of plausibility, for the interpretation already popular with Tänzer that Judith had been the mother of Maier Jonathan's five (six according to other sources) children.⁸⁹ Tänzer's assumption that holds 1741 to be

⁸⁸ Tänzer, Hohenems, 69-73.

⁸⁹ Tänzer lists the following dates: Abraham (*1741; +1814, Venice), Brendel (*1744, married to Herz Lämle Brettauer; +1802), Dölzele (Judith, *1751, married to Nathan Elias; +1820), Rebecka (married to Löb Nathan Wetzlar in Frankfurt am Main; died there) and Klara (married to Lazarus von Wertheimstein in Vienna; died there). Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 779. The Hohenems Genealogy of the Jewish Museum

the birth year of Maier Uffnheimer's eldest son Abraham presents, like several other issues, a puzzle since Benjamin Burgauer's birth is also dated December 1741. To resolve this conundrum, several reasonable alternatives are conceivable: Abraham might, in fact, have been born later (mistakes in birth years are always possible) or else, Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer, too, had become father of a son in a first marriage to another woman. Then again, it must be considered that no information exists regarding divorce or widowhood in connection with Uffenheimer. Less surprising is the fact that Benjamin Burgauer apparently married to Hohenems only many years later. It was not uncommon to put children in the care of relatives.

In any event, the assumption seems justified that familial and/or economic relationships between the Uffenheimer family in Hohenems and Judith Burgauer already existed, whether through her first husband or her own family of origin. As was the case in non-Jewish families, also in Jewish families (among them even more so; after all, this applies to many minorities) a partner's cultural proximity, a comparable level in social status, and maintenance or upgrading of one's own economic situation (especially in families of court factors) played a considerable role in the selection of one's partner.⁹⁰ In individual cases, there is an additional social mandate derived from the *Mishneh Torah*, Book of Deuteronomy, called the "*Levirate*" or marriage of a widow to her brother-in-law: thus, brothers-in-law—in the broader sense also distant relatives like, for instance, in the Book of Ruth, which is also included in the Hebrew Tanakh—are responsible to provide for a widow and her children; for purposes of clarification of and legal commitment to this obligation, they would marry the widow.⁹¹ Since, in our case, we cannot presume a Levirate marriage, initially, the marriage to this young woman with child, the marriage

Hohenems provides more information: it indicates precise data for Klara (Kalche, +1761, Hohenems; +14.06.1823), and mentions as sixth child Joseph. In: Jewish Museum Hohenems, Hohenems Genealogie. Jüdische Familiengeschichte in Vorarlberg und Tirol, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0327&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

⁹⁰ Cf. Claudia Ulbrich, Eheschließung und Netzwerkbildung am Beispiel der jüdischen Gesellschaft im deutsch-französischen Grenzgebiet (18. Jahrhundert), in: Christophe Duhamelle / Jürgen Schlumbohm, Eheschließungen im Europa des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Muster und Strategien (Publications of the Max-Planck-Instituts for History, vol. 197), Göttingen 2003, 315-340.

⁹¹ Maier / Schäfer, Kleines Lexikon des Judentums, 188f.

of a wealthy merchant with numerous business connections to a presumably widowed woman from Further Austria seems astonishing. Whether it was the outstanding debt in connection with the lawsuit filed by a “widow Benjamin Burgauer” of 1743 that made Judith a “good catch” or simply her personality, we will likely never be able to find out. Leaving those questions aside, it remains indisputable that Judith Burgauer had married into a wealthy, well-known, and prestigious family. In 1754, Maier Jonathan applied for a Hall-Inntal salt contract involving annual sales of 200 barrels of salt from Tyrol in the Imperial Countship of Hohenems. Following an investigation, initiated by the chamber in Konstanz and carried out by the *Vogtei*amt (governor’s office) in Feldkirch, which found that thus far only Bavarian salt via Lindau and Rheineck had been bought by Hohenems, and, therefore, (Further) Austrian merchants would not face any competition, Uffenheimer was awarded the contract. In 1758, Maier Jonathan and his brothers Gabriel and Lazarus were granted the right to provide major parts of Further Austria with 4,850 barrels of salt from Hall in the coming four years. Purchasers in the seignories belonging to this trade area were advised to buy salt from the Uffenheimers, or else to provide financial compensation according to the value of salt already purchased elsewhere. This for Maier Jonathan highly beneficial contract turned his trade into a kind of monopoly in the Vorarlberg area, even though his goods were more expensive than those of other suppliers. Between 1762 and 1766, the name Uffenheimer no longer appears in connection with the salt trade.⁹²

Apart from the Landauer brothers, Maier Uffenheimer, too, is able to distinguish himself as supplier to the Bavarian prince-elector Maximilian III Joseph during the “*Seven Years’ War*” (1756-1763).⁹³ In 1757, Maier Uffenheimer, like his father Jonathan, is designated as k.k. court factor and supplier.⁹⁴ As late as 1759, his father emerges together with Nathan Goldschmied in connection with a considerable horse consignment for the state.⁹⁵ An account book of 1761-1763 with addenda of 1783/84, is evidence of Maier

⁹² Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben im historischen Tirol*, Band 1, 266-267.

⁹³ Schnee, *Hofffinanz*, 195.

⁹⁴ Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben*, vol. 1, 263.

⁹⁵ Tänzer, *Hohenems*, 419.

Jonathan's vast area of commercial relations as well as the rather sizable value of his goods. Thus, his business partners could be found, among others, in Mittelberg, Immenstadt, Geißen, Rheineck, Herisau, Glarus, Hindelang, Stuttgart, Munich, Ehrenberg, Innsbruck, Bozen, Trent, Vienna, Trieste, Milano, Venice, Verona,

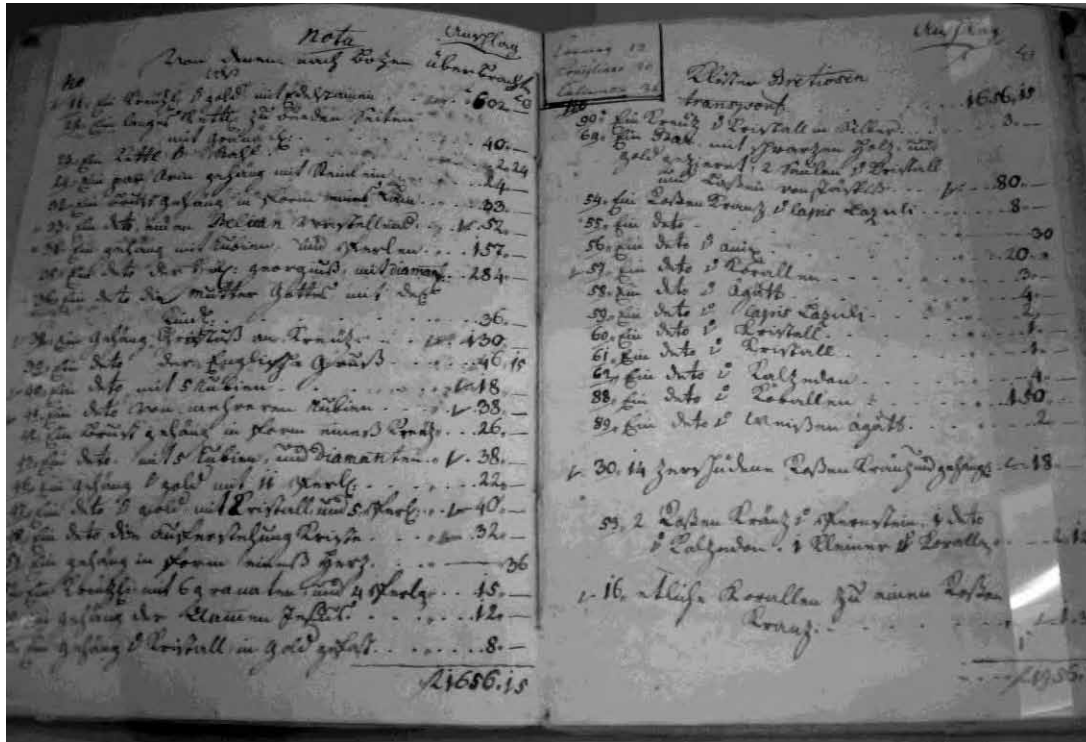


Fig. 9: Account book of court factor Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer, 1761/1763.
Loan of the Vorarlberg State Archives, Bregenz, to the Jewish Museum Hohenems.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

Ferrara, Livorno, and Reggio, hence in the entire Southern German, Austrian, Swiss, and upper Italian area. Among his business connections are merchants, innkeepers, craftsmen, but also aristocrats such as Philipp Graf von Welsberg or Baron von Buol. The goods in stock are listed in great detail; they mainly included raw material for textiles such as linen, cotton, and silk as well as textiles of various kinds (veils, kerchiefs, etc.), skins, hides, jewelry (for instance, precious items for monestaries in southern Tyrol), watches as well as coffee.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Karl Heinz Burmeister / Alois Niederstätter (Eds.), Dokumente zur Geschichte der Juden in Vorarlberg vom 17. Bis 19. Jahrhundert (Forschungen zur Geschichte Vorarlbergs, vol. 9. Of the entire series vol. 16), Dornbirn 1988, 137-138.

In 1765, Maier Jonathan, together with his brother Lazar and other Jews, was in charge of the food supply for Emperor Francis I and Maria Theresa who had come accompanied by their court to Innsbruck on the occasion of their son Leopold's wedding. Since the local butcheries were not able to meet the requirements of the *Gubernium* (provincial authorities), the "*Compagnie Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer*," among others, was commissioned with the procurement of "*horned cattle ... besides castrated rams, calves and fattened oxen*." For the duration of the imperial visit and some time thereafter, Jews were in charge of the local slaughtering blocks—an affront that was hard to stomach for Christian butchers.⁹⁷

Following the redrafting of the writ of protection in 1768, the possibilities for Jews to acquire plots and estates from Christians were reduced. While the Bregenz *Oberamt* initially issued a recommendation in favor of real estate purchases in April 1768, the government in Freiburg demanded in a June report to the Austrian Court Chancellery its negation. Empress Maria Theresa heeded the Freiburg draft by including it that same year in the writ of protection.⁹⁸ Despite existing or to be expected restrictions, it was possible for Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer to conclude a rather large number of purchase contracts in Feldkirch in 1768, among others, with Franz Frick von Frickenberg and Johann Georg Scheidbach. In this context, a large area of real estate at the gates of Feldkirch, such as Frick's, changed hands:

„7 pfundt Lohn⁹⁹ Reebe (seven pound yield of vine, an ancient measure) at the Blaßenberg, and also 5 pound on the Kapf, further 5 pound on the Ardezen near the Rothen Dorgel (red winepress), and 6 pound in the Berdgaßen, 5 pound in Leffis Halden, 4 pound yield in the Klepfler at Leffis including a meadow, one pound yield over Batschunß, including all usage rights, such as the wine press, and not less than one piece of hay ground at St. Ainß, further a barn with all usage rights here in the suburb with all inside, and other woodwork, and 80 Bürdtenen stickhel...“.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben*, vol. 1, 267-269.

⁹⁸ Tänzer, *Hohenems*, 110-111.

⁹⁹ One "Pfund-Lohn Reben" in Feldkirch equaled 120 Viennes "Quadratklafter" respectively 4,316 Ar. See: Beimrohr, *Flächenmaße*.

¹⁰⁰ The list includes various localities in the Feldkirch area, such as Blasenbergr, Kapf, Ardezenberg, Berggasse, Levis, and Batschuns. Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden in Stadt und Herrschaft Feldkirch* (Schriftenreihe der Rheticus-Gesellschaft 31), Feldkirch 1993, 137-138.

The purchase price including the house in the city amounted to 2,900 *gulden*, the entire contract to 31,000 *gulden*. The significantly smaller contract with Johann Georg Scheidbach amounted to slightly over 1,000 *gulden*, yet, it included real estate as well:

„...Eight and a half Pfundlohn Reben, as 2 ½ Pfundlohn at one, and 6 Pfundlohn at another piece at Rötis (today: Röthis), including this years yield, further one meadow hill and a little forest at Altenstatt (today: Altenstadt)...“¹⁰¹

Remarkable is the contract date of August 29, 1768, which comes after the Freiburg government's recommendation to prohibit real estate acquisition for Jews.

On August 6, 1770, the Bregenz *Oberamt* permitted the Hohenems Jews to build a new synagogue; here, too, the financial prowess of Maier Jonathan, now court factor, becomes apparent. The building ground, 36 feet¹⁰² wide and 55 feet long, for the Jewish prayer house was provided by him at no cost; in return, four synagogue seats¹⁰³ would forever be reserved for him and his descendants free of charge.¹⁰⁴ This donation demonstrates that Maier Jonathan's significance reached beyond the economic realm and also benefited the community's social fabric. From 1777 until his death in 1789, he was, like his father, head of the Jewish community. Immediately at the start of his tenure, a catastrophe occurred on November 15, 1777: a fire¹⁰⁵ destroyed 38 houses in Hohenems, among them, 16 houses of Jews. The total damage amounted to fl 100,000.¹⁰⁶ While this dramatic event in the life of so many citizens was terrible enough in and of itself, the situation was exacerbated by the still valid prohibition to conduct trade in the Austrian territories that surrounded the now former independent Countship of Hohenems. Maria Theresa denied the Hohenems Jews the right to trade in all of Vorarlberg; the protection money of fl 800 to be paid annually was perpetuated and

¹⁰¹ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden in Stadt und Herrschaft Feldkirch*, 138.

¹⁰² As of January 1, 1770, Viennes measurements and weights became effective. Thus, one feet equaled 0.316102 m. The construction area was, therefore, 11.38 m times 17.39 m. Cf. Beimrohr, *Alte Flächenmaße*.

¹⁰³ It cannot be established to whom these synagogue seats were transferred and whether Benjamin Burgauer also benefited from them.

¹⁰⁴ Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben*, vol. 2, 271.

¹⁰⁵ The houses that were completely destroyed in the fire are marked in black in Fig. 7.

¹⁰⁶ Tänzer, *Hohenems*, 132.

collected as well.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Maier Jonathan was able to consolidate his position and economic clout. Thus, in fall of 1786, he also participated in the first regular forwarding by wagon over the new Arlberg Road.¹⁰⁸ The debt levels of numerous Feldkirch citizens with Benjamin Burgauer's stepfather in the 1770s and 1780s were as follows: among others, chancellery head Christoph Gutter von Staudach 8,000, head of governorship Franz Philipp Gutter von Staudach approximately 400, Wilhelm Greber 119, Hans Michael Haberfelder 23, orderly Peter Leone 3000, Xaveri von Keßler approximately 1100, cameralist Andreas Vitsch 42, Dominik Adegold 42, goldsmith Zwickle 20, cashier Fritz 58, Oswald Schmid 240, or taylor Franz Lizi 4 ½ gulden. Uffenheimer had debtors also outside the city of Feldkirch: the debts of Chur capitular and pastor of Altenstadt Joseph Antoni Mayer amounted to approximately fl 170, those of Bregenz provincial governor Count Seeau to fl 955. Hence, apart from ordinary people, the ruling classes were also among Maier Jonathan's business partners.¹⁰⁹ Thus, two generations of the Uffenheimer family—who also brought the Burgauers to Hohenems—were of decisive influence in the local Jewish community and, through their trade network, also beyond. The conditions for a stepchild seemed right.

3.3 The “patriarch”: Benjamin Burgauer

Despite this rather prolific basis and the great number of sources extant for the Uffenheimer family, only few data are available for Benjamin. As already mentioned, he was probably born in December 1741 in the area of the Further Austrian Margravate of Burgau. Aron Tänzer states that according to the “Official Book (*Amtsbuch*) of the k.k. Administration from the military year 1773/74” in the comital archive in Hohenems, Benjamin had followed his mother to Hohenemes in 1773; this, however, must be doubted since he was only an infant at the time of his first stepbrother's birth in Hohenems and, therefore, must have come to Vorarlberg already around 1740. It seems more logical to assume 1773 as the year of his admission to the Hohenems community.

¹⁰⁷ Tänzer, Hohenems, 133.

¹⁰⁸ Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben*, vol. 1, 272.

¹⁰⁹ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Stadt und Herrschaft Feldkirch*, 136-137.

Yet, according to a record in the Lindau Municipal Archive this had already occurred in 1772. It is reported there that in the last week of March 1772 eleven Jewish panhandlers had set out *“to celebrate the upcoming Easter feast in Hohen Embs.”* In accordance with Jewish welfare customs for the poor, these panhandlers were hosted for the entire holiday week. One of these Jewish panhandlers, 14-year-old Moses from Buttenwiesen, passed away on April 16, 1772 in a barn at the Leiblachsberg estate near Lindau. His companions informed the Hohenems Chevra Kadisha,¹¹⁰ which deposited a bailment of 50 gulden to postpone interment until the arrival of further members. One of the Hohenems Jews who hastened to join was *“Benjamin Burgauer (1741-1796) who immigrated from the Burgau area and was accepted that same year as Hohenems Protected Jew.”*¹¹¹

Hence, besides details about Benjamin’s father or his life until the 1770s, the precise dates of his birth, immigration, or marriage remain unverified as well. However, since his mother, married to Maier Uffenheimer, already lived in Hohenems in the 1740s, it can be assumed that his immigration did not occur in 1772 or 1773, but already thirty years earlier, and that he was admitted to the Hohenems community only in the 1770s. It can be equally assumed that his marriage to Jeanette Moos¹¹² took place in or before 1772 or 1773. Jeanette, also called *“Schönle,”* was the daughter of Maier Moos¹¹³ who was the direct predecessor of Maier Jonathan Uffenheimer as head of the Jewish

¹¹⁰ Chevra Kadisha, translated *“holy brotherhood,”* is an association, which emerged in the Jewish communities starting in the 15th century and offers bereavement support to surviving dependants. Thus, also Hohenems had a Chevra Kadisha since 1760, which was described as *“one of the most noble-minded, selfless institutions of Israelite community life in any place.”*¹¹⁰ In its bylaws, purpose and task are described in Section 1: *“1. Care for the sick; 2. Performance of all tasks required for the seriously ill, dying persons, and corpses... .”* In Section 9, the duties of the association’s members are listed: *“Visiting sick men in a determined order, assisting dying people, participating in cleansing the body, participating in funerals, etc.”* The association was funded by membership fees, donations as well as estates and specially established foundations. For Hohenems, for instance, various foundations are known whose purpose it was to say the Kaddish prayer and donate to the poor. It can be assumed that the local Chevra Kadisha also benefitted from them. Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 669-672.

¹¹¹ Peter Fassl, *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Schwaben II. Neuere Forschungen und Zeitzeugenberichte* (Irrseer Schriften, Band 5), Stuttgart 1999, 277.

¹¹² Jeanette Moos (Reichenbach, *1751, Hohenems; + 26.01.1853, Hohenems). Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 704.

¹¹³ Also called Koschl or Kauschelis. From 1813, his families bore the name Reichenbach. Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 757.

community from 1753 until 1777 and an important merchant.¹¹⁴ She was also the sister of Löb Moos who as of 1789¹¹⁵ succeeded for a decade Maier Jonathan as community head; he, too, was a merchant.¹¹⁶ In this environment of commercial activities—his descendants were also merchants—it can be assumed, as did Tänzer,¹¹⁷ that Benjamin Burgauer, too, was a businessman although there are no extant sources confirming this. Based on the real estate survey in Hohenems following the fire of 1777, it seems that Benjamin had resided together with his stepbrother-in-law Herz Lämle¹¹⁸ in the semi-detached house with yard and barn on Judengasse, which to the north, on today's Jakob-Hannibal Street, is adjacent to the synagogue.¹¹⁹ While the latter remained untouched by the fire, all the buildings to the south of the prayerhouse were less fortunate. In the course of the town's reconstruction, he probably relocated to the nearby building that later became known as the almshouse north of the synagoge and near the Emsbach. In its core, the building itself originated from the 16th century, but was also destroyed in the fire and rebuilt after 1777.¹²⁰ In quality and size, this structure stands out among the otherwise rather modest houses along the way from Judengasse to the Emsbach, today's Jakob-Hannibal Street, and hints at a more upscale lifestyle. In the course of a real estate survey and official valuation for the fire insurance introduced by the royal Bavarian government in 1808, house no.42, inhabited by "*Benj. Burgauer's*

¹¹⁴ Tänzer, Hohenems, 377.

¹¹⁵ Tänzer, Hohenems, 377.

¹¹⁶ According to an account of 1780, Löb Moos was engaged in an extensive trade with colonial goods, draperies, and hides as well as in bills-of-exchange transactions. In the course of the Coalition Wars in the late 18th century, he lost a major part of his assets and passed away shortly thereafter in 1802. Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 327 and 489.

¹¹⁷ Tänzer, Hohenems, 490.

¹¹⁸ Herz Lämle (*1742, Bretten; +23.04.1804, Hohenems) presumably married in or before 1768 Brendel (Bertha) Uffenheimer and moved from the then Austrian, today Baden-Württemberg Bretten to Hohenems as Maier Jonathan's son-in-law. He acted, a.o., as committee member and advisor of the Jewish community and operated "*a sort of jeweler's shop and money-changing business*" as is shown in the memorandum of a burglary in 1802. Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 131, 378, 423, 479.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Fig. 6: the building marked there with the number 5 including yard (6) and undestroyed barn (7).

¹²⁰ JMH, Häuser im Jüdischen Viertel, http://jm-hohenems.at/index2.php?id=7050&haus_id=43&lang=0&search_all=burgauer&highlighted=burgauer, accessed 6.2.2010.

widow" Jeanette, was described as situated "at the creek" and valued at 800 gulden in 1806/07.¹²¹

In a Hohenems property tax list of 1779 also Benjamin Burgauer, his stepfather Maier Uffenheimer as well as his brothers-in-law Löb and Abraham Moos are mentioned among 49 Jewish taxpayers.

The Patents of Toleration issued by Emperor Joseph II in 1781/82 brought about some alleviations and changes for the Jews following the rather restrictive period under Maria Theresa, and despite the continuation of numerous constraints such as the prohibition of owning property and joining guilds, restrictions regarding trade and residency as well as special taxes and fees. One of these changes concerned the adaptation of first names to the German language; this is why people often had both a German name as well as a Jewish name. Initially, last names were not affected.¹²²

Benjamin and Jeanette had four children. Their firstborn daughter Elisabeth, also called Ella, was born in August 1772. On January 8, 1799¹²³ she married Jakob Levi,¹²⁴ son of Wolf Samuel Levi (as of 1813 Weiler).¹²⁵ He worked as a peddler and lived at first on the southern connecting road between Judengasse and Christengasse and eventually on the southern end of Christengasse. Elisabeth and Jakob's children were Henriette, Klara,



Fig. 10: Tombstone of Brendel (Bertha, Babette) Guggenheim at the Hohenems cemetery.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

¹²¹ Tänzer, Hohenems, 165-168

¹²² Tänzer, Hohenems, 133-137.

¹²³ Vorarlberger Landesarchiv, Kreis- und Oberamt Bregenz, Schachtel 103/15/25, nach neuer Zählung Schachtel 104.

¹²⁴ Jakob Levi (Weiler, +1765, Hohenems; +24.03.1826, Hohenems).

¹²⁵ The Levi family descends from Samuel Levi Josles Levi of Sulz. In 1813, the Levi family assumed the name Weiler; thus, also Benjamin Burgauer's grandchildren bore the name Weiler. Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 786.

Franziska, Wilhelm, and Esther. Henriette married Daniel Hirschel Guggenheim in 1827. They emigrated to Lengnau/Aargau where they had six children: Rachel, Samuel Daniel,¹²⁶ Herzel, Benjamin, Brunetta, and Meier, also called Max.¹²⁷ Klara, too, emigrated to Lengnau, Franziska (Fanny) died in Hohenems, Wilhelm (Wolf) died in Hohenems aged twenty-two, Esther, also called Emilie, had one child from an unknown first relationship.¹²⁸ From her marriage to Jakob B. Schwarz are the children Abraham Jakob,¹²⁹ Clementine,¹³⁰ and Emanuel (died aged four). Jeanette's and Benjamin's second daughter, Esther, was born in March 1775 and also emigrated to Lengnau where she married before 1819 and died there as well.¹³¹ The third daughter, Brendel, called Babette or Bertha, also moved to Lengnau in Switzerland. Born in January 1780, she married Baruch Guggenheim,¹³² originally from Oberendigen, in Hohenems on October 19, 1794; their two children were already born in Aargau.

¹²⁶ Samuel Daniel was a matzah baker in Lengnau. He married Adele Bernheim of neighboring Emdingen, and they had a child: Emma Elise Guggenheim. The latter married Leopold Thorner of Plock/Poland; they had a daughter, Henriette. Henriette married Moses Marksitzer of Odessa; they lived in Zurich and had one child. Cf. JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I16473&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I16479&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I16481&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹²⁷ JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1676&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹²⁸ Karoline Weiler (+25.03.1836, married in Slatina, Croatia). In: JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1674&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹²⁹ Married in 1878 Anna Thalmessinger of Ulm. Their three children Willi, Malvina, and Victor are born in Bozen/Bolzano. In JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1553&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹³⁰ Emigrated to Pecs/Fünfkirchen in 1873 and married into the Goldschmied family. In: JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1413&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹³¹ Hans Gruber, *Bürger auf dem Land? Eine kollektivbiographische Analyse zur Sozialgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde in Hohenems 1780-1900*, Diss. Salzburg 2001, 48.

¹³² No family relationship could be established between Baruch Guggenheim and the husband of his niece Henriette.

Son Benjamin Guggenheim was a textile merchant and married Clara Hirschfeld of Hohenems; there he eventually passed away after sojourns in Lengnau (birthplace of his eldest daughter Malwine¹³³) and St. Gallen (birthplace of Cäcilie¹³⁴, Rosa¹³⁵, Selmar¹³⁶,



Fig. 11: The meanwhile sunken tombs of Benjamin Burgauer and his Schwipp son-in-law Josef Weiler.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

¹³³ Malwine married Jakob Bernheimer of Hohenems in 1856; they had two children: Karoline (who married into a Levi family) and Marco who was already born in Livorno. In: JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0508&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹³⁴ Marries Hermann Brunner of Hohenems in 1857 and moves with him to Trieste where his daughter Helene was born. The latter marries her cousin Maximilian Brunner, they have four children: Armin, Richard, Egon, and Paul. Armin marries his second cousin Hilda Brunner, they have two children. Richard marries Frieda Schwarz of Brunn/Brno. Cf. JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0498&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I4486&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I4447&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I4541&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹³⁵ Marries the Hohenems textile manufacturer Moritz Hirschfeld in Leipzig in 1862; they have a son, Josef. The latter marries Jenny Reis of Heidelberg in 1900, they have a daughter, Daisy Blanche, In 1909, they emigrate to New York. Daisy marries Leo Gerstle. Cf. JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0513&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0614&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I8931&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I8933&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹³⁶ Dies at two weeks of age.

Stefanie,¹³⁷ and Karl¹³⁸).¹³⁹ Salomon Guggenheim, a merchant, married Klara's sister Julie Hirschfeld and most likely selected the same places of residence as his brother: his

¹³⁷ Stefanie marries Friedrich Rosenthal who was member of the choir association *Frohsinn*. With their children Frieda, Cäcilie, Paula, and Ignatz, they emigrated to Trieste. In 1893, Cäcilie converted to Catholicism and married Paolo von Zencovich. Paula married the brother-in-law of Clementine Schwarz, Josef Goldschmied, and was murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau the same day as her husband. Ignatz, a merchant, emigrated in 1887 to Evansville, Indiana, married Ruth Gumberts in 1898, and applied for a passport in 1903. His children were named Ruth R. and Jean. Cf. JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0521&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1314&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1307&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1335&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I10156&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1317&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹³⁸ Karl worked in St. Gallen, starting in 1865, and formally emigrated there in 1887, being accepted as a citizen. He was a shareholder of „Hirschfeld & Guggenheim“, a company producing lace, later known as „Gebr. Hirschfeld & Co“. 1892 he became a member of the board of the Unionbank, later also member of the central board of the „Schweizerische Bankverein“. He abandoned Judaism and regarded himself as „without religious affiliation“ („konfessionslos“). He married Emilie Loria from Trieste, having two children together, Karl Benno and Werner Johannes. Karl Benno, a graduated Jurist, became clerk of the canton, and converted to Protestantism. In 1916 he married Bertha Nelly Zollikofer. Werner Johannes, also being a Protestant, became a theater director, writer and literary translator. On „www.hohenemsgenealogy.at“ you can read: „His studies of German literature at the universities of Zurich and Lausanne he finished in 1919 doing is PhD. He then studied dramaturgy in Berlin. 1922/23 he worked as dramaturg and director at the State theatre of Braunschweig and from 1924 to 1933 at the City theater of St. Gallen. From 1934 on he worked as a literary translator - i.e. of the works of Charles Ferdinand Ramuz, Léon Savary, Francois Mauriac or Ignazio Silone - and also started to be active as a writer himself. He wrote historical dramas and comedies, but also anti Fascist period plays. His greatest success on Swiss stages he had in 1938 with „Bomber for Japan“ that critized the arms trade of Switzerland with Nazi Germany („Japan“!) and the other Axis powers. His play „Education to be Human“ („Erziehung zum Menschen“), also written in 1938 and decrying the Nazi Racism, made its way on the stage only in December 1945 in St. Gallen. In 1931 he married Ursula von Wiese. With her from 1934 he lived in Bern and Ascona. From 1931 till he passed away he was the president of the "Society of Swiss Dramatists". He died on May 25 1946 in Bern. (See JMH, Hohenems

genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0505&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0506&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I11569&tree=Hohenems>, 14.5.2013).

¹³⁹ „Benjamin Guggenheim, who died in Hohenems on April 2, 1868, devised in his will of July 8, 1867 that after the passing of his wife, Clara née Hirschfeld, an amount of fl 500 will be used to establish a foundation in the Israelite community of Hohenems with the provision that the interests will be annually divided among the rabbi, cantor, and shammes according to more detailed provisions and the rest distributed among the Jewish poor. Mister Carl Guggenheim-Loria in St. Gallen established this foundation following his mother's death on January 11, 1902. This foundation is administrated by the Israelite community in Hohenems.“ In: Tänzler, Hohenems, 671.

daughter Jenny was born in Hohenems, Clementine and Emilie¹⁴⁰ in Lengnau, Fanny and Bertha again in Hohenems.¹⁴¹

Benjamin and Jeanette Burgauer's fourth child was a son who originally received the same first name as his stepgrandfather: Mayer.

Benjamin died on December 13, 1796, only 55 years old, and was interred at the Jewish Cemetery Hohenems.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Emigrated to Stuttgart in 1873, married Ludwig Neuburger and relocated to St. Gallen. There, their children Jenny, Hugo, Arthur, and Selma were born. Jenny married David Oskar Hirschfeld, son of the president of the Israelite Community St. Gallen, who had trained in his parents' company "Hirschfeld & Co." Later, he founded the *Schweizerische Export Gesellschaft St. Gallen AG* and became head of the family business. Jenny's children were Lily (married Henry Reichenbach, they had one child), Harry (married Clarice Hahn in 1927, emigrated to Philadelphia, they had two children there), and Alice (byname Dalbi; she was a singer and married Arthur Diener in 1930, they had one child). Hugo, Emilie's second child, was first married to Lorle Schönfeld, in second marriage to Elisabeth Weil. Arthur married Elise Reichenbach, the sister of his niece's husband, they had three children (Fred Erik married Hanna Lande, they had one child. Victor Arthur had three children.). Emilie's youngest child, Selma, married Karl Jandorf, they had two children, Erika and Hilde (married Alfred Feuchtwanger, they had two children). Cf. JMH, Hohenems Genealogy,

<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0499&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5521&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0514&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5321&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0586&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5542&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5492&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5414&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5510&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5426&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5505&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5505&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5605&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5602&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5595&tree=Hohenems>,
<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I5508&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹⁴¹ "Salomon Guggenheim, deceased on September 29, 1881 in Hohenems, established in his will the following Yahrzeit foundations: 1. fl 200 in memory of his mother, deceased on January 4, 1856. 2. fl 200 in memory of his children Jeanette and Clementine, deceased in 1854. 3. fl 200 in his own memory. From the interest revenues, the rabbi was to receive annually an amount for saying the Kaddish, the rest should be given to the poor. This foundation is administrated by the Israelite community in Hohenems. At the same time, he bequeathed also fl 100 to the Israelite almshouse in Hohenems, fl 50 to the Chevra Kadisha and Chevra Dovor tov, and fl 50 to the Israelite choir association, fl 30 for distribution to the poor on the day of his death, and fl 200 whose interests should go annually to two poor male relatives in Lengnau for saying the Kaddish for his father buried there." In: Tänzer, Hohenems, 672.

¹⁴² Tänzer, Hohenems, 404.

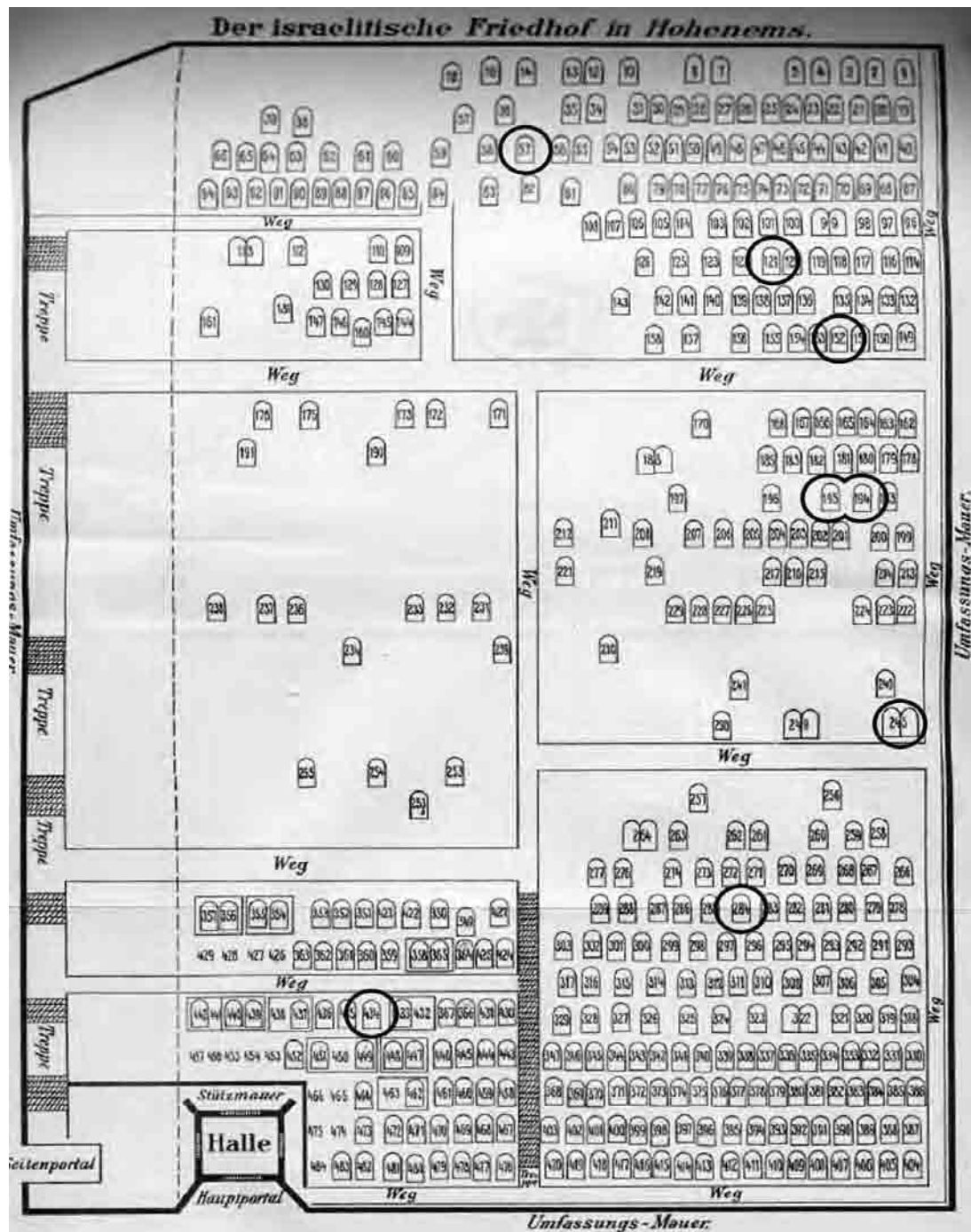


Fig. 12: Graves of the Burgauer family at the Jewish Cemetery Hohenems.

No. 57 - Jeanette Burgauer née Moos; no. 121 - Benjamin Burgauer; no. 152 - Bertha Guggenheim; no. 194 - Henriette Burgauer née Frey; no. 195 Elisabeth Weiler née Burgauer; no. 245 Jenny Guggenheim; no. 245 Clementine Guggenheim; no. 284 Mayer Burgauer; née Burgauer; no. 434 Salomon Guggenheim
In: Tänzer, Hohenems, 403-412.

3.4 The second generation: Mayer (Markus, Benjamin) Burgauer

As scanty information was on Benjamin Burgauer's private life, as "informative" is his son's. A completely extant court file allows deep insights even into private details.

Mayer Burgauer, who also appears in various records and reports as Benjamin or Markus, was born in December 1781 in Hohenems. The historical events during his first years of life brought about decisive changes for the Jews in Hohenems as well as in all of Austria. Of huge significance for the "*Hebrews*" was the already mentioned legislation pertaining to Jews by Emperor Joseph II. In the wake of fierce domestic discussions arising from the fear that the emperor might act too benevolently toward the Jews, the latter was forced to declare as follows:

*"My intention is by no means to further expand the Jewish nation within the hereditary lands or to newly introduce them where they are not tolerated, but to render them useful to the state only there where they are and to the degree as they are tolerated."*¹⁴³

Like the other Patents of Tolerance, the Jewish patents were designed to achieve legal uniformity and centralization as well as an increase in economic benefits for the entire state. The Patent for Vienna and Lower Austria of January 2, 1782, which became effective to the same extent for Tyrol and Vorarlberg, paved the way from Protected Jew to equality in the mid-19th century; yet, it also entailed increasing secularization and assimilation—a significant change, especially for the then rather Orthodox community of Hohenems. Tänzer, who has an overall positive attitude toward Emperor Joseph's reforms, finds nevertheless "*that the Jews in Hohenems greeted these laws with great jubilation*" and further opines that these laws "*did not encounter any resistance*" despite the "*large number of Talmud scholars*" and "*daily diligent Talmud studies.*"¹⁴⁴ While these changes were undeniably positive for the Jewish community in the long term, for lack of any alternative contemporary reports, this unfettered joy must be questioned. After all, these laws were not all that farreaching, on the one hand, and encroached on

¹⁴³ Tänzer, Hohenems, 135.

¹⁴⁴ Tänzer, Hohenems, 135-137.

Orthodox community life, on the other hand. Thus, Jews continued to be denied citizenship and the right to independently pursue a craft as well as house- and property ownership except for special permits. Furthermore, tolerance was restricted to the head of household and his family, but did not apply to his children as soon as they were married. Discrimination through attire or restrictions on visiting taverns were lifted as was the restriction on the freedom of movement on Sundays (at mass time, Jews were not allowed on the streets) and during processions. Jews now had the right to attend universities and academies, trade restrictions were overturned, double fees eliminated.¹⁴⁵ However, “Germanization” of first names was but one threat to a distinct Jewish identity, changes in school education, too, could be perceived as menacing by a religious-conservative minority. Ever since settlement in the 17th century, separate education had been in place; its legal basis had been stipulated already in the writ of protection of 1617.¹⁴⁶ In 1781, the edict of May 16 brought about a profound change. Jewish children were permitted to attend already existing public schools, and they were given special orders regarding proper interaction with children of different creeds. Besides, the establishment of separate “*schools in the normal manner of teaching*”¹⁴⁷ was also an option, to which the inhabitants of Hohenems availed themselves. Thus, in 1784, they opened their own German school with 34 children.¹⁴⁸

Another reform would have even more sweeping consequences: as of 1788, Jews, too, were enlisted for military service. Until 1815, 36,200 Jewish soldiers served in the imperial army; for Hohenems, the first conscripted community members can be identified only in the *Vormärz* period. Even though Jews were not drafted initially, they still were required to provide financial contributions in these turbulent times. In the course of the Coalition Wars, as early as 1789 a war tax was collected from the proceeds of sold synagoge chairs. In 1791 and 1792, Tyrolean marksmen as well as Hungarian and

¹⁴⁵ Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben*, vol 1, 290.

¹⁴⁶ “*They, the Jews, may also [...] have schools, headmasters according to their religion [...]*.” Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 23.

¹⁴⁷ Tänzer, Hohenems, 506.

¹⁴⁸ Tänzer, Hohenems, 506.

Croatian regiments were billeted there.¹⁴⁹ Because of its closeness to the border, Vorarlberg quickly became a transit- and occupation zone, and the rising costs of equipment and billeting in the course of the conflict were passed on to the population. This meant that the Hohenems Jews, other special charges notwithstanding, had to bear up to one fifth of the costs despite their share of around one ninth of the population.¹⁵⁰ In 1805, the House of Habsburg had to declare defeat to the Napoleonic troops. As an ally of France, Bavaria was able to expand its territory and gain, among others, Tyrol and Vorarlberg in the Peace of Pressburg. The enlarged kingdom endeavored to implement modern and liberal reforms in its entire territory. For the Jews in Hohenems, this meant that they now belonged, as did the entire Vorarlberg population, to the Iller district and were under the administration of Kempten. Subsequently, Hohenems stood in rather frequent contact with the authorities there since it was necessary to clarify the Jews' position within the community: were they a separate community in dependency of the Christian community or part of the entire Hohenems community endowed with all the rights (duties had frequently been imposed on them already earlier on)?¹⁵¹ Before this issue could be clarified, the Tyrolean Rebellion of 1809 erupted, which also spilled over to Vorarlberg. A large part of the costs was again defrayed by the Jews; however, their funds were limited as they were still burdened by unsettled debts from previous conflicts. At first, 10,000 gulden were advanced by the manufacturer Nathan Elias, Mayer Burgauer's stepuncle. Yet, the Vorarlberg estates asked the Hohenems Jews for funding: on May 18, 1809, the *Schutzdeputation* meeting in Feldkirch demanded a loan of 20,000 gulden, which ultimately was not paid as a result of the insurrection chaos. The following day, messengers sent by Hormayr demanded 1,000 gulden. In June, the *Schutzdeputation* at Bregenz demanded 8,000 gulden, half of it immediately. These 4,000 gulden had to be borrowed in Switzerland at high interest rates. More demands

¹⁴⁹ Tänzer, Hohenems, 139.

¹⁵⁰ Tänzer, Hohenems, 142-146.

¹⁵¹ Tänzer, Hohenems, 170-174.

were made or planned, but the rebellion collapsed and saved the Hohenems Jews from further financial burdens.¹⁵²

While all this restrictive Bavarian legislation regarding Jews and the Rebellion of 1809 limited and burdened them, they also greatly benefitted from more relaxed trade conditions. Wholesale turnover amounted to 686,100 gulden in 1809/10 and to 657,725 gulden in 1811/12. The majority of these dealings involved goods from abroad and took place abroad.¹⁵³

Apart from Benjamin Burgauer's untimely 1796 death at age 55, little is known about the family and their life during all those years. Whether and to what extent they had been obliged to contribute to the Hohenems Jews' burdens cannot be established. Their name is neither included in the list of creditors of the estate deputies of 1800¹⁵⁴ nor in the context of the Rebellion funding nine years later. In an 1802 listing of fifty-three "*protected Hebrews in Hohenems*," which also lists the profession, the name of Burgauer is completely absent.¹⁵⁵ As already mentioned, there exists the valuation of the Burgauer residence of 1806/07 by the Bavarian authorities. In 1811, Mayer married Dina Lazarus, fourteen years his senior and at age forty-four still childless. They would have no children. Possibly, this was a kind of Levirate marriage: the Alsatian Dina Lazarus had been married since August 13, 1799¹⁵⁶ to Bermann Wolf Levi,¹⁵⁷ youngest brother-in-law of Mayer's sister Elisabeth, who had died in a fatal accident near Landeck.¹⁵⁸ In the wedding year, precisely on May 20, 1811, the Iller district general commissariat in Kempten ordered the "*precise determination of number, occupation, etc. of Jews residing in the Iller district*;" its results for Hohenems showed 484 persons in ninety households. Due to the numbers for Bavaria, a *Normzahl* (maximum limit)

¹⁵² Tänzer, Hohenems, 177-183.

¹⁵³ Tänzer, Hohenems, 474-478.

¹⁵⁴ Tänzer, Hohenems, 147.

¹⁵⁵ Tänzer, Hohenems, 429-433.

¹⁵⁶ Dina Lazarus (*1767, Balbronn; + December 14, 1837, Hohenems). Cf. JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0760&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013..

¹⁵⁷ Bermann Wolf Levi (*July 1773, Hohenems; + March 26, 1809, Hohenems or Landeck).

¹⁵⁸ Tänzer, Hohenems, 704.

intended to control community sizes, was introduced on January 12, 1812.¹⁵⁹ This number meant that Jews could marry only after a so-called *Schutznummer* [protection number] became available, in other words, following an owner's death or voluntary waiver. Usually, this occurred in the case of a father's death or the declaration of an actual or pretended occupational disability. Anyone not that "lucky" had to postpone marriage, wait for the waiver of a childless community member, or else emigrate—this was likely the Bavarian administration's intention. Even more momentous was the edict of June 10, 1813, which regulated the Jews' legal position and contained rulings concerning the most important areas of Jewish life: it recognized Jews as full citizens of Bavaria, granted them right of settlement and regulated the exercise of occupations, the legal position of Jewish inhabitants in their place of residence as well as Jewish community life and schools.¹⁶⁰ The probably most important section, which had consequences far beyond the Bavarian period, stated that in places where Jews already resided, only registered families were permitted. Immigration and new settlement were prohibited resp. required explicit authorization. The names of the residing families were entered into *Matrikel* (registers), which replaced the writs of protection; yet, even the inclusions themselves were decided by the general commissariat in charge.

Another consequence of the edict had an, at least, outward impact on the Jewish community. Anyone not yet carrying a German or German-sounding last name had to assume a new one. Like several others, Mayer Burgauer was not directly affected, but the related Levis became the Weilers, the Moos became the Reichenbachs. From an 1813 manuscript listing the name changes, we learn that "*Mayer Burgauer*" became "*Benjamin Burgauer*;" this means that his first name was changed from his step-grandfather's to his father's (and possibly also to his grandfather's) name. However, German language permeated not just names; in general, the trend was to adopt the language of the surrounding population such as, for instance, in account books.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Tänzer, Hohenems, 185-186.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben in Tirol und Vorarlberg von 1806 bis 1867*, in: Albrich Thomas (Ed.), *Jüdisches Leben im historischen Tirol. Von der bayerischen Zeit 1806 bis zum Ende der Monarchie 1918* (vol. 2), Innsbruck 2013, 13-192, here 63.

¹⁶¹ Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben in Tirol und Vorarlberg* 2,72.

Namensänderungen 1813		
1. Jacobus Bachmann	früher	Samuel benjamin Wolf
2. Valentin Burgauer		Salomon Lazarus
3. Bernhard Burgauer		Benjamin Wolf
4. David K. Benckhausen		
5. Abraham	}	früher
6. Simon		Isaiah Levi Levi
7. Mark		
8. Valentin		
9. Salomon Benckhausen	früher	Salomon Lämle
10. Michael Pickart	}	früher
11. Heinrich		Isaiah
12. August Benckhausen		
13. Isidor	}	früher
14. Anton		Isaiah Wolf
15. Isidor		
16. Isidor Benckhausen	früher	Isaiah Wolf
17. Raphael	}	Isaiah
18. Heinrich Benckhausen		
19. Abraham		Isaiah Wolf
20. Benjamin Burgauer		Isaiah Burgauer
21. Maria Egg	früher	Salomon Levi's Willner
22. Michael		Isaiah Wolf
23. Michael Eggmann	früher	Michael Levi
24. Markus Elsch	früher	Isaiah Wolf
25. Isidor		Isaiah
26. Samuel Egg	früher	Samuel Levi
27. Mathias		Isaiah
28. Ephraim Gutmann	früher	Ephraim Levi
29. Josef		Isaiah Levi
30. Magdalena Hauser	früher	Isaiah Wolf
31. Wolf		Isaiah Wolf
32. Samuel		Isaiah Wolf
33. Samuel Heumann	früher	Samuel Heinrich Levi
34. Markus		Isaiah
35. Josef Hirschfeld		Isaiah Levi
36. Carl	}	Moses
37. Leopold		Isaiah
38. Martin		Isaiah
39. Albert		Isaiah
40. Jakob Kitzinger	früher	Isaiah Kitzinger
41. Aaron Kandauer		Isaiah
42. Benjamin Kandauer	früher	Isaiah Levi
43. Philipp		Isaiah Levi
44. Josef		Isaiah Levi
45. Josef Löwenberg	früher	Isaiah Levi
46. Simon		Isaiah
47. Daniel		Isaiah
48. Moritz		Isaiah
49. Moses Wolf Levi	früher	Isaiah
50. Heinrich Mayer	früher	Isaiah Mayer
51. Josef		Isaiah
52. Markus		Isaiah Mayer
53. Elias		Isaiah
54.		

Fig. 13: Name changes in Hohenems 1813 – No. 20 Mayer Benjamin Burgauer.
 Reproduction. Loan from the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, to the Jewish Museum Hohenems.
 Photo: Stefan Weis.

Im Monat July 1817.

Abgemindertes Verzeichniß der patentierten Juden

1 ^{te} Klasse	Löwenhardt	Emil v. D.	Emil
	Rosenthal	August	"
	Rosenthal	Wilhelm	"
	Löwenhardt	Kosyke	"
2 ^{te}	Rosenthal	Johann	"
	Kirschfeld	Martha	"
	Guggenheim	Isach v. Samuel, J. d. v.	Isachmann
	Wachfeld	Albert	Emil
	per	Philipp	Schmalach
	Isachach	Maria	Emil
	Guggenheim	Samuel v. Joseph, J. d. v.	Isachmann
	Bernheimer	Simon	Emil
	Bernheimer	Martha	"
	Bernheimer	Salomon	"
	Perz	Mathias v. Philipp, J. d. v.	"
	Birkart	Moses	"
	Schwager	Joseph	"
	Guggenheim	Leopold	Isachmann
	Wachfeld	Martha	Emil
	Büchtemann	Salomon	"
3 ^{te} Klasse	Humann	Mary	"
4 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Lazarus	"
5 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Simon	"
6 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Isach v. Joseph, J. d. v.	"
7 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Bernhard	"
8 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Mathias Wolf	Isachmann
9 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Sam. v. Bernmann, J. d. v.	Emil
10 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Joseph	"
11 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Samuel	"
12 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Benedict	"
13 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Abraham	"
14 ^{te}	Wachfeld	Michael	"

Fig. 14: "Amended register of patented Jews of July 1817" – Register of Jews entitled to engage in trade in the Canton of St. Gallen, 1817.

State Archives St. Gallen, Rugr. 91, Faz. 1c (Jews) – here a copy.

Photo: Stefan Weis.

On June 26, 1814, Hohenems reverted to Austria, which for the Vorarlberg Jews meant deterioration in their overall improved condition following the edict of 1813—yet, in contrast to their Tyrolean fellow brethren, Vorarlberg Jews were permitted to keep the achievements of the Bavarian period.¹⁶²

In 1817, first evidence of burgeoning trade relations to St. Gallen, Switzerland, can be established for Mayer Benjamin as well as for twenty-five other Hohenems Jews.¹⁶³ The Canton of St. Gallen had been established in the course of Switzerland's Napoleonic reforms in 1803. The city of St. Gallen, known for its textile industry, had benefited from the Continental Blockade. After it was lifted, cheap goods from England brought about a dramatic decline in prices and wages. At the same time, due to poor harvests all over Europe in 1816/17, food prices skyrocketed. One of the measures was to limit the rights of Jewish merchants since the Jews' commercial activities were considered to be "*most disadvantageous*" for the trade. Allegedly, in conducting free trade, Jews were discriminating against the canton's citizens and "*ruining*" the market with their prices. Particularly unwelcome were the merchants "*from the neighborhood,*" in other words, the merchants from Hohenems.¹⁶⁴ The Austrian authorities equally reacted to this tense situation, and initially enacted a total ban on imports in 1817, but soon loosened it for imports to Vorarlberg and Tyrol, contingent on the prohibition of a renewed export of Swiss cotton. In June 1817, the Hohenems Jews turned to the St. Gallen governing council and tried to refute Swiss arguments for excluding Jews from trade, on the one hand, and pointed out the financial losses and alternatives (for instance, in Herisau) detrimental to St. Gallen, on the other hand. This intervention caused the "Little Council" to relax the rules. While Jews were still barred from settling, and peddling remained forbidden, they were granted a limited right of residence.¹⁶⁵ Probably, Mayer Benjamin was active in St. Gallen as purchaser.

¹⁶² Albrich, Jüdisches Leben in Tirol und Vorarlberg 2, 77.

¹⁶³ Schreiber Sabine, Hirschfeld, Strauss, Malinsky. Jüdisches Leben in St. Gallen 1803-1933 (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in der Schweiz 11), Zurich 2006, 366.

¹⁶⁴ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 27.

¹⁶⁵ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 29-30.

Nr.	Name	Anmerkungen
20.	Simon Landmann.	
21.	Jungel.	
22.	Lehrer.	
23.	Lehrer.	
24.	Lehrer.	
25.	Lehrer.	
26.	Lehrer.	
27.	Lehrer.	
28.	Lehrer.	
29.	Lehrer.	
30.	Lehrer.	
31.	Lehrer.	
32.	Lehrer.	
33.	Lehrer.	
34.	Lehrer.	
35.	Lehrer.	
36.	Lehrer.	
37.	Lehrer.	
38.	Lehrer.	
39.	Lehrer.	
40.	Lehrer.	
41.	Lehrer.	
42.	Lehrer.	
43.	Lehrer.	
44.	Lehrer.	
45.	Lehrer.	

Fig. 15: Register of all Israelite families in Hohenems, 1817. No. 31 – Benjamin Burgauer.

VLA, Kreisamt I, box 114, Judensachen: 1815-1827.

Photo: Stefan Weis.

There is a list in the Bregenz State Archives, dated July 21, 1817, of the “*registered Israelite families of Hohenems*,” in which Mayer “*Benjamin*” is numbered 31.¹⁶⁶

This is followed by an 1819 register “*of all Israelite families in Hohenems*,” which indicates for “*Benjamin Burgauer*,” our Mayer, as income source a “*stall and peddling*” and also notes that “*his old mother, the widow Schanet Burgauer [lives] with him.*”¹⁶⁷

Benjamin’s affiliation with Hohenems can be extracted also from the list of “*registered Israelite families*” of December 1823, still numbered 31.¹⁶⁸

According to the estate proceedings of court factor and community head Benjamin Wolf Josef Löwengard, Mayer Benjamin received one half of a wooden house on the creek in 1823.¹⁶⁹

On October 30, 1825, Mayer Benjamin Burgauer filed a suit at the court in Innsbruck to have his marriage to Dina Lazarus voided. The Austrian General Civil Code, which had been effective since 1811, the wedding year, provided the possibility for non-Catholics to divorce, while Catholics could only legally separate, but not remarry until the partner’s death.¹⁷⁰ In case of Jewish marriages recourse was made to Jewish law. Hence, divorce was possible if both partners consented or the wife had committed adultery. In both cases, however, the husband’s letter of divorce had to be voluntarily accepted. This offered the wife considerable leeway and some leverage in the legal dispute to obtain favorable conditions.¹⁷¹ In this case, after fourteen years, the husband submitted a plea for annulment of the marriage offering a very vivid explanation for his move:

¹⁶⁶ VLA, Kreisamt I, box 114, Judensachen: 1815-1827.

¹⁶⁷ VLA, Kreisamt I, box 114, Judensachen: 1815-1827.

¹⁶⁸ VLA, Kreisamt I, box 114, Judensachen: 1815-1827.

¹⁶⁹ Should this be about Mayer’s residence, this information can be doubted. It would be more logical if the house would have been directly transferred to her son following Jeanette Burgauer’s death in 1833. Cf: JMH, Häuser im Jüdischen Viertel, http://jm-hohenems.at/index2.php?id=7050&haus_id=43&lang=0&search_all=burgauer&highlighted=burgauer, accessed 6.2.2010.

¹⁷⁰ Cf: “A legally contracted marriage of Jews can be separated pursuant to § 133 Civil Code based on mutual free consent through a letter of divorce given to the wife by her husband.” Excerpt from the Mayer Burgauer divorce file, Tyrolean State Archives, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

¹⁷¹ Schostak Desiree, Gender-Perspektiven jüdischer Geschichte von der Vormoderne bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Zusammenfassung auf der Grundlage von Abstracts der Referenten (Interdisziplinäres Forum „Jüdische Geschichte und Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit und im Übergang zur Moderne“, 8. Arbeitstagung,

Honorable KK. Court!

I married Diene Lazarus here in 1811. Although I became convinced already right after our wedding that my wife was unable to fulfill her conjugal duties due to a physical affliction, my innate shyness prevented me from immediately filing for annulment and divorce of our marriage. However, since my wife's conduct took such a turn that I was no longer able to put up with her, and she even had the audacity to threaten my life, I am forced to file for annulment and divorce of our marriage, and I submit testimony Lit. A. written pursuant to § 104 of the General Civil Code.

My wife Diene, née Lazarus, is afflicted with a permanent inability, which preceded our marriage, to meet her conjugal duties and have children in that her vagina is so narrow and tightly closed in the area where there is otherwise the so-called hymen that full intercourse and, thus, the begetting of children is rendered utterly impossible.

Evidence of this will be supplied by the findings of expert physicians, surgeons, or midwives, which I herewith request.

I hereby file the legal request to pass a sentence adjudicating my marriage with my wife Diene née Lazarus invalid, and, thus, I will be allowed to hand her a letter of divorce and to part with her; she also must reimburse me for all expenses.

Hohenems, October 30, 1825

*Benjamin Burgauer*¹⁷²

Thus, Mayer Benjamin desired the annulment of his marriage of fourteen years with the justification that it had not been possible to consummate the marriage. He explains this fact with anatomic problems and the resulting inability to have children. Since Dina had been childless already in her first marriage and forty-four years old when she remarried, childlessness could not have been the greatest surprise. Mayer Benjamin also argues with his wife's, at least, verbal threats, and requests that the costs of divorce and letter of divorce would be assumed by his divorced wife.

The letter of divorce (Hebr. *get*, also *sefer keritut*) has a central role in Jewish divorce. The divorce becomes effective with its delivery by the husband or a messenger designated by him to his wife. However, this document is preceded by rabbinical, later also secular-legal, proceedings so that she can be divorced against her will only under

Film – Funk – Fernseh – Zentrum der Ev. Kirche im Rheinland, Düsseldorf, 9.–11. Februar 2007), in: <http://www.forum-juedische-geschichte.de/ForumBericht07.pdf>, accessed 24.4.2011.

¹⁷² Tyrolean State Archives, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

certain circumstances, such as, for instance, ten years of childlessness.¹⁷³ In the case of Mayer Benjamin and Dina Burgauer, Israel Lissa, rabbi of Hohenems, commented the facts on October 10, 1825:

“The undersigned herewith testifies that in his capacity as rabbi, he has summoned Benjamin Burgauer and his wife Dina née Lazarus three times due to their ongoing marital disputes, and as is his duty has attempted to reconcile husband and wife based on religious and moral grounds. However, all these efforts were to no avail and no peaceable reconciliation could be achieved with Burgauer. This is herewith dutifully attested.”¹⁷⁴

Mayer Benjamin obviously pushed for an annulment of the marriage and could not be persuaded otherwise even by the rabbi. The authorities, too, refused to consent to his plea since he had maintained the marriage even after being aware of his wife’s inability to have intercourse. Thus, the plaintiff was summoned before the court to disabuse him “*of his intention voluntarily.*” In January 1826, plaintiff and defendant appeared before judge Moosbrugger in Dornbirn; the minutes of this meeting are extant:

“Following the request of the honorable court of December 24, 1825, praes. January 2 of this year, husband and wife were again summoned today following Benjamin Burgauer’s declaration recorded here on the 9th that he insisted on filing for divorce, which he has submitted to the Innsbruck court. Appearing now in person are husband Benjamin Burgauer and Dina Lazarus, assisted by Ignatz Rosenthal merchant in Ems. At their appearance, it was first of all tried to reconcile husband and wife. Since all notions of unification proved to be in vain, it was tried to bring Dina Lazarus, wife of Benjamin Burgauer, to accept the letter of divorce against lifelong alimonies. However, since that proved to be in vain as well, and since she declared that she would by no means accept the letter of divorce, the minutes were concluded and signed by husband and wife. Benjamin Burgauer [signed by himself] merchant Dina Lazarus [initials] Ignaz Rosenthal as assistant”¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Maier / Schäfer, *Kleines Lexikon des Judentums*, 85, 269.

¹⁷⁴ Tyrolean State Archives, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

¹⁷⁵ Tyrolean State Archives,, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

Thus, it became apparent that Dina was unwilling to dissolve the marriage or at least wished to exercise her right to achieve better terms through delaying her consent. However, it is unknown why she failed to personally sign; illiteracy might be presumed. Just one day later, a file memorandum indicates a change of mind on the part of Mayer Benjamin Burgauer:

“Currently, merchant Benjamin Burgauer appears and declares: He believes that he is able to peacefully resolve the conflict with his wife regarding voluntary acceptance of the letter of divorce or dissolution of the marriage. Therefore, he asks to summon him and his wife again.”¹⁷⁶

The reason for this change of heart remains unclear. Whether Mayer Benjamin had realized the hopelessness of his plea to annul his marriage, which can be gathered from the legal correspondence as well, or whether Dina had signaled her willingness to negotiate, husband and wife were again summoned before the court, the lawsuit was deferred. The session ended without any results, but Dina left an impression on the court. This emerges from the solicitor’s opinion of January 28, 1826: “[...] and his wife Diene née Lazarus insists on the validity and continuation of the marriage. The latter is characterized by the Dornbirn court by the epithet Xantippe.”¹⁷⁷ In the same letter, we learn that both sides resume their hardened battle lines and refuse to change their minds. The next session takes place in March 1826, the summoned lawyers assume their positions once again: von Mathis of Feldkirch for Mayer Benjamin, Rhomberg of Dornbirn for Dina who again appears with Ignaz Rosenthal as adviser before the court. During this session it was established that Dina had been aware of her condition before her marriage:

“The defendant had been fully aware already prior to her marriage to the plaintiff, namely, approximately sixteen years ago, that she had been afflicted with the physical infirmity lodged in this claim already then. The plaintiff was informed about this matter by the physician Doctor Folie in Hohenems on October 4 of this year. He told the plaintiff that the defendant

¹⁷⁶ Tyrolean State Archives,, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

¹⁷⁷ Tyrolean State Archives,, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

had been examined already about sixteen years ago, hence, still during the lifetime of her first husband, by order of the then forensic physician Doctor Halenstein, by the midwife Kathrina Mathis of Hohenems in the presence of Johanna Bachmann and Ester Weiler, both of Hohenems. It was found that the defendant's vagina was so tightly and firmly closed in the area where otherwise the hymen is located that full intercourse was deemed impossible. [...]

Under these circumstances it is obvious that the defendant had known about her infirmity already ahead of her marriage to the plaintiff and, therefore, has deceived the latter in a criminal and fraudulent manner. Hence she is guilty of severe misdemeanor pursuant to §102 Austrian General Civil Code and § 252 of the 11th Th. Austrian Criminal Code.

Indeed, the plaintiff had already realized immediately after his marriage to the defendant that it was impossible to have intercourse with the defendant. Yet, he had become fully cognizant of the fact that the disability was solely on the defendant's side only through the letter received from Doctor Folie on October 4, 1825. Only from then on had he been able to be convinced that the marriage to the defendant could be deemed legally invalid and that in this case the plaintiff had the right to plea for annulment.

Furthermore, together with the widow Clara Rurlanderin and Katharina Witzmann of Hohenems as witnesses, the plaintiff can prove that the defendant had uttered grave threats against the plaintiff.”¹⁷⁸

This view was partially contested on Dina's part. Thus, she maintained that the alleged threats were a pack of lies, the plaintiff had known already for a longer time about the defendant's physical condition, and, not least, Mayer Benjamin should have “*overcome his innate shyness*” and not file for divorce only around fifteen years later. Dina Lazarus also denied the real issue, that is, her knowledge already during her first marriage of her inability to have intercourse.

Nevertheless, in the course of that same session, the defendant had a surprising change of mind and agreed to accept her husband's letter of divorce under the following conditions:

¹⁷⁸ Tyrolean State Archives,, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

A black and white micrograph showing a single cell. The cell has a large, dark, circular nucleus in the center, which contains a smaller, lighter-colored nucleolus. The cytoplasm is visible as a lighter, granular area surrounding the nucleus. The cell is surrounded by other cells, which are less distinct.

64

“1. Her husband Benjamin Burgauer must pay weekly lifelong alimonies 3f 30x – Three gulden thirty Kreutzer, to wit, one month in advance through the Hohenems community administration.

2. Her husband must guarantee the capital of 3,640 f necessary for this alimony in the following manner:

a. 1500 f – Burgauer must deposit with the Israelite Community Hohenems.

b. The remaining 2,149 f must be secured with his house and his synagogue chair.

3. After her death, only those one thousand gulden that she had brought into the marriage should go to her heirs; the other 2,640 f should go back to him, Burgauer, or his legal or testamentary heirs.

4. In case Benjamin Burgauer remarries, he must deposit another five hundred gulden with the Israelite Community, whereby these 500 f can be subtracted from the amount secured with his house and synagogue chair.

5. Her husband Benjamin Burgauer must defray the costs already incurred and to be incurred regarding the letter of divorce as well as the legal costs.

This shall void any future mutual claims against each other.

Plaintiff Burgauer declares that he wishes to promptly meet all above terms, and that he wishes to have the letter of divorce written out and to hand it to his wife Dina Lazarus.”¹⁷⁹

Now the divorce was almost accomplished, they had agreed on the basic legal framework. Although Mayer Benjamin had been asked to pay up quite a bit, at this stage, he was apparently no longer prepared to draw out the conflict. On June 15, 1826, the following letter of divorce was delivered in the presence of Rabbi Israel Lissa:

Copy of the letter of divorce written in Chaldean language.

On the fifth day of the week, on the tenth day of the month of Sivan in the year 5586 after the creation of the world. According to the number, which we count here in the market town of Ems., – that is called, Hochenems, situated on the river Emsbach, and on the river Sägenbach, and the river Auerbach, and on wellsprings. I Mair, called Mayer Burgauer, son of Benjamin Burgauer who is today residing in the market town of Ems., – that is called, Hochenems, situated on the river Emsbach, and on the river Sägenbach, and the river Auerbach, and on wellsprings and by any other names and bynames I and my father, my and my father’s homeland might be called, leave you, cut myself off from you, and take leave of you, my wife Dina, daughter of Lazarus, who is today living here in the market town of Ems– that is called, Hochenems, situated on the river

¹⁷⁹ Tyrolean State Archives,, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

Emsbach, and on the river Sägenbach, and the river Auerbach, and on wellsprings, you, whatever other name you and your father, your homeland and your father's homeland might have, voluntarily and without any coercion. You Dina have been my wife thus far, but now I cut myself off from you, leave you, take leave of you for good so that you will have power over yourself to marry any man you wish and nobody should deny you this, from this day on into eternity. It is up to your own free will to marry whom you want and who pleases you. This letter I am handing you now is a letter of divorce and a letter of waiver and a letter of liberation according to the Law of Moses and Israel.

Abraham son of Elieser as witness

Samuel son of Mordechai as witness

That this letter of divorce was translated from the original word for word and faithfully confirms Israel Lissaur

*Rabbi in Ems*¹⁸⁰

The reason Mayer Benjamin was in such a hurry might be gathered from the next known date: just five months later, on November 12, 1826, he married 38-year-old Henriette Frei.¹⁸¹ Nine months later, at age 65, Mayer Benjamin became a first-time father; his eldest son, Benjamin, was born on August 25, 1827. In the course of the next ten years, his children Benedikt (also called Berthold), Leopold, Zemirah, Karoline¹⁸², Jeanette, Lucian,¹⁸³ and Adolf followed. The growing Burgauer family needed more space; thus, there exists an application for house expansion of December 31, 1830 supplemented by a highly comprehensive explanation of January 8, 1831, which describes over several pages the location of the house, the statements of the Reichenbachs and Bretttauers, and such details *“that rainwater cannot be funneled from the house of Benjamin Burgauer to the Ems creek since the building ground ... is lower- lying than the rivulet itself.”* Hence, an expansion of the Burgauer house between Ems creek and synagogue can be assumed as of 1830.

¹⁸⁰ Tyrolean State Archives,, Stadt- und Landrecht, Ehesachen, 9/72.

¹⁸¹ Henriette Frei (*1788; + October 7, 1853). The birth date indicated by Tänzer is surprising considering the late dates of birth of her children.

¹⁸² Karoline (*18.09.1832, Hohenems), survived only for two months. In: JMH, Hohenems Genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0329&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

¹⁸³ Lucian (*22.09.1835, Hohenems) became only five months. In: JMH, Hohenems Genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0332&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

[illegible]

[illegible]

In his year of divorce, we again find some more information on Mayer Benjamin in the “register of the Israelite-Jewish families existing in Hohenems, Dornbirn regional court, as of last July 1826.” Here, his profession is indicated as merchant. Tänzer specifies this activity as sales of “Swiss goods”¹⁸⁴ which were purchased on the other side of the Rhine. This is confirmed by another undated list,¹⁸⁵ which provides evidence for a Mayer Benjamin trading in Switzerland.¹⁸⁶

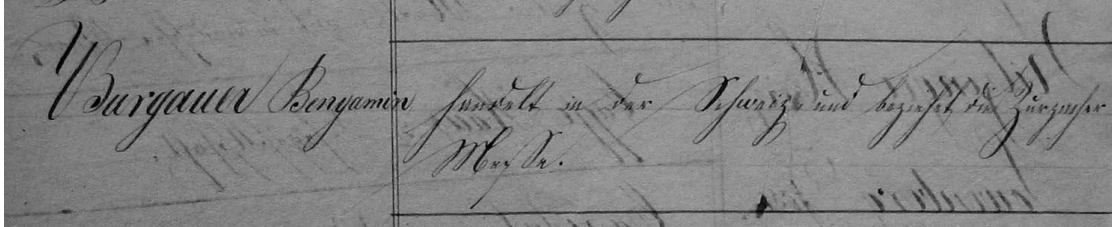


Fig. 19: Evidence of trade, probably around 1825.
VLA, Kreisamt I, box 114, Judensachen: 1815-1827.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

Although a St.Gallen order of May 15, 1818 decreed that...

“1. Anyone belonging to the Jewish nation and seeking to obtain temporal residence in the Canton of St. Gallen must apply for such a permit at our police department.”¹⁸⁷

...no passport application could be found for Mayer Benjamin neither at the State Archives in Bregenz nor at the State Archives St. Gallen despite knowledge of his stay in Switzerland around the year 1817. Evidence of his commercial activities, which also brought him to the South German area, can be found in newspapers in Munich, for instance, in the *Flora*¹⁸⁸ issues of January 5 and 7, 1827, in which he advertises:

¹⁸⁴ Tänzer, Hohenems, 490. It can be assumed that textile- or more precisely cotton products are meant here.

¹⁸⁵ Probably between 1824 and 1826 since Josef Bernheimer, who passed away in 1824, no longer appears on the list, while Josef Landauer, who married in 1826, is registered as single.

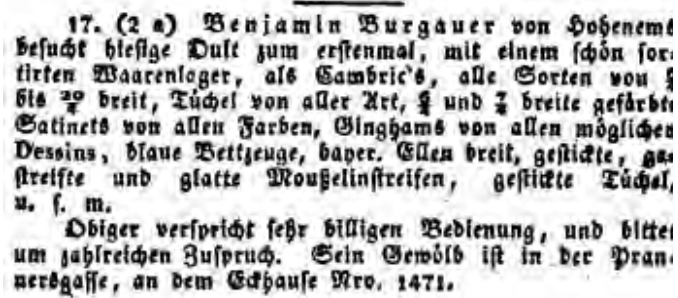
¹⁸⁶ VLA, Kreisamt I, box 114, Judensachen: 1815-1827.

¹⁸⁷ Tänzer, Hohenems, 453.

¹⁸⁸ In its own definition, *Flora* was “an entertainment paper,” “from which anything political should be permanently excluded.” The magazine appeared from 1820 until 1833. Cf: Allgemeines Intelligenz-Blatt für das Königreich Baiern, Munich 1820, auf: <http://books.google.at/books?id=3rIEAAAACAAJ&pg=RA13-PA52&lpg=RA13->

"Benjamin Burgauer of Hohenems is visiting the local fair with a well assorted choice of goods, Cambric, all sorts from 6/4 to 20/4 width, cloth of all sorts, 6/4 and 7/4 wide dyed satinets in all colors, gingham in all sorts of designs, blue bedclothes, embroidered, striped and plain mousseline strips, embroidered cloth, and much more.

The above promises very low prices and hopes for numerous customers. His store is on Prannersgasse, corner of no. 1471."¹⁸⁹



17. (2 a) Benjamin Burgauer von Hohenems besucht hiesige Lust zum erstenmal, mit einem schön sortirten Waarenlager, als Cambric's, alle Sorten von 6 bis 20 breit, Tüchel von aller Art, 6 und 7 breite gefärbte Satinets von allen Farben, Gingham's von allen möglichen Dessins, blaue Bettzeuge, bayer. Ellen breit, gestricke, gestreifte und glatte Mousselinstreifen, gestickte Tüchel, u. s. m.
Obiger verspricht sehr billigen Bedienung, und bittet um zahlreichen Zuspruch. Sein Gemöb ist in der Prannersgasse, an dem Eckhause Nro. 1471.

Fig. 20: Advertisement of Benjamin Burgauer.

In: *Flora. An entertainment paper*, no. 5, January 7, 1827, Munich 1827 24

At the same time, this advertisement appears in the magazine *Der Bayerische Volksfreund* as well.¹⁹⁰ By April, Mayer Benjamin seems to have moved on to Swabian Bavaria. In the *Augsburgische Ordinari-Postzeitung*, a similar advertisement can be found on April 21, 1827.¹⁹¹

His advertisements slightly changed in each place of trade, goods were adjusted. In subsequent years, it becomes again "silent" around Mayer Benjamin Burgauer's family; there is only little additional information.

PA52&dq=flora+m%C3%BCnchen+zeitschrift&source=bl&ots=bFtQ8vGFC3&sig=uJWKPYAf83PTW-IOBUa_7QIAR38&hl=de&sa=X&ei=sdTSUdHcLMO9PeuLgcgl&ved=0CEsQ6AEwBg#v=onepage&q=flora%20m%C3%BCnchen%20zeitschrift&f=false, accessed 17.3.2013.

¹⁸⁹ *Flora. Ein Unterhaltungsblatt*, Nro. 5, 7.1.1827, Munich 1827, 1, in:

<http://books.google.at/books?id=K1hEAAAACAAJ&pg=PA24&dq=burgauer+benjamin&hl=de&sa=X&ei=j9XSUYC7Fo2qOuDDgZgD&ved=0CEYQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=burgauer%20benjamin&f=false>, accessed 17.03.2013.

¹⁹⁰ *Der Bayerische Volksfreund. Ein Unterhaltungs-Blatt für alle Stände*, Nro. 2, 4.1.1827, Munich 1827, 2, in: <http://books.google.at/books?id=87NDAAAACAAJ&pg=PA22-IA2&dq=burgauer+benjamin&hl=de&sa=X&ei=j9XSUYC7Fo2qOuDDgZgD&ved=0CEsQ6AEwBA#v=onepage&q=burgauer&f=false>.

¹⁹¹ *Augsburgische Ordinari Postzeitung. Von Staats, gelehrten, historisch- und ökonomischen Neuigkeiten, Mit allerhöchsten Privilegien*, Nro. 96, 21.04.1827, Augsburg 1827, 4, in: http://books.google.at/books?id=X_9DAAAACAAJ&pg=RA3-PT387&dq=burgauer+benjamin&hl=de, accessed 17.3.2013.

In the late 1830s, the effects of the so-called *Normzahl* (maximum limit) became apparent, that is, the restrictions imposed on Jewish families. According to accounts in the *Israelitische Annalen* of June 28 and July 1839, the Jewish community of Hohenems consisted mainly of merchants who conducted their business abroad and who considered Hohenems solely to be their place of residence. St.Gallen was the center of commerce where goods were purchased and sent to neighboring countries.¹⁹² A similar handling of his business affairs would be in line with information existing about Mayer Benjamin. That he was still active as merchant in 1847 can be gathered from a police record, which calls him “*Maier*,” a name no longer found in official documents since 1813, and describes him as a merchant. Since the remainder of the document is written in a hard to decipher handwriting, only fragments could be made out such as some connection to Middle Franconia, which belonged to the Kingdom of Bavaria.¹⁹³

The Revolutions of 1848 brought about changes all over Europe that clearly improved Jewish life in the monarchy as well. All Jewish taxes were abolished; people of Jewish faith were treated as equals of their Christian fellow citizens. The civil rights adopted by the Imperial Diet in Kremsier in February 1849 warranted their freedom of faith and unlimited practice of their religion. The Imposed March Constitution mentions the equality of the tribes within the monarchy; they were to have equal civil rights as well. Freedom of movement within the empire’s borders was guaranteed (even though admission of new members was up to the communities), public authorities and administrative bodies were opened, and acquisition of land was made possible for every citizen.¹⁹⁴ Although the *Silvesterpatent* of December 31, 1851 rescinded the constitution, the new rights for the Jews would remain effective for the time being.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben in Tirol und Vorarlberg* 2, 139.

¹⁹³ VLA, Kreisamt 1, box 276, Pol 6466.

¹⁹⁴ However, this was rescinded for Jews already on October 2, 1853. Cf. Tänzer, Hohenems, 242.

¹⁹⁵ Albrich, *Jüdisches Leben in Tirol und Vorarlberg* 2, 181-182.

The revolution brought about decisive changes. In 1849, a separate Jewish political community was established alongside the already existing Christian. It received a mayor and two assisting councilmen and was able to issue certificates of place of origin, administer marital consent, bridal couples were no longer required to pass the *Bnei Zion* exam, which for Catholics would be somewhat like proving their true faith based on the catechism.¹⁹⁶

In the course of these reforms, education, too, was revamped in Hohenems; in 1851, Hebrew and religious instruction were incorporated into the German school and new teachers were sought. The unmarried Eduard Porges was admitted as head teacher. Porges was born on May 14, 1819 in Prague, became an orphan when he was nine, but was able to attend the Prague *Realschule* and the technical university despite his poverty. After working as a clerk at the Vienna-Prague railway line, he obtained his Teacher Training Certificate for elementary- and middle schools and, following the recommendations of Robert Rosenthal of Vienna, was appointed principal in Hohenems. There he met Jeanette Burgauer, applied for marital consent at the community, and finally married on October 27, 1856. The pertaining records are in the Vorarlberg State Archives and not only demonstrate the Jewish community's autonomy through the signatures of Mayor Philipp Rosenthal and Councilmen Samuel Menz and Emanuel Brettauer in a letter to the k.k. district authority, but also attests to the "*good character*" of "*Mr. Eduard 'Elias' Porges of Prague employed as head teacher with a wage of 600 f Reich currency;*" the records also mention that his bride brings "*into the marriage a handsome dowry in cash alongside proper furnishing.*" Already in the first application, the death of Mayer Benjamin's wife Henriette is mentioned who had passed away in 1853. Eduard's and Jeanette's children, Elise¹⁹⁷ and Josef, were born in Hohenems. In 1857, head teacher Porges can be found alongside other personalities from the Jewish community as well as the Burgauer descendant Salomon Guggenheim, his wife's cousin,

¹⁹⁶ Tänzer, Hohenems, 241-242.

¹⁹⁷ Married Josef Schön and emigrated after 1870 to Rijeka/Fiume. Cf: JMH, Hohenems Genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1202&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

in the membership list of the association of the Vorarlberg State Museum.¹⁹⁸ In 1859, head teacher Porges handed in his resignation in order to move to Pécs, Hungary, to assume the post of principal at the model Israelite public middle school there although he did not know Hungarian at this point in time. Within few months, Porges picked up the new language and in 1863, established Hungarian as language of instruction in this predominantly German-speaking city. In 1875, following the abolishment of the Israelite school, he founded a commercial college. Three other children were born in Hungary: Max, Bela, and Henriette. His youngest child married Prof. Kondor who took over the school's management from Eduard Porges in 1895.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ JMH exhibition object, on loan from VLA.

¹⁹⁹ Tänzer, Hohenems, 525-532.

Löblicher Brasilien-Gemeinde-Vorstand!

[illegible]

1. Ist es laut S. B. des Gemeindegatsbes von 17. März
1849. nach Johanneb. allerw. auf seine Anstellung fest, zu
ständig, & ist auch diesem Gemeindegemeinamen städtischen
Magistrate der Stadt Prag beizugeben. In Aussicht
zu stellen.

2. Jfl. an 3^{ter} Spine Leant 22 Jaser all alpin gepflanzten Alten;
Sipke's Meffon gefallt hinter einer köblichen Gemeinde Vorstehung
genügend zu sein.

Indem der ergebene Befehl lautet, dass die hiesige Poststation, welche
es für den Landessigener Dienst in Aufstellung gebracht ist, bei:

Lebanon, N. H. September 18. 56.

Simon G. Pfeiffer, P. M.
Kirchliche Verwaltung.

[illegible]

Der Herrschaftler, ein seine herrliche Bräut sein von jedem Character so zu
Befehligen und ganz vornehmlich, und der Sie von jeder der Jugendzeit,
der der Bräut, der Herrschaft, und der Herrschaft in unendlichen Jahren
Befehl, bringt ihn seine herrliche Bräut und ein seine Herrschaft in diesem Leben
nach einer unendlichen Herrschaft mit ihm die Herrschaft, und die Herrschaft in der
Herrschaft wird, ein Herrschaft zu Herrschaft und Herrschaft zu Herrschaft.

Dem Lehrer Hr. von dem May'strath in Frey schloß, Oetzthal,
Ludwig M. in dem Gemeinderathe vom 17. März 1840 mit obig. Genehmigt
ist; Es findet die Anwesenheit der Besetzung gegen die ungenutzte Revue =
Genehmigung der Besetzung, welche angenommen und nicht in Frey schloß, in Frey schloß
Lr. in Frey schloß, Lr. in Frey schloß, Lr. in Frey schloß.

Don der Beschaffung der Specialbibliothek
Friedrichs am 15. September 1856

Philipp Rosenthal Bürgermeister

Samuel Menz

Gammie Power

Emanuel Br. Hansen

Guinevere

VLA, Dornbirn Regional Court, box 363, 773
Photo: Stefan Weis

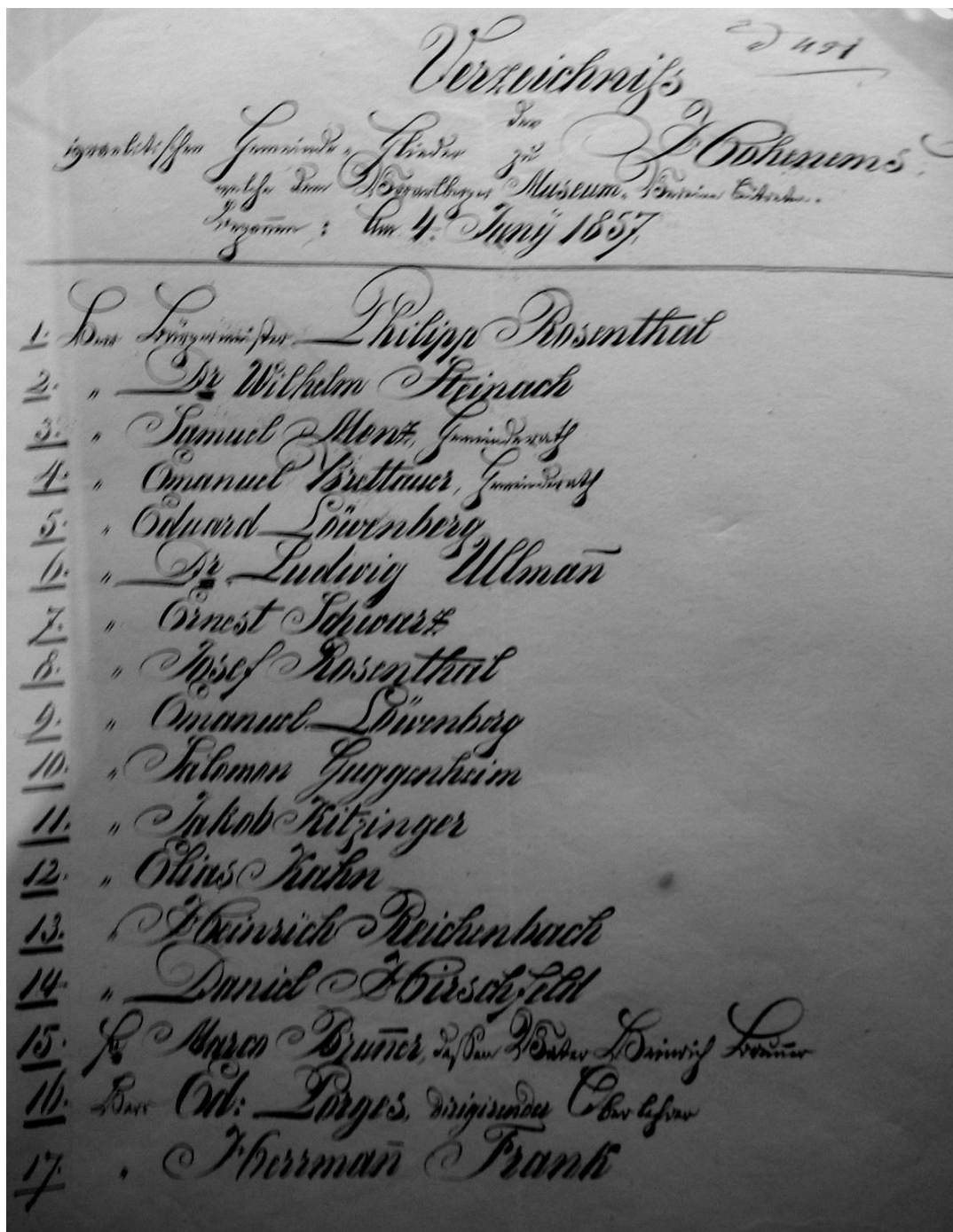


Fig. 24: Register of Hohenems Jews in the association of the Vorarlberger Landesmuseum 1857.

JMH exhibition object, on loan from VLA.

Photo: Stefan Weis

Another record includes Mayer Benjamin's daughter Zemirah. The latter marries Max Guggenheim on June 7, 1852 in Randegg, Gottmadingen in today's Baden Württemberg and applies for release from the Hohenems community in October 1852.²⁰⁰ Her first child, Betti, is already born in St.Gallen; she is followed by daughter Emma and son Sohn Paul.²⁰¹

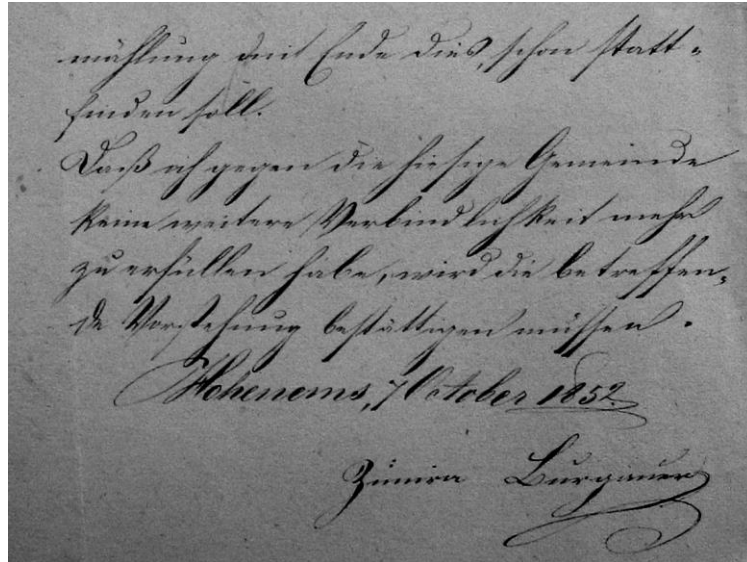


Fig. 25: Excerpt from Zemirah Burgauer's application for release from the Hohenems community due to her marriage to Max Guggenheim, October 7, 1852.

VLA, Feldkirch District Commission, box 42, Pub 6730.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

²⁰⁰ VLA, Feldkirch District Commission Feldkirch, box 42, Pub 6730.

²⁰¹ Betti was born in St. Gallen and married the banker and man of private means Josef Löwenberg of Hohenems. Following a stillbirth in 1881, she gave birth to the children Emanuel Erwin (died after forced relocation and deportation in 1941) and Klara (converted, died in Vienna in 1941) in Hohenems. Emma married Rafael Wyler of Endingen; they had two children, Wilhelm Eugen (married Elise Heilbronn, two children) and Otto (married Anna Elisabeth Jäger of Aarau/Aargau, four children), both of whom were born in Mumpf/Aargau. Paul married Clara Homburger; they had a daughter, Alice (married to Bernhard Laente-Shaan since 1941). Cf: JMH, Hohenems Genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0337&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0496&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0849&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0835&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0855&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I10507&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I10508&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I10509&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I12090&tree=Hohenems>, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I12092&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.5.2013.

In 1855, Berthold (Benedikt) Burgauer, Mayer Benjamin's second eldest son, appears for the first time. While application and reply are no longer extant, the district authority's finding aid shows an application for passport issuance. Hence, it can be presumed that

Bürger Moritz alias Schröder v. Burgau Stadt. griechisch.	12. 2144. 2719. 2883. 3129. 3240. 3312/3. 3402.	III.
Burgauer Adolf v. Burgau - R. Kauf. -	272674.	"
" Berthold v. Burgau - R. Kauf. -	275686 (2724)	"
Börscher Josef v. Burgau. Rath v. Burgau v. Burgau.	272698. 2840.	III.

Fig. 26: Register of application resp. issuance of a passport for Adolf and Berthold Burgauer.

VLA, Repertorium Kreisamt 1, 1856.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

Berthold had been active as merchant outside the monarchy's borders already then. For the following year, next to Berthold's application, there is also one by his brother Adolf as well as a passport application by the latter of 1857.²⁰²

While his sons aged 27 and 19 followed in their father's footsteps, according to a letter of the Feldkirch k.k. district court of May 26, 1857, the latter is still active as merchant at 76 years of age.²⁰³ In 1858, there is another passport notice for Adolf,²⁰⁴ in 1859,

Burgauer	im R. Kauf.	2152. 3215	444
Burgauer	mit Caroline	3280.	(Eg)
in (Rath)	Burgau v. R.		

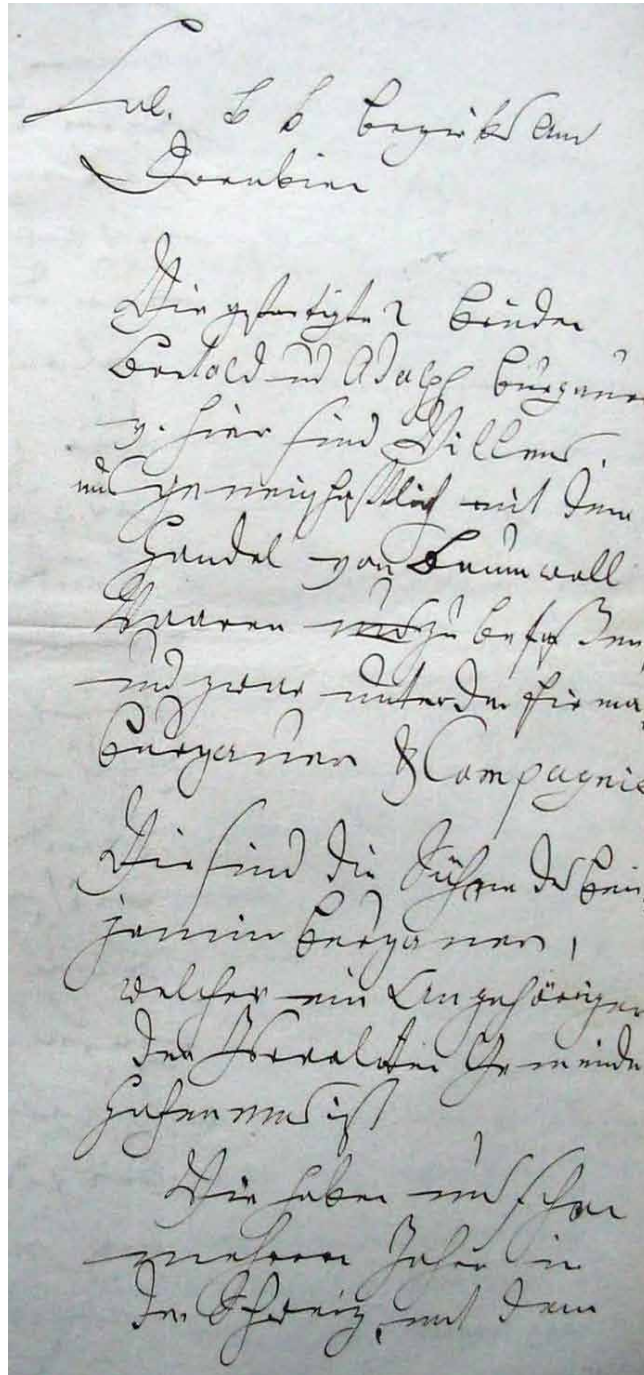
Fig. 27: Note on Berthold's marriage to Caroline Schwarz.

VLA, Repertorium Bezirksamt Dornbirn, 1859.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

²⁰² VLA, Landgericht Dornbirn, box 369, 2174/471.

²⁰⁴ VLA, Repertorium Kreisamt 1, 1858.

In 1860, the brothers Berthold and Adolf are again registered with a passport application;²⁰⁶ on November 12 of that year, a list of the Hohenems Jewish Community shows three sons of Mayer Benjamin Burgauer abroad: Benedikt/Leonhard, registered as married, in St.Gallen, the equally married Benjamin as well as the single Leopold with unknown whereabouts.²⁰⁷ In 1861, “*the Burgauer brothers Bertold and Adolf in Ems*” emerge with a “*store of cotton goods.*”²⁰⁸ As can be learned from a record of several pages of submissions by Berthold and Adolf and from letters of the Jewish Community signed by the mayor and the



²⁰⁵ VLA, Repertorium Bezirksamt Dornbirn, 1859.

²⁰⁶ VLA, Repertorium Kreisamt 1, 1860.

²⁰⁷ VLA, Verfachbuch Dornbirn, 1863/10341.

²⁰⁸ VLA, Repertorium Bezirksamt Dornbirn, 1860.

councilmen, this store of cotton goods became no later than 1861 the Burgauer & Co. company. To introduce themselves, both sons refer to their father Benjamin who seems to have had a certain reknown at the Dornbirn authorities. From the record also emerges that they had already been working in this profession for several years in Switzerland and now wished to open a business in Hohenems.²⁰⁹

Mayer Benjamin Burgauer died on September 7, 1862 aged 80. Already on April 11, 1860 and on December 18, 1861, he had drafted his will; on October 26, 1862, his bequest was inventoried and estate proceedings took place in January of the following year. These proceedings are extant and provide considerable insight into the life of Mayer Benjamin Burgauer.

*“Extract from the Wertbuch
No. 376/202 D .862*

Bequest transfer deed

KK-district authority, Dornbirn court. Estate of Benjamin Mayer Burgauer, deceased September 7, 1862, as set down on April 11, 1860 and December 18, 1861 and consisting of the inventory according to the Israelite Community Hohenems as listed on October 26, 1862.

November 1, 1862 No. 6294/202 D:

I Assets.

A Real estate:

- 1. Residential building no. 70 including land and adjacent small garden toward the Emsbach property no.3577 and 3543, appraised 1800 f Austrian currency*
- 2. One men's = and one women's prayer chair H 38 in the Ems synagogue, 60 f*
- 3. Land at the green place property 2186 ea= 3 quarter land according to purchase of November 26, 1841 Folio 722 25f*
- 4. A field and Felach in Ems property no. 1723 ea= 9/6th part of a plot according to purchase of April 3, 1845 Folio 3358 50f*
- 5. A cattle field ... 5 quarter plot property no. 613, according to purchase of November 24, 1843 Folio 2301 70f*
- 6. Six sixth community part on the Wasen²¹⁰ property N 2310 according to purchase November 1, 1851 Folio 554 50f*
- 7. One field in Gstalden property no. 1065 according to purchase November 1, 1851 60f*

²⁰⁹ VLA, Dornbirn Regional Court, box 389, 2716/377.

²¹⁰ Cadastral district designation to the west of today's Hohenems railway station.

8. A community field ea= 4 ½ quarter land, property no. 2531, (on Steinerne Saul.)

On Landstrasse according to purchase of November 1, notarized (verfacht) November 8, 1851 Folio 551 87f 50a

and

9. Two fields on Farchgasse (Unterklien)²¹¹ ea= 6 quarter land. property no. 3503 according to auction minutes of December 13, 1851, and execution statement of April 1, 1852 C No 728 150f

according to today's minutes Z. 376/202 D Z 862 the will of December 18, 1861 has been recognized as legally vali. The heirs are his two sons:

1. Benedikt Berchtold Burgauer, merchant in Hohenems.

2. Adolf Burgauer of Hohenems, traveling salesman as universal heirs. They must pay a legacy of 437 f 50 α ... Öst. W. in paper to daughter Zemira Burgauer, ... Max Guggenheim at Randegg in Baden; to the sons Benjamin and Leopold Burgauer in America an amount of 1759 f ... in equal parts within a year from the day of death in local currency.

...

Kk District Authority Dornbirn, January 26, 1863²¹²

²¹¹ Hamlet in direction of Dornbirn to the right of today's Bundesstraße.

²¹² VLA, Vfb Db 1863/10341.



Fig. 30: The Burgauer house respectively Jewish almshouse in Hohenems.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

Thus, Benedikt Berthold and Adolf were appointed principal heirs. By then, the two other sons, who are not traceable in the archives, were already in the United States; there is no recorded notice of departure. These two, and to a lesser degree daughter Zemira, inherit a sum of money. Daughter Jeanette in Pécs is the only living child who does not receive anything. Also included in the will is the synagogue chair, which was situated in a not particularly prominent part of the prayer house. From a different document, we learn how Mayer Benjamin came by this chair.

A transcript of the inventory provides a broader insight into the precise holdings of the Burgauer estate, such as when and how Mayer Burgauer acquired his property:

“Executed in house no. 70 on Israeliten-Gasse in Hohenems, on 26. X. 1862.

By Mayor Samuel Menz

Councilman Emanuel Brettauer

By order of the kk District Office Dornbirn of 23rd ... This could not be written earlier due to absence of the heirs. The following was recorded in the presence of the two universal heirs, Berthold and Adolf Burgauer regarding the estate:

Inventory

A. Assets

1. Residential house no. 70 including land and the adjacent small garden toward the Emsbach. According to No & No Part of his parents' estate and part of Benjamin Löwengart Fl 1800
 2. One men's and one women's seat no. 36 in the synagogue originally from Jos. Löwenberg according to a purchase of Dec. 8, 1817 60
 3. Land at the green place property no. 2186 3m quarter land 1860
 4. One field in Erlach property no. 1723 community part according to a purchase of April 3, 1845. Verf. fol 3358 50
 5. One cattle field ... No... according to purchase of November 24, 1843. Verf. fol 2311 70
 6. Community part property no. 310 according to a purchase of May 1. Verf. fol. 35., originally from Amros Rudisser & estate for Maria Fussenegger 50
 7. One field in Ostalden property no.. 1069, from the same acc. to purchase of November 1, 1851. Verf.fol. 551 60
 8. One communal field I 4 ½ quarter land property no. 2531 on Steinerne Säul, on Landstrasse according to purchase of Nov.1, 1851 Nov.8, 1851 fol 551 87,50
 9. Two fields on Furchgass (Unterklien) acc. to 8 quarter land property no. 3503 according to auction minutes of Dec.13, 1851. Verf. execution statement of April 1, 1852 I N. 728 150
 10. One debt claim against Elisabeth Amman Salzreuter acc. to loan note of Feb. 6, 1837 May 7, 1844 Verf. fol. 2710 in ... incl. last interest 67,37 ½
-
- 2419,87 ½²¹³

Similarly to item no. 10, the following items, 11 to 34, list debtors from Hohenems, Au, Dornbirn, Unterrhein, St. Carlo, Schwefel, Lustenau, Weiler, Bayern, Steinach, and Salzereute with total liabilities of 3510.76 fl, six times the annual salary of teacher Eduard Elias Porges. Item 35 refers to a cash money amount of 108.70 fl, items 36 to 53 indicate various objects such as sterling cutlery, tableware, and furniture, items 55 to 62, various textiles for daily use, items 63 to 65 fuel, foods, and one suitcase. A total of 6377.98 fl in assets was inventoried.

By contrast, liabilities amounted to 500.50 fl:

²¹³ Transcript, JMH archive.

„1.	To Mr. Jul. Guggenheim for an advance on October 26, 1856 toward the dowry of daughter Jeanette Burgauermarried Porges of Fl 500 K.M. in silver money ..., interest-free od.O.W.	437.5
2.	To Dr. Wilhelm Steinach medical bill	12.5
3.	To Pharmacist Wilh Huber (medicine)	6.68
4.	To the local Israel. burial society	3.67
5.	Illness and household expenses	40.14“ ²¹⁴

Thus, the bequest amounted to 5877.48 fl, a majority of which consisted of real estate. Despite the difficulties for Jews to acquire property, items three to nine feature considerable property throughout Hohenems, which had been acquired at a time when it was almost impossible for Jews to acquire real estate. The residence itself was estimated at 1800 fl. Just eight years later, the house was sold to the Jewish Community, which used it as its almshouse funded by foundations; it was purchased for 2500 fl.²¹⁵ Items 10 to 34 offer a list of Burgauer’s individual debtors.

After only three Burgauer generations (Judith, Benjamin, Mayer Benjamin), the Hohenems chapter would draw to a close; Berthold und Adolf, the two sons who had remained in Europe, set their sights across the Rhine. Yet, prior to their final emigration, still in the old homeland, they tried to implement plans for the future. In December 1863, “*Burgauer et Comp.*“ wrote: “*Commandable k.k. District Office! Burgauer et Comp. wishes to establish a mechanical weaving and embroidery mill at Hohenems*”²¹⁶ Berthold and Adolph wanted to move from trade in textiles to manufacturing. As seed money, they intended to use the newly inherited money and real estate. Already in 1815, four Jews were registered in Hohenems as manufacturers of cotton, among them Ephraim Ullmann; three years later, ten textile companies were registered. In 1820, Isak Löwengard built a spinning mill in the Schwefel district;²¹⁷ in 1841, the Rosenthal Brothers acquire the building and turn it into a printing and dyeing factory, in 1856, they

²¹⁴ Transcript, JMH archive.

²¹⁵ Tänzer, Hohenems, 388.

²¹⁶ VLA, Dornbirn Regional Court, box 396, 492.

²¹⁷ Lothar Rothschild, *Geschichte der Juden in Hohenems*, in: Hugo Gold, *Geschichte der Juden in Österreich. Ein Gedenkbuch*, Tel-Aviv 1971, 27-32, here 32.

build a weaving mill next to the sawmill. Industrialization, which was already well advanced in nearby St.Gallen, had now reached Vorarlberg and, thus, Jewish Hohenems as well.²¹⁸ While textile manufacturing would be the future for Burgauer and Co., Hohenems would not.

²¹⁸ Gerhard Wanner, *Vorarlbergs Industriegeschichte*, Dornbirn 1990, 46-47.

4 EMIGRATION TO ST. GALLEN

4.1 The political and economic situation in St. Gallen

First testimonies of Jewish life in today's Switzerland can be found for Basel already in the early 13th century, other large cities follow. Even for St. Gallen, initial evidence exists already from before 1270. However, the plague epidemics of the mid-14th century served as pretext for the expulsion of its Jewish inhabitants. Resettlement around 1380 was followed by the Jews' transition from a rural to an urban environment at the turn of the 16th to the 17th century. This was frequently accompanied by an abandonment of the moneylending business and a turn to trade in goods and agricultural products such as the horse- and cattle trade. Regarding St. Gallen, this change meant, for instance, that while Jewish families resided in Rheineck, as of 1619, they were permitted to enter St. Gallen only with official escort. In 1632/34, the Rheineck settlement was dissolved as well. It seems that in the 18th century, this restrictive keeping-at-bay policy was relaxed; after all, there are records of a considerable number of lawsuits between St. Gallen merchants and Hohenems Jews who were active in the textile trade und sold goods from the Swiss market to the Upper Italian and German area.²¹⁹

In 1798, Switzerland was reorganized; the lordships facing Vorarlberg such as, for instance, Werdenberg, Gams, Saxs, the Rheintal prefecture, both Appenzells, or the Princely Abbey of Saint Gall became the Cantons of Säntis and Linth, which existed for five years. The law pertaining to foreigners of the Helvetic Republic of October 29, 1798 also granted Jews complete freedom of trade as well as freedom of settlement (albeit subject to strict conditions); only police supervision of the border trade was possible. However, this was not enough for the authorities. In 1799, peddling was limited to Helvetic citizens and residents and was completely prohibited in 1800. For the Jews active in Switzerland, this turned out to be a severe blow since most of them were in the group of itinerant small traders and peddlers.²²⁰ Nevertheless, official statistics of 1802 show a considerable number of Hohenems Jews with activities in Switzerland, for

²¹⁹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 23.

²²⁰ Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen bis zum Jahre 1918* (141 Naujahrsblatt 2001, published by the Historischer Verein des Kantons St. Gallen), St. Gallen 2001, 46.

instance, Joseph Levi (Hirschfeld), Emanuel and Mathias Levi (Frey), Moises Levi (Löwengard), Urban Veit Levi (Rosenthal), Markus Israel Wolf (Erlach, Salomon Lämle (Biederman), and several others.²²¹ In 1803, the Canton of St. Gallen was founded. Besides comprising differing legal systems, it also included geographically, economically, and denominationally diverging areas—a heavily Catholic country with a Reformed city.²²² For the Jewish merchants who for the greater part originated from Hohenems, as the already mentioned list of 1817 demonstrates, this meant they were able to focus solely on a single authority. On January 10, 1817, the latter issued a decree that prohibited hereby affected Jews to engage in any trade in the canton as long as they had failed to completely indemnify members of the canton for their loss of earnings. The remaining Jews were allowed to conduct business provided they had a patent, which was limited to three months and subject to conditions. The vehement objections of the Hohenems Jews brought about the revision of this decree: purchasers of goods were exempted from this patent.²²³

In the first half of the 19th century, the Hohenems Jews strove to obtain a residence permit, in vain, at first. The legal situation was more advantageous for Jews with French citizenship; they were temporarily able to obtain permanent residency in 1813, which, however, was rescinded in 1816.²²⁴ Since 1820, twelve cantons had been in negotiation with France on a French-Swiss settlement treaty. While the Swiss side tried to limit this right to Christians, France rejected this proposition by pointing out that this would constitute a discrimination of French citizens of Jewish faith. In 1827, the settlement treaty was signed: France had been unable to prevail in its efforts on behalf of its Jewish fellow citizens and had agreed that it would apply solely to Christians. However, this agreement had no impact on St. Gallen; after all, this canton refused to join this treaty as it was worried about a wave of immigration, sectarian intermingling, and economic competition.²²⁵

²²¹ Tänzer, Hohenems, 429-432.

²²² Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 25.

²²³ Burmeister, Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen, 47.

²²⁴ Burmeister, Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen, 48.

²²⁵ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 30.

Wir Landammann und Kleiner Rath des Kantons St. Gallen.

Auf eingelagte Vorstellungen gegen unsern unterm 10. Januar 1817 erlassenen, den Aufenthalt und Verkehr der Juden in diesem Kanton betreffenden Beschluß, und nach reiflicher Erörterung der über denselben gesammelten Erfahrungen;

Zur Handhabung der nöthigen Polizei-Aufsicht und zur Regulierung der gesetzlich bestehenden Steuerpflicht der Gewerbetreibenden;

In Abänderung des besagten Beschlusses,

Beschließen und verordnen hiemit was folgt:

1. Jeder, der jüdischen Nation Angehörige, welcher einen zeitlichen Aufenthalt im Kanton St. Gallen zu erhalten sucht, hat sich um die dahierige Bewilligung an unsere Polizei-Commission zu wenden.
2. Um diese zu erhalten, muß der Bewerber
 - a) von seiner rechtmäßigen Obrigkeit ein genügendes Zeugniß seines guten Rufes (Eumundes) beibringen, und
 - b) über seine Geschäfte und Verkehr sich hinlänglich ausweisen.
3. Diejenigen jüdischen Handelsteile, deren Geschäfte-Verkehr in diesem Kanton ausschließlich auf Einkauf beschränkt ist, haben sich bei unserer Commission mit einer Aufenthalts-Karte zu versehen, welche den Träger genau bezeichnet und die Dauer ihrer Kraft bescheinigt.
4. Anderen Juden, die sich nebenbei mit Tauschhandel oder Verkauf von Waaren abgeben, wird der Aufenthalt und Verkehr nur in Kraft eines eigenen Gewerbs-Patents gestattet.
5. Demjenigen, der als Gast oder Morbit hiesige Kantonsangehörige in und Verleß gebracht hat, soll weder eine Aufenthalts-Karte noch ein ausgehelt werden, so lange derselbe nicht bewiesen, diese unsere Anordnungen um ständige Anwesenheit gänzlich beabsichtigt oder vergnüglich zufrieden gestellt zu haben.
6. Das Patent, welches den Namen des Trägers, dessen Geschäfte und die Dauer des Aufenthalts im Kanton genau anzeigen soll, ist, so wie die Aufenthalts-Karte, nur in der Hand der darin benannten Person gültig; und keines von beiden soll für eine längere Dauer als für drei Monate ausgehelt werden.
7. Der Inhaber einer Aufenthalts-Karte hat dieselbe bei der hiesigen Polizei-Behörde seines jetzigen Aufenthaltsorts vorzuweisen, und die Befolgung dieser Vorschrift sich darauf bescheinigen zu lassen. Das Patent aber ist bei der besagten Orts-Bebehörde bis zur Abreise gegen einen Schein zu hinterlegen; und dieselbe hat bei der Herausgabe ihr Visum mit Bescheinigung des Datums beizufügen.
8. Für eine auf 3 Monat gestellte Aufenthalts-Bewilligung ist eine Taxe von 4 Franken, und für ein auf gleiche Zeit lautendes Patent, nach Maßgabe des Verkehrs, eine Gewerbs-Steuer von 8 bis 40 Franken in die Staats-Kassa zu entrichten. Der Ortsbehörde aber gebührt wegen zu erheblichem Visum von dem ein und andern für die ganze obige Dauer 1 Franken.
9. Wer obbesagte Visa nachzusuchen unterläßt, verfällt das erste Mal in 20 Franken Geldstrafe; und im Wiederholungs-Falle wird er, nebst obiger Strafe, der Aufenthalts-Bewilligung und des Patents verlustig.
10. Derjenige Jude, der ohne eine von unserer Polizei-Commission erhaltene Aufenthalts-Karte, oder ohne ein Gewerbs-Patent, auf irgend einem Handel oder Gewerbe betreten wird, ist sogleich anzuhalten, und nach Maßgabe der Umstände oder des Werths des getroffenen Handels in eine Geldstrafe von 20 bis 300 Franken zu verurtheilen; und wenn im Abgang der Baarschaft, für den Betrag dieser Buße, nicht annehmbare Caution oder Hinterlage statt hat, so sind andere polizeiliche Strafen dafür zu dictiren. Hatte sich ein, der im Art. 5 Bezeichneten, der die hiesigen Einwohner geschädigt hat, eine solche Uebertretung zu Schulden kommen lassen, so soll die erkannte Strafe durch Begewehrung über die Brünze, mittelst polizeilichen Schubes, verschärft werden.

11. Wer, vermöge erhaltener Bewilligung, nur zum Einkauf berechtigt ist, sich überdies mit andern Handels-Verkehr in Waaren abzugeben untersteht, unterliegt der im vorstehenden Artikel bestimmten Befragung, und verliert nebenbei die erhaltene Bewilligung.

12. Eben so wird jeder, der geschlossenes Ent, das ihm aus der Natur der unterlassenen Umstände, oder wie immer, als solches kennbar oder verdächtig war, auf irgend eine Weise an sich bringt, nachdem er der gesetzlichen Strafe unterworfen worden, der Aufenthalts-Bewilligung und des Patents für eine bestimmte längere Zeit oder für immer verlustig.

13. Der Ausmaß aller solcher Strafen ist diejenige polizeiliche Vorschrift zu beobachten, welche im 42ten Artikel des rechtlichen Verfahrens über Vergehen angezeigt ist.

14. Ohne besondere Bewilligung der Orts-Polizei-Bebehörde, bleibt den Juden verboten, Waagzins oder Zimmer zu Waaren-Lagern zu mieten, oder in Belohnungshäusern zu herbergen. Sie sind ohne diese, lediglich an die Tavernen-Bierhäuser gebunden, den Strafe von 32 Franken.

15. In Hinsicht des Zeitabens der Juden an Tagemärkten, bleibt es bei der im Beschlusse vom 26. Februar 1806 ausgebrachten Verordnung; daß nur solchen das Zeithaben gestattet werden soll, welche, wenn sie nicht mit vorbesagtem Patente versehen sind, sich mit einer besondern Regierungsbewilligung hierüber ausweisen können. Alle andere sind sogleich, wie die Unbefugten, von dem Markteort hinweg und zurückzuweisen.

16. Es liegt in der Pflicht der sämtlichen Lokalen-Beörden, sich zu überzeugen, daß die bei ihnen anstehenden jüdischen Handelsteile den Vorschriften des gegenwärtigen Beschlusses Genüge geleistet haben, ansonsten sie selbst, so wie auch jeder andere Bürger und Einwohner hiesigen Kantons, welcher dieser Verordnung gegenüber einem Juden Aufenthalt geben würde, unanständig als Unterthänigkeitsgeher nach Art. 160 des korrekzionellen Straf-Gesetzes bestraft werden sollen.

17. Den sämtlichen Polizei-Beurathen und Angestellten wird zur besondern Pflicht gemacht, über die genaue Handhabung dieser Verordnung zu wachen; wobei dieselben überhaupt erinnert werden, auf herumziehende, fremde Juden strenge Obacht zu geben, und selbe sogleich über die Brünze zu verweisen.

Gegenwärtiger Beschluß soll gedruckt, öffentlich bekannt gemacht und angeschlagen werden.

St. Gallen, den 15. May 1818.

Der Landammann
Müller Friedberg.

Im Namen des Kleinen Raths,
der erste Staats-Schreiber
Solliker.

Fig. 32: 1818 announcement of the Small Council of the Canton of St. Gallen to the "Jewish nation" regarding the necessity to obtain a patent for trade and residence.
Jewish Museum Hohenems, photo: Stefan Weis.

In the wake of the French Revolution of 1830, a renewal, albeit a slow one, in St. Gallen politics occurred as well. In 1831, the canton's constitution was revised, which brought about a liberal economic framework, new election rules, and generally more liberties for its citizens such as press freedom, yet, without enshrining freedom of religion. Anyone wishing to become a St. Gallen citizen had to be not only Christian, but Protestant, while the surrounding region was clearly Catholic. Still, Jewish Emancipation increasingly gathered more adherents in the 1830s.²²⁶

Independently of the question regarding the status of Austrian Jews, conflicts emerged around the "native Jews," for instance, the Lengnau Jews from the Canton of Aargau. As inhabitants of Lengnau or Endingen, they were de jure citizens of the community and would have, thus, met the requirements for canton citizenship as well. However, in 1809, the Aargau administration placed them under direct protection of the canton government, effectively as Protected Jews. Other cantons, including St. Gallen, were guided by this legislation. In 1832, the St. Gallen municipal assembly granted the Lengnau Jew Benjamin Guggenheim—son of Brendel Babette Burgauer—the right of residence for himself and his family over a period of two years, but the Small Council intervened. Only in 1839, Guggenheim moved into a room at the "*Zur Sympathie*" Inn. Its owner, Johannes Hausknecht, stated that until then, Guggenheim had only rented a storage depot from him, but now lived as a monthly paying guest for room and board and that his family would also follow—"*but always remaining just a guest at the inn.*" His second and third child was born in St. Gallen; however, between 1843 and 1845 he relocated to Hohenems.²²⁷

During this period commercial law was tightened: Jewish merchants were permitted only at public fairs, trade patents were not renewed, sales of goods in inns was possible solely on the base of exceptional regulations. Once again, great opposition against these measures arose in Hohenems since at that time, twenty-six Hohenems Jews were active in St. Gallen.²²⁸ A petition of Jewish and Christian traders as well as domestic political

²²⁶ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 32-33.

²²⁷ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 34.

²²⁸ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 48.

differences between the Small and the Great Council brought about a more pragmatic policy. As a result, seven Jewish families obtained permission to reside in the city, however, all of them from German communities.²²⁹

1848 brought new laws for St. Gallen, too. The canton's constitution now granted "*every Swiss belonging to one of the Christian denominations the right to settle.*" Jews remained excluded.²³⁰ Only with the federal decision of September 24, 1856 "*the Swiss Israelites [were] granted like other Swiss citizens the right to unrestricted purchase and sale [...] as well as to exercise their political rights in their home resp. settlement cantons.*" In May 1859, the United States ambassador to Switzerland, Theodor S. Fay, presented a "*position paper regarding the admission of North American Israelites for settlement in Switzerland*" and outlined the positions of the individual cantons to produce arguments for his demand for equality. While the federal government was favorable toward his request, it was unable to put pressure on the individual cantons.²³¹ "*To the Great Council of the Canton of St. Gallen*" a "*petition from the Israelites residing in the Canton of St. Gallen*" was sent on June 4, 1860 "*with the request to be granted the right of settlement.*"²³² There it says:

*"What grieves us, greatly grieves us, is the sense that due to existing laws, we cannot be retained like other foreigners despite our endeavor to keep any justified complaint far from us and despite the great sympathy we were able to garner from among the population. We are not permitted to acquire real estate in the canton with our own money like other foreigners; the municipalities are not permitted to grant us settlement like other foreigners. Everywhere, we have to be treated as exceptions as if we were not human beings like the others."*²³³

This petition was signed by twenty-six individuals, ten of them from Hohenems, but also by Italians, Germans, and Americans; it can be assumed that some of them originated from Vorarlberg. Among the petitioners—many of them would constitute the first

²²⁹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 34-35.

²³⁰ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 48.

²³¹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 36-37.

²³² w/o.a., Position paper of the mission of the United States of North America, addressed to the Swiss Federal Council regarding admission of North American Israelites for settlement in Switzerland, St. Gallen 1860, 50.

²³³ Annex to: w/o.a., Position paper of the mission of the United States, 50-51.

residents of the Jewish community of St. Gallen²³⁴—was also Berthold Burgauer as well as his cousins Benjamin and Samuel Guggenheim.

4.2 Settlement in St. Gallen

The first Burgauer evidence found in St. Gallen is from 1817; municipal council minutes from 1839 mention the petition of Hohenems Jews regarding tax reductions:

“Marcus Bernheimer, Benjamin Guggenheim, Benjamin Burgauer ask for a reduction in taxes.

Decision: No reduction for the first two, by contrast the latter, the 3rd, reset from f.15 back to f.8.”²³⁵

On June 19, 1845, Benjamin Burgauer once again requests to be completely exempted from taxes since he is already of advanced age and no longer conducts business all that frequently. In 1851 and 1852, already his sons Adolf and Berthold are found in registers of individuals present in St. Gallen.²³⁶ In November 1859, Berthold marries Karoline Schwarz, probably still in Hohenems; on March 15, 1860, the municipal council deals with his request for tax reduction since he had made use of the concession granted to him in July 1859 only in mid-November *“by marrying and moving to a private apartment only then.”²³⁷* The minutes of this same session also include the following announcement:

“Mister Adolf Burgauer of Hohenems, merchant, single, requests the permit to reside in a private home and maintain storage depots there. The petitioner has lived here since his youth, he completed his apprenticeship at the trade company Kuhn & Co where he is still employed as a clerk; the former also attests him the best conduct.

In view of these favorable features and since the petitioner is known to be of the best repute also otherwise, it is decided: unanimous consent.”²³⁸

²³⁴ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 48.

²³⁵ A. Schmid, *Notizen zur Geschichte der Familie Burgauer in St. Gallen* (Manuskript im Stadtarchiv Vadana St. Gallen), St. Gallen 1951.

²³⁶ Schreiber, *Hirschfeld*, 367.

²³⁷ Schmid, *Notizen*.

²³⁸ Schmid, *Notizen*.

Thus, in the eyes of the St. Gallen municipal council, Adolf is considered to be a person who grew up in St. Gallen. The fact that he, too—independently of his 1863 application for the establishment of a factory in Hohenems—considers St. Gallen the center of his life can be gathered from the municipal council minutes of December 20, 1860, in which the Burgauer & Co company is first mentioned:

“Mister Berthold Burgauer of Hohenems announces with his petition of the 5th of this month that he—until now authorized representative of the company Kuhn & Cie—has founded as a result of that company’s²³⁹ cessation, of which has been taken cognizance from attached circular, a business under Firma Burgauer & Cie together with his brother Adolph Burgauer.”²⁴⁰

The company’s seed capital amounted to 1,200 franks,^{241,242} which presumably were put out by Adolph Burgauer.²⁴³ The excerpt from the so-called *Ragionenbuch*, that is, the annual trade register, shows as commercial purpose of the company operated by the brothers the “*purchase of raw goods and agency for foreign manufacture*” for the years 1861-1865.²⁴⁴ In 1861, an application follows to be permitted to open a textile trading house in St. Gallen.²⁴⁵

In the meantime, change had occurred on the political stage. In 1861, Philipp Baruch Ruf of Endingen became the first Jew to be awarded a settlement permit by the city of St. Gallen. In September 1862, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* wrote that a considerable number of Jews were living in St. Gallen who so far had not been able to constitute themselves as a community. Some of these Jews directly benefitted from the ruling of March 28, 1863 on commerce, temporary residence, and settlement of the

²³⁹ In 1860, the commission business “*Hartwig Curjel*” and “*Kuhn & Comp.*” merged into the “*Curjel, Kuhn & Comp*” company, which specialized in trade with linen goods. In: Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 242.

²⁴⁰ Schmid, Notizen.

²⁴¹ Paul Stein, *Die Industrie des Kantons St. Gallen*, in: w/o.a., *Chronik des Kantons St. Gallen*, Zurich 1945, 353.

²⁴² In comparison: in 1861, a weaver earned on average 8.50 franks weekly, one kilo bread costed 5 rappen, one liter red wine half a frank. Cf. Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960 Burgauer & Co AG, St. Gallen 1960, 2.

²⁴³ Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 6.

²⁴⁴ Schmid, Notizen.

²⁴⁵ JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0311&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 27.5.2013.

Israelites issued by the Great Council.²⁴⁶ The ruling, also called cantonal emancipation law, became effective as of May 22, 1863. As a result, the City of St. Gallen issued settlement permits for twenty-seven applicants in June of that year, among others, to Adolph, right of settlement number 7982, and Berthold and his wife Carolina, right of settlement number 7983.²⁴⁷ At the time of issuance of the right of settlement, Adolf's assets amounted to 12,000 franks, Berthold's to 20,000 franks. Thus, the two Burgauers were probably below or close to the lower threshold of assets that allowed for a *"middle-class existence."*²⁴⁸

By 1864, almost all Jewish merchants who had been active in St. Gallen in previous years had obtained the right of settlement; to nine of these families, children had been born in St. Gallen already prior to issuance,²⁴⁹ including Berthold's first children Bernhard (also called Leonhard, *1860) and Henriette (*1862).

Already in 1863, the twenty-two Israelites settled in St. Gallen founded the Jewish Community; its goal was to establish a burial site as well as a synagogue and a school for religious instruction. Rising acceptance in Switzerland coupled with an increasingly liberal legislation in Austria, left its mark on the old homeland of so many new St. Gallen residents, and brought about a marked decrease in the number of inhabitants. While in 1850, 458 persons were still living in the Jewish community of Hohenems, by 1867, they numbered only 271. In 1880, this number dropped to 163, in 1890 to 118, in 1910 to 66 individuals.²⁵⁰

In the meantime, radical change occurred at Burgauer & Co. As of 1866, the company was expanded: Max Guggenheim of Randegg, the Burgauers' brother-in-law, joined the company. On April 30, 1867, the commercial register notes that Berthold Burgauer had left the business. The next change in personnel came about on July 1, 1874: "Mister Max Guggenheim resignes also as partner of above company; the business with its assets and

²⁴⁶ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 49.

²⁴⁷ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 370.

²⁴⁸ The lower asset threshold for a middle-class existence in Zurich around 1870 is estimated at 20,000 franks. More than half of Jews admitted until 1864 exceeded this limit. Cf. Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 244-45.

²⁴⁹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 42

²⁵⁰ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 50.

liabilities is taken over solely by Mister Adolf Burgauer and will be perpetuated by him under said company.”²⁵¹

There were changes in the private area as well. On May 15, 1865, Adolf married Rosalie David of Speyer;²⁵² for the sake of clearer distinction, the Swiss records now list the last name for Adolf as Burgauer-David and for Berthold as Burgauer-Schwarz. Their places of residence changed as well. The *“address book of the City and of the Canton of St. Gallen”* of 1861 indicates as place of residence for Berthold the *“Alte Bank 276”* (today Speisergasse 43), for Adolf the *“Blaues Haus 454”* (eventually, the Leo bookstore). The principal office was *“Am Bohl 149,”* today’s Theaterplatz; the company’s purpose was indicated as *“trade in St. Gallen goods and agency for English and Saxon companies.”*

For the year 1875, the headquarters of *“Burgauer & Cie. (owner: Adolf Burgauer), manufacture of embroidered curtains and linen wholesale”* is proudly indicated as *“zur Burgau”* on St. Leonhardstraße 38 (subsequently the site of the main post office) where Adolf also resided. Berthold appears as exporter *“of St. Gallen and Appenzell linen,”* residing in the house *“Zum Schaf”* on Speisergasse 19 (now demolished).²⁵³ The first goal was thus achieved; however, equality with their Christian fellow-citizens would be possible only through admission to the *Ortsbürgergemeinde* (municipal citizenship).

Though legally still Hohenems citizens, St. Gallen became evermore their center of life. Adolf’s family, Burgauer-David, grew fast: in 1866 Moritz (also called Morris) was born, 1867 Theodor, 1868 Henriette, 1869 Franziska, 1871 Flora, 1872 Emma, 1874 Leonie, 1875 Willi, 1877 Charlotte, 1878 Carl, 1879 Jenny, and 1886 the twins Eugen and Otto. Berthold and Karoline Schwarz gave birth to Bernhard (also called Leonhard) in 1860,²⁵⁴ in 1862 to Henriette, 1865 Max, 1867 Frieda, and 1870 Julius. All the children of both families can indicate St. Gallen as their place of birth.

²⁵¹ Schmid, Notizen.

²⁵² Note.: The *“wedding contract between Rosalie David of Speier and Adolf Burgauer of St. Gallen, written out on May 11, 1865”* listing the dowry in detail, returned into family ownership through a chance discovery by grandson Werner. Cf. Werner Burgauer, *Kein Licht ohne Schatten*, Herisau 1982, 14.

²⁵³ Schmid, Notizen.

²⁵⁴ Died in his 13th year of age.

By then, however, there was not only life in Switzerland, but also death. Until the 1860s, Jewish Swiss had to bury their dead oftentimes in faraway foreign cemeteries, sometimes also close to the border such as in Hohenems, which was important to the St. Gallen area.²⁵⁵ To avoid this problem and to create a cultural reference point for the Jewish citizens of St. Gallen, the search for a plot that could become a burial ground began in the late 1860s.



Fig. 33: The old Jewish cemetery of St. Gallen.

Photo: Alemannia Judaica, <http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/images/Images11/hagenbuch-2.jpg>, accessed 17.06.2013.

After sites in the Feldli and on St. Leonhardstraße were scrapped due to financial concerns resp. because of unsuitable conditions, a field on Hagenbuchstraße/Rappensteinstraße in Tablat, a now incorporated village to the east of St. Gallen, was chosen.²⁵⁶ Following a brief planning phase including planting of vegetation and an enclosure, inauguration took place on the occasion of the first interment on March 2, 1869. This sad ceremony was announced in the *Tagblatt* and invitations were sent to dignitaries of the City of St. Gallen and of both Christian

²⁵⁵ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 52.

²⁵⁶ Schreiber, *Hirschfeld*, 126.

denominations, most of whom, however, declined for various reasons. *Die Schweiz* magazine wrote about this event: “An impressive funeral procession composed of all walks of life followed the coffin [...] the long path from Speisergasse all the way to the new Israelite God’s acre above Neudorf.”²⁵⁷ The deceased mourned for belonged to the Burgauer-Schwarz family: daughter Frieda, born on August 26, 1867, had passed away on February 28, 1869. While it probably failed to provide consolation to her relatives, the large number of mourners, also Christian, who arrived despite the bad weather, a speech held by the rabbi that went far beyond the religious-consoling dimension, music arranged by the “*Frohsinn*” choral society, which included both Christians and Jews, all this demonstrated that the Jewish residents (albeit still without citizenship) had joined the St. Gallen collective. This is also illustrated by the above-mentioned newspaper article in *Die Zeit*, which said:

*“By lowering this corpse into St. Gallen earth, the permanent settlement of the Israelites in our city and, thus, their complete equality as a religious community with the Christian denominations regarding settlement and public life has been recognized.”*²⁵⁸

Yet, at the cemetery, which here is seen as a unifying symbol, it can be discerned that Jewish presence had not remained undisputed. In 1873, following a municipal decree demanding the centralized interment for all inhabitants independent of their religion, the threat of the cemetery’s closure arose. While this could be averted, any future expansion was ruled out—which for a Jewish cemetery meant a natural expiration date since a grave could be occupied only once. In 1876, health hazards were ascribed to the cemetery and its closure ordered. However, this, too, could be refuted through an assessment by geological experts; in 1877, it was reopened. Only in 1913, it was closed in favor of the new Jewish cemetery built between 1909 and 1912.²⁵⁹

As already mentioned, in 1863, the first Jewish Community of St. Gallen had constituted itself, although with numerous open questions: Should a rabbi and a shochet be

²⁵⁷ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 126-127.

²⁵⁸ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 52-53.

²⁵⁹ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 53, as well as Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 127-129.

employed? Should religious service be held on Saturdays or Sundays? In German or in Hebrew? All these questions, the bylaws—which until 1866 had not even existed on a preliminary basis—as well as the discussions about the various religious orientations on the occasion of a lecture in the museum hall in March 1864, allow for the assumption that this young and small group had not yet found its final orientation, but could be hardly ascribed to the Orthodox camp.²⁶⁰ Since the construction of a synagogue was initially out of the question for financial reasons, a prayer room was established at first in the backyard of the house “*Zum Stein*” on Am Bohl in 1866, which was in use for fifteen years. The place of origin of many a St. Gallen Jew was helpful in equipping the young community. In 1870, Torah scrolls, for instance, were sent on loan by the Hohenems Jews to Switzerland; one of them was permanently donated on the occasion of the opening of the St. Gallen synagogue on Frongartenstraße in 1881.

Rather early on, the Burgauers, too, assumed positions in the since 1866 so-called *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde St. Gallen*. From 1868 until 1869, Berthold was board secretary, from 1869 until 1871, board member. In 1871, his brother Adolf succeeded him as board member and in 1874, Adolf became vice president for five years. From 1880 until 1881, he was once again IKG board secretary.



Fig. 34: Synagogue of St. Gallen built in 1881.
Photo: Stefan Weis.

²⁶⁰ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 75-76.

In 1868, the year when the IKG bylaws were internally decided, the *Männer-Chevra* (Men's Chevra) of St. Gallen was founded as well. It appeared under various names: "*Israelitischer Wohltätigkeitsverein*" (Israelite charitable association), "*Israelitischer Kranken- und Sterbeverein*" (Israelite invalid and funerary association) or simply "*Chevra Kadisha*." Their first local assignment came with the premature death of Berthold's daughter.

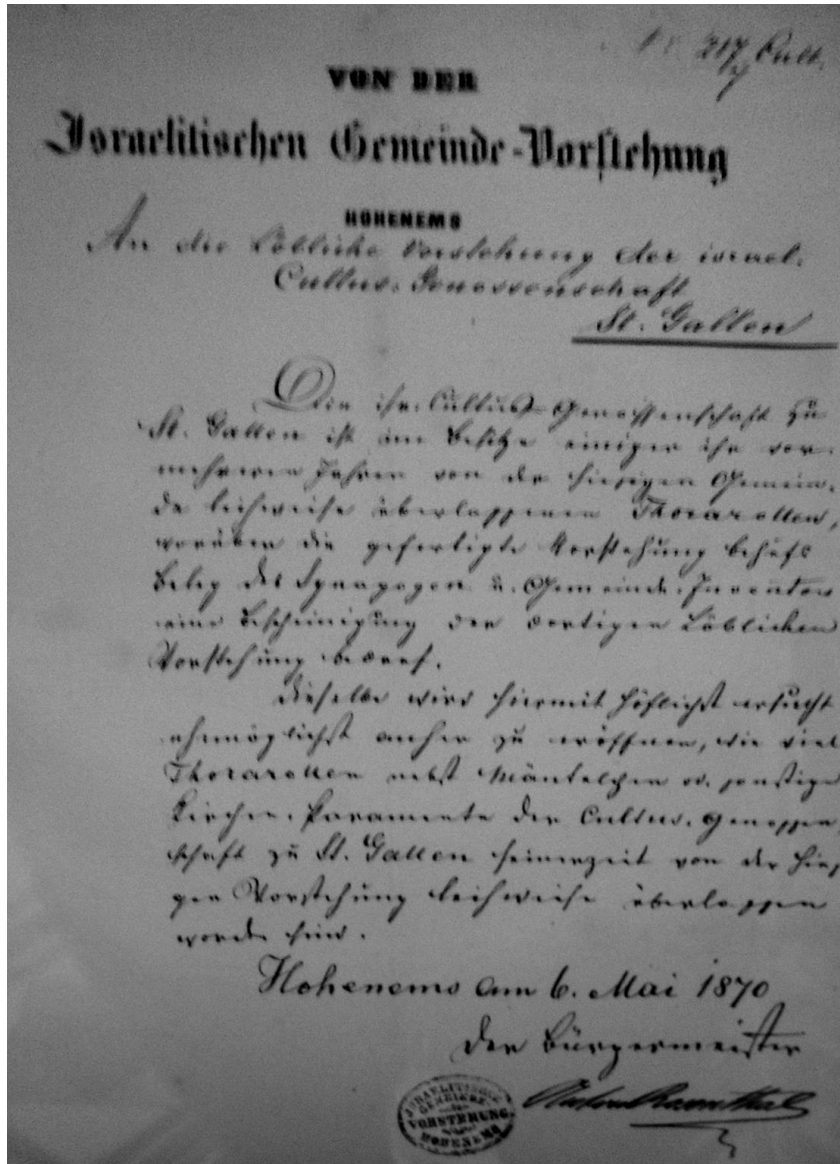


Fig. 35: Letter of the board of the Israelite Community of Hohenems to the St. Gallen Community, May 6, 1870.

JMH, Reproduction of the original from the archive of the Jewish Community St. Gallen.

Photo: Stefan Weis.

In 1873, they accompanied Berthold's son Bernhard Leonhard on his last way. In 1874, Adolf Burgauer became besides his position as IKG vice president, also president of the charitable association and held this office until 1879. Two years after his resignation, the association had to serve its former president as well. Adolf's just sixteen months old daughter Jenny had died in 1881.

Nr.	Namen	Eintritt	Austritt
1	<i>[Signature]</i>	7 September 1861	verstorben
2	<i>Karlmann Baur</i>	"	verstorben
3	<i>Hermann Frantz</i>	"	gestorben
4	<i>M. Reichert</i>	"	gestorben
5	<i>Ch. Vax</i>	"	verstorben
6	<i>David Baur</i>	"	am 1. Oktober 1861 im Alter von 32 Jahren gestorben
7	<i>M. H. Gerste</i>	"	gestorben im Jahre 1873
8	<i>Dr. Th. Cuckley</i>	"	gestorben
9	<i>Berthold Burgauer</i>	"	gestorben
10	<i>Max Guggenheim</i>	"	gestorben
11	<i>Ad. Burgauer</i>	"	gestorben

Fig. 36: Membership list of the Israelite Religious Community St. Gallen of 1868 with original signatures of Berthold Burgauer (9), Max Guggenheim (10), and Adolf Burgauer. In: Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 113.

4.3 St. Gallen municipal citizenship

Around 1870, the St. Gallen municipal government faced rising pressure not only from the outside, as already mentioned, such as federal legislation or demands by representatives of major powers such as France and the United States, but also due to demographic issues, to reconsider its restrictive immigration and admission policy, which usually granted municipal citizenship only to Protestants—in exceptional cases, homeless Catholics were granted citizenship following pressure from the cantonal government. Ongoing industrialization, especially mechanization of the embroidery and textile industry in Eastern Switzerland, brought about a sharp population increase. Between 1850 and 1870, the number of inhabitants of the still rather agricultural Canton of St. Gallen grew from 169,625 to 180,411, that is, by 12%. During the same period, St. Gallen grew by 48% (from 11,234 to 16,675 inhabitants).

The suburbs of Tablat and Straubenzell, incorporated in 1918, offered a similar picture. In the second half of the 19th century, they transformed from rural Catholic communities into industrial suburbs with a high proportion of foreigners and a strong working class. In the reference period, the population of Tablat increased by 49% (from 4,424 to 6,578 inhabitants), Straubenzell grew by 50% (from 2,200 to 3,307 inhabitants). Besides a larger number of people, this growth also brought about shifts in the social structure. For St. Gallen this meant, for instance, that the proportion of foreigners had grown in those twenty years from 9.4% to 13.4% (by 1910, the percentage of non-Swiss had even increased to 31.3%). In 1861, as little as 26.6% of the city's inhabitants would have the St. Gallen municipal citizenship, thirty years before, it had been almost half of the population.²⁶¹

An economic boom and a population increase gave rise to a greater denominational resp. religious mix as well. While between 1850 and 1870, the proportion of Protestants in the Canton of St. Gallen even increased a bit, it drastically decreased in the industrialized city. Although the number of Protestant St. Gallen inhabitants rose from 7,900 in 1831 to 8,082 in 1850 and finally to 10,496 in 1870, on a percentage basis this

²⁶¹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 47-49.

meant a plunge from 85% to 71.9% and finally to 62.9%. While the proportion of Jews remained insignificant, that is, below the one-percent mark (1850: 0.44%, 1870: 0.83%), in real terms, it did increase from 50 to 139 individuals.²⁶²

These internal demographic and external political changes rendered legal reforms in the City of St. Gallen necessary; they were made, but only slowly and reluctantly. On January 14, 1866, the people of Switzerland agreed to a constitutional amendment, which granted all Swiss, independent of their creed, the right of settlement anywhere in Switzerland. This pushed open the gates of the City of St. Gallen, at least for settlement. Eastern Switzerland, heavily marked by the battle between the denominations and with a strict separation between Catholicism and Protestantism, had voted in this question otherwise: in the Canton of St. Gallen, only 9,961 voters agreed to the constitutional amendment, the overwhelming majority of 23,390 voters voted against. The same clear picture emerged from the two Appenzell enclaves: the Canton of Außerrhoden voted 2,931 to 3,695, Innerrhoden even 40 to 1,931 against.²⁶³

Disappointed about the fact that, once again, this new law referred only to Christian denominations, the USA, France, Holland, and England exerted economic pressure on Switzerland in order to attain the same rights for the Jews. Worried about its commercial relations, Switzerland presented the prospect of reforms, which, however, could not be immediately realized.²⁶⁴ But the growing number of residents made a change necessary also on the communal level with respect to the rulings governing the participation of the new inhabitants in municipal-political decisions; hence, as a first step, a Catholic together with his family was admitted as an *Ortsbürger* (municipal citizen).²⁶⁵

On a confederate level, shared commonalities were searched after to draft a new constitution, which was to include equality for non-Christians with Christian Swiss as

²⁶² Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 49-51.

²⁶³ Burmeister, *Geschichte der Juden im Kanton St. Gallen*, 49.

²⁶⁴ Simon Erlanger, *Geschichte der Juden in der Schweiz. Emanzipation (1798-1874)*, in: Schweizerischer Israelitischer Gemeindebund, fact sheet, http://www.swissjews.ch/pdf/de/factsheet/SIG_Factsheet_Emanzipation_de.pdf, accessed 19.6.2013.

²⁶⁵ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 49-50.

well. Yet, the cultural clash that erupted as a result of demands such as civil marriage or else external impacts, such as papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council of 1870, proved to be stumbling blocks. In 1872, this initial attempt failed with a narrow vote against. In 1874, a somewhat revised version obtained the consent of the Swiss people; St. Gallen, too, now voted with 57% in favor of a new constitution. This led to a consolidation of the Confederation, granted all (not only the two large Christian) denominations freedom of worship, expanded, among others, freedom of settlement, and stipulated that communities and cantons had to enable men who had the right of settlement in other communities or cantons to exercise their political rights following a brief transition period.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ Andreas Kley, Die Bundesverfassung von 1874, in: Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D9811.php>, accessed 19.6.2013.

Now the time had come for the Jews of St. Gallen, too, to demand their naturalization. Spearheading this demand was the person who had been described by the authorities earlier on as residing “*since his early youth*” in the city and having been educated there: Adolf Burgauer. Initially, in preparation for this enterprise, evidence had to be produced of the ongoing affiliation with the Hohenems community and, thus, with the Austrian *Staatenbund* (confederation) through a certificate of family origin, which was dated August 23, 1875. Following is the “*excerpt from the minutes of the assembly of the City of St. Gallen*” of November 19, 1876:

“Citizenship application of Mister Adolf Burgauer.

Mister Adolf Burgauer, merchant from Hohenems, born April 19, 1837, Israelite, applies for St. Gallen citizenship with his wife and children.

Mister Burgauer has been residing in St. Gallen already for the past twenty-six years, has attended local schools, and now heads [...] an independent, flourishing business.

Entirely unknown to his homeland, he feels closely connected to St. Gallen because of business as well as many amicable relations and also wishes to see his children as citizens of this free state, to which they belong through birth and education.

Mister Burgauer enjoys a good reputation and is an active member of our charitable municipal associations. He owns a home of his own, pays taxes on assets of fr. 33,000.- and an income of fr. 3000.-

The administrative council recommends to the assembly to grant citizenship to Mister Adolf Burgauer, his wife, Rosalie David, born 1841, and his eight children: Morris born 1866, Theodor born 1867, Henriette born 1868, Franziska born 1869. Flora born 1871, Emma born 1872, Leonie born 1874, and Willy born 1875 against a purchase tax of fr. 1200.-

This application was approved by the assembly.”²⁶⁷

With this protocol, the Jews’ emancipation in St. Gallen could be considered accomplished. Adolf together with his family was the first Jew to be granted municipal citizenship. He now was just one step away from Swiss citizenship, for which he needed admission to the canton. The fact that this citizenship was not in everyone’s reach can be gathered from the admission fee to the City of St. Gallen of 1,200 Swiss francs. This amounted to 40% of the annual income of this successful

²⁶⁷ State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5.

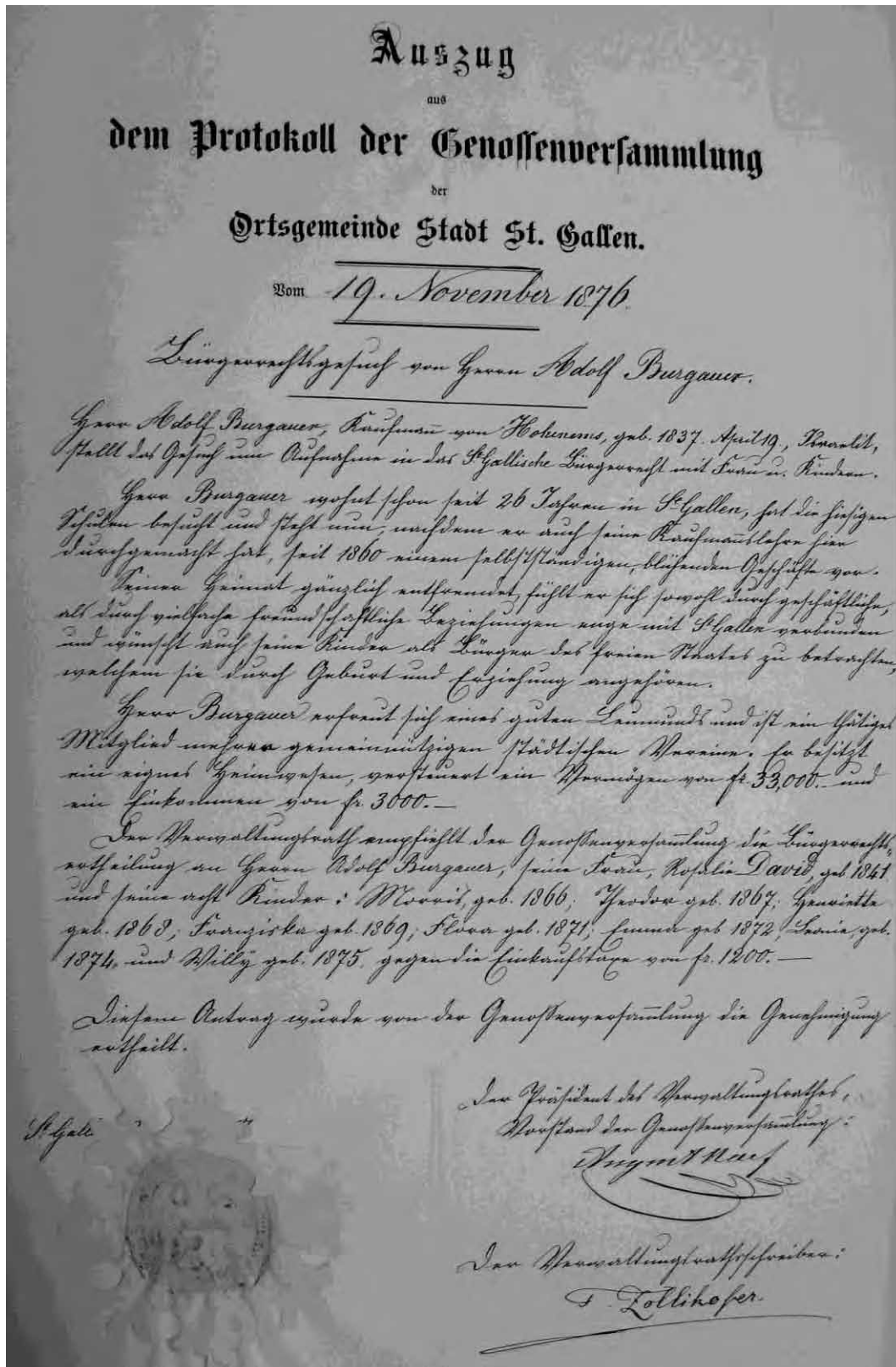


Fig. 38: Minutes of citizenship application, 19.11.1876.

State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5. Photo: Stefan Weis.

entrepreneur or twice the annual salary of a simple weaver.²⁶⁸

On December 1, 1876, the “*board of the Israelite Community Hohenems*” granted release from its community²⁶⁹ and also informed thereof the higher-level authority in Feldkirch on December 6. That same day, Adolf Burgauer asked the “*laudable k.k. district commission Feldkirch*” for “*release from the Austrian Staatenbund (confederation)*” since he had been “*residing for the past twenty-seven years in St. Gallen*” and also conducting his business there, and had been granted citizenship of the City of St. Gallen on “*November 20*” (as erroneously indicated).²⁷⁰ This request was met that same day:

*“To Mister Adolf Burgauer, merchant in St. Gallen
Following your request, you and your family consisting of your wife Mrs. Rosalie David and the children [...] are granted release from the federation of the k.k. Austrian state pursuant to article IV of the (December) Constitution.
Feldkirch, December 6, 1876
the kk. District commissioner”*²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ In 1880, a weaver’s income for two weeks of work was 25 franks. Cf. Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 2.

²⁶⁹ State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5.

²⁷⁰ VLA, District Commission Feldkirch, box 345; L1 1876.

²⁷¹ State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5.

No. 7541. *Oben*
Simon Josef Burgauer
Einbürgerung
in St. Gallen.

Oben Ihr Ursprünge
sind Simon u. Anna
Gravilin aus Basel und
Anna Grubler aus Basel
und aus Linde
Mosiz, Gnoden, Gnoden,
französisch, Glarus, Luzern,
Luzern, und alle Bürger
aus Glarus II der Stadt:
gemeinsam die für
Einbürgerung und den
Einbürgerung der Stadt
aus St. Gallen. Nach
ausführlich.

Einbürgerung 6. Dezember 1876
Der k. Bezirksamt
St. Gallen

Fig. 40: Release from the Austrian confederation, 6.12.1876.

State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5. Photo: Stefan Weis.

On

January 15, 1877, Adolf obtained “approval for the attainment of a Swiss canton- and community citizenship” through the “Federal Council Swiss Confederation.” However, he could only obtain Swiss citizenship through “attainment of a community- and canton citizenship according to the provisions of the respective cantonal legislation”—hence, admission to the Canton of St. Gallen became the final hurdle for Adolf Burgauer, who by now could be regarded to be stateless.

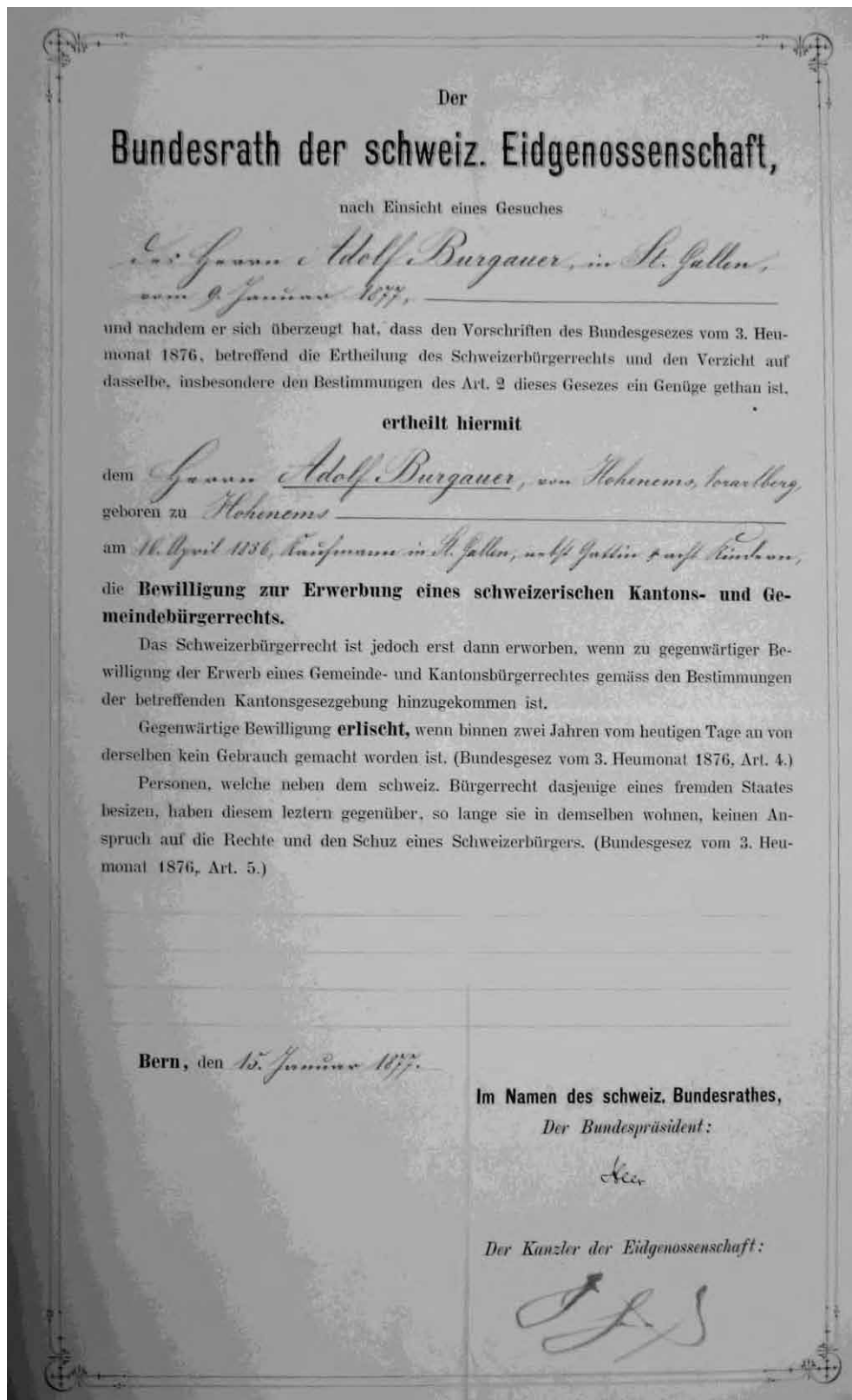


Fig. 41: Approval of the Swiss Federal Council for the attainment of Swiss citizenship, 1877. State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5. Photo: Stefan Weis.

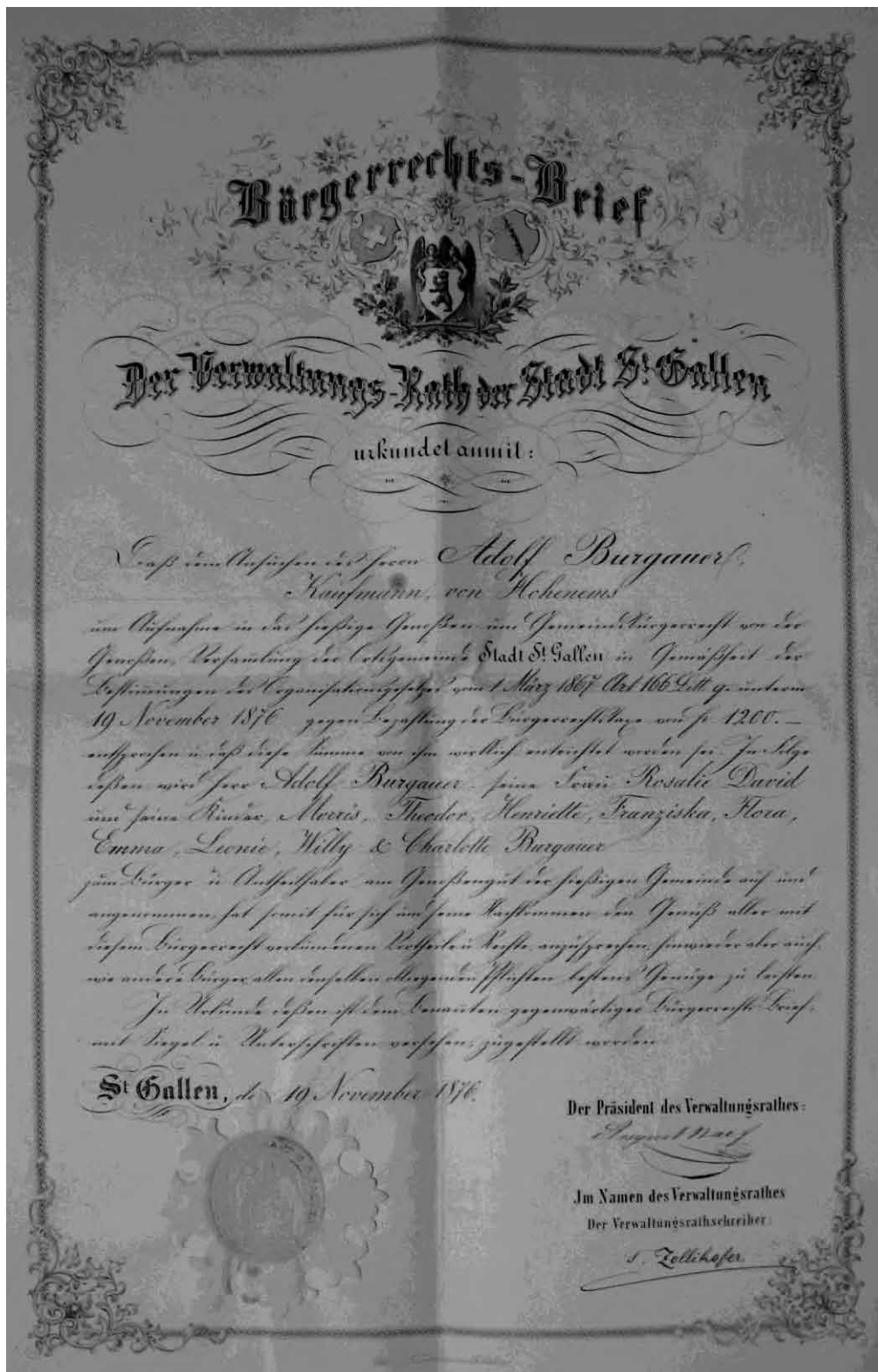


Fig. 42: Certificate of citizenship for Adolf Burgauer, issued on May 6, 1876.
Jewish Museum Hohenems, Photo: Stefan Weis.

On May 6, 1877, the official writ of citizenship was issued by the City of St. Gallen authorities:

“The Administrative Council of the City of St. Gallen herewith certifies: that the request of Mister Adolf Burgauer, merchant from Hohenems, to be granted municipal citizenship has been approved by the assembly of the community of the City of St. Gallen in accordance with the provisions of the organization law of March 1, 1867 Article 166 Litt g on November 19, 1876 against payment of a citizenship tax of fr. 1200.- and that this amount was paid willingly. Consequently, we have accepted Mister Adolf Burgauer [...] & Charlotte as citizen and associate in the confederate property of the local municipality; thus, he and his descendants have all the rights and privileges accompanying this citizenship [...], but, like other citizens, must also fulfill all the duties in the best possible manner. This writ of citizenship has been delivered sealed and signed to said individual.”²⁷²

While filing this application, the family had again expanded: now also Charlotte, two months old at the time of issuance, is a St. Gallen citizen.

On May 14, the by now family of twelve applied for admission to the Canton of St. Gallen:

*“To the Councilor of the Canton of St. Gallen.
Mister Landamman [Swiss senior civil servant]!
Members of the Governing Council!
In attaching written evidence, the signee, residing in this city for the past twenty-seven years, has the honor to ask you most respectfully to consider his request for the kind issuance of a Canton citizenship.
Sincerely
Adolf Burgauer
St. Gallen, May 14, 1877
Attached are*

²⁷² Jewish Museum Hohenems.

An Den Titl. Regierungsrath des Kantons St. Gallen.

from Landammann!
from Regierungsräthe!

Unter Aufsichtung der für mitfolgenden Belage,
besetzt sich der Unterzeichnete, seit 27 Jahren in seiner Stadt
wohnend, die ganz ergebenst zu bitten, sein Gesuch um
gütige Aufnahme des Kantonsbürgerrechts gütig begünstigen
zu wollen & zu versetzen

mit besonderer ergebenst

Heinrich Burger

St. Gallen, den 14. Mai 1877.

Es folgen unten:

- a) Urkunde aus seiner Stadtbürgerrechts, seit 19. November 1876,
besätigt durch die politische Bürgerversammlung, seit 6. Mai 1877.
- b) Urkunde aus seiner Stadtbürgerrechts, seit 15. Januar 1877.
- c. & d.) Entlassungsurkunden aus dem österr. Kaiser- & Preuss. Militär- & Gendarmerie-Dienst.
- e.) sein Geburtszeugnis
- f.) " Familienbuch.
- g. & h.) Lebenszeugnisse
- i.) Vermögensausweis.

Fig. 43: Application for admission to canton, May 14, 1877.

State Archives St. Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5. Photo: Stefan Weis.

- "a) Granting of local municipal citizenship, on November 19, 1876, confirmed by the political citizens' assembly, on May 6, 1877.
- b) Granting of Swiss citizenship, on January 15, 1877.
- c & d) Certificates of release from the Austrian state & communal federation
- e) My birth certificate
- f) My family certificate (Familienschein)
- g & h) certificates of character
- i) Attestation of assets"²⁷³

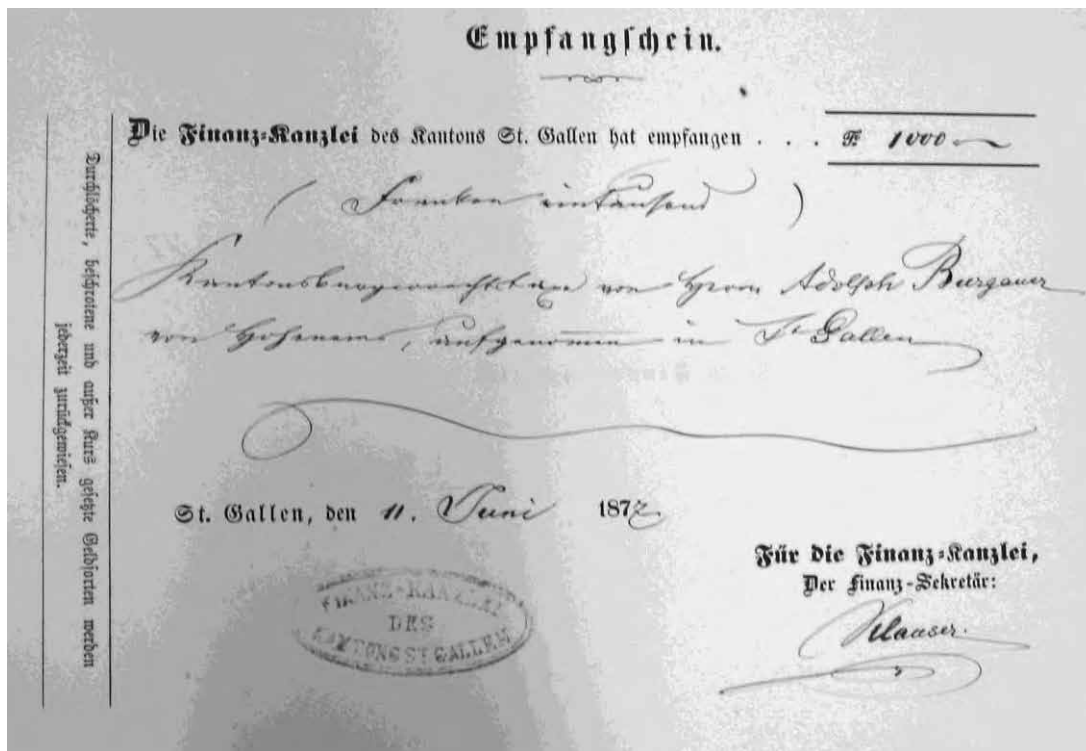


Fig. 44: Confirmation of payment of canton admission tax, June 11, 1877.
State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5. Photo: Stefan Weis.

Unfortunately, files e and f are no longer extant. However, from the assembly minutes, we were able to learn about his assets. These assets dwindled somewhat: for the final registration of admission to the canton in the citizens' registry (*Ortsbürgerbuch*) of the City of St. Gallen on June 11, 1877, another fee had to be disbursed, which at 1,000 francs can be considered rather substantial. Payment of this tax concluded the administrative journey.

²⁷³ State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5.

Adolf Burgauer and his family could now consider themselves citizens of the Swiss Confederation, citizens of the Canton of St. Gallen, and citizens of the City of St. Gallen with all rights and duties. Those duties brought along additional financial obligations for Adolf.

Unless he performed an essential service for society, every citizen until age forty-four was liable to service in the Swiss army. At the time of admission just forty years old, Adolf was obliged to serve in the Swiss army or to pay compensation. The new citizen chose the second option; his service compensation tax was registered in conscription book no. 3797 of the canton division district VII, recruitment district VII of the City of St. Gallen. Here, it is notable that the name of his father is indicated as “*Meier*” and not Benjamin as was usual in other official documents. Between June 1878 and August 1881, Adolf paid a total of 307.20 francs to avoid military service.²⁷⁴

Thus, Adolf became the first Jewish citizen to succeed in obtaining municipal citizenship; also by assuming Swiss citizenship, he became a trailblazer for numerous Hohenems families. Following in his steps in 1878, for instance, were Albert Hirschfeld of Leipzig and his wife Cäzilia Rosenthal of Hohenems, in 1879, Philipp Reichenbach of Hohenems and his wife Julia Haas of Emmendingen as well as Carolina Schwarz and her husband Berthold Burgauer, both of Hohenems.²⁷⁵ The latter’s documents, too, are still largely extant. Thus, we learn from the assembly minutes that both his assets as well as his income continued to exceed that of his brother: 40,000 francs assets and 4000 francs annual income; in both cases, one third more. It is, therefore, surprising that his naturalization tax of 1,160 francs to obtain municipal citizenship on May 11, 1879 is somewhat lower, probably due to the smaller size of his family.²⁷⁶ His canton admission tax of 800 francs of November 24, 1879 is also 20% lower than Adolf’s.²⁷⁷ An interesting detail was found in this bundle of records: an envelope or rather a slip of paper addressed “*To Mister Leopold Burgauer in St. Gallen.*” For lack of additional information,

²⁷⁴ Conscription book Burgauer Adolf, Jewish Museum of Switzerland, Basel.

²⁷⁵ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 372.

²⁷⁶ State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5.

²⁷⁷ Ortsbürgerbuch St. Gallen.

it is not possible to tell how this entered into Berthold's naturalization documents—whether his brother Leopold, who according to numerous records was in the United States, had, indeed, been to St. Gallen, or whether this is just the result of an oversight or mix-up.²⁷⁸

In 1887, also Karl Guggenheim, a grandson of Brendel (Bertha) Burgauer, and his wife Emilia Loria follow. St. Gallen not only becomes an emigration destination in general, to a large degree, it also becomes the new homeland of the Burgauer family in particular.

Yet, emancipation was not the end of the battle for equality for the St. Gallen Jews as had already been demonstrated through the incidents around the old Jewish cemetery. In June 1883, for instance, the so-called “Bamberger ruckus” occurred, named after the merchant Louis Bamberger. In front of his department store in the Untere Stadt in St. Gallen several uproars occurred, in the course of which a “*cacophony*” of cooking tops, bells, and ladders was unleashed. Increasingly, threats and concrete violence evolved in this heated atmosphere, daggers and whips emerged as well. One evening, the situation further escalated; from the crowd of by now 2,000 individuals, a group of young journeyman butchers and others stormed into the department store, looting and rampaging; this repeated itself the following evening. Police, council members, and army colonels intervened, but they themselves became the target. Only through the intervention of an army battalion, the riots were terminated. Ostensible reasons for this turmoil had been newspaper articles penned by the department store owner regarding the state exhibition (*Landesausstellung*), which included criticism of the poor social conditions, but also of the “*cultural backwardness of the Swiss confederates.*” This led to readers' letters, which gave rise to a media campaign that brought the already tense situation in times of economic crisis to the boiling point. In the course of this media campaign, anti-Semitic resentments frequently surfaced, newspapers of all political camps blamed more or less openly “*inferior Semitic elements.*” In 1885, the *Tablat*

²⁷⁸ State Archives St. Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5.

district magistrate (*Bezirksammann*) Albert Walliser von Streng was unmasked as the initiator of the readers' letters and media campaign.²⁷⁹

In August 1883, "*a subscriber from St. Gallen*," Adolf Burgauer, qualified the accusation of anti-Semitism in the liberal *Augsburger Abendzeitung*. According to him, there had been a dislike of Bamberger "*from the start*" since he was said to be a Social Democrat expelled from Germany. Adolf assured that the urban population had never uttered anything negative about his Jewishness; Bamberger had not been criticized as a Jew but as a Socialist and German. At least in this text, Adolf ignored the fact that Jewry was being equated with exploitative Capitalism, on the one hand, and Socialism, on the other hand; moreover, the "*Jewification*" of both was implied, hereby revealing a latent if not open anti-Semitism. Yet, this denial was necessary for him and probably many Jewish citizens of St. Gallen who wished to place themselves on the safe side and remove any doubt the public might have of their loyalty to Switzerland.²⁸⁰

Another sign of the Jews' difficulties in Switzerland should be briefly mentioned as well: the longstanding battle around kosher slaughter. Already in 1866, when the newly founded IKG tasked a Christian butcher with the sale of kosher meat, the municipal council issued a prohibition of kosher slaughter since this was, in the council's opinion, a form of animal abuse. This criticism had initially to be seen in the context of industrialization; after all, concomitantly with the emergence of large slaughterhouses, an animal protection movement had formed in the mid-19th century, which regarded the industrialization of slaughter as an alienation from nature and, in this context, criticized the traditional slaughtering method of Judaism as well. In 1867, the prohibition of kosher slaughter was lifted by the cantonal government. In 1874, based on a veterinary expert opinion, it was prohibited again. Here, criticism of Judaism is already more pronounced; thus, arguments such as "*morality and maintenance of public order*" were used, and it was claimed that kosher slaughter would harm public morals.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 208-211.

²⁸⁰ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 208-211.

²⁸¹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 205-207.

In 1879/80, a movement emerged on the federal level, which campaigned for a nationwide prohibition of kosher slaughter. Clearly, this time the issue was not (only) guided by concerns of animal rights, but also by resentments against Jews and their emancipation in Swiss society. In 1893, a successful popular initiative was launched, and kosher slaughter was prohibited in all of Switzerland. It is interesting to look at the results of the Canton of St. Gallen, which rejected the prohibition with 14,564 votes in favor and 21,609 votes against, whereby the majority of the rural population, considered to be conservative, had been against the initiative, while the more liberal city in favor. Contrary to Adolf's soothing words of 1883, many a conflict issue between the Jewish and Christian citizens of St. Gallen did exist.

4.4 Further development of Burgauer & Co and the family

Already early on, the textile industry was an important component of St. Gallen's economy; between 1865 and 1914, this branch and its significance increased enormously following the mechanization of embroidery. While the number of those working in agriculture decreased by one fifth, it doubled in the industrial sector. The canton turned into an industrial region. Between 1865 and 1876, in particular, the establishment of new companies was booming. St. Gallen products could be seen both on the dresses of the upper class as well as on the Sunday garb of lower-middle-class women. Between 1865 and 1890, during the so-called "*honeymoon time*," the number of machines rose from 650 to 10,630, hereby rendering the products significantly less expensive. After 1895, the production volume increased again following the introduction of the Schiffli machine, which had embroidery rise to Switzerland's most important export article as well as to an almost monopoly-like position on the worldmarket. In 1910, two thirds of St. Gallen jobholders lived directly or indirectly from this sector of industry that manufactured 90% of its output for export. An official 1875 report of the Government Council to the Great Council of the Canton of St. Gallen notes

that anyone “*who had the slightest inclination for it*” would set out to acquire machines.²⁸² Among them was also the Burgauer family, Adolf in particular.

In the early years, Burgauer & Co., which eventually was managed solely by Adolf, manufactured mainly “*Swiss curtains.*” This was done with the simplest means in basements where tulle, muslin, and other textiles were hand printed. The more elaborate embroidery of fabrics was outsourced and carried out in the Rhine Valley, in particular.²⁸³ From these early days, a theft protocol is still extant, which provides insight into the fabrics sold:

“Public voluntary confession

I [...] have been apprentice here in the business of Messrs. Burgauer & Cie. To improve my financial situation, I stole from them and sold to Messrs. Pfister here in Lämmlisbrunnen muslins and tulle, muslins and satin, muslins with Blattsteg as well as entredeux, brasseur and two Blattstege voile and ‘Berthold Burgauer Tüll of St. Gall’ and ‘Adolf Burgauer and Berthold Burgauer-Ausbrecherstickerei [embroidery]’. [...] So as not to destroy the future of Ernst H., we refrain from taking legal action against him. St. Gallen, July 30, 1863, Burgauer & Cie.”²⁸⁴

Soon, warehouses were kept abroad, among others, in Leipzig and Düsseldorf.²⁸⁵ At the time, the products were sold in Germany, Austria, Italy, Hungary, Russia, England, and Finland,²⁸⁶ later also in Sweden and Holland.²⁸⁷ Although Adolf had never studied foreign languages at school, he learned those



Fig. 46: Adolf Burgauer’s service gun from the Swiss army, 1882.
Jewish Museum Hohenems, photo: Stefan Weis.

²⁸² Max Lemmermeier, *Wirtschaftselite und gesellschaftlicher Wandel im Kanton St. Gallen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, in: Thomas Albrich / Werner Matt / Hanno Platzgummer (Ed.), *Stadt und Bürgertum im Bodenseeraum. Forschungsberichte – Fachgespräche* (Dokumentation zur internationalen Tagung „Stadt und Bürgertum im Bodenseeraum“, 6. Dornbirner Geschichtstage, 19. bis 21.11.2003), 165-184, here 167.

²⁸³ Stein, *Industrie*, 353.

²⁸⁴ Burgauer, *Licht*, 45.

²⁸⁵ Stein, *Industrie*, 353.

²⁸⁶ Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 4, 6.

²⁸⁷ Stein, *Industrie*, 353.

necessary for his business: French, Englisch, and Italian. The fact that his journeys were not free of hazards can be inferred from the defense tools he carried with him, such as bludgeons, a brass mortar sewn in cloths, or pistols. Anecdotes about Russian trains, in which he frequently spent his journeys lying on the floor to evade gunfire from outside, are testimonies to his not exactly trivial undertakings.²⁸⁸ However, strong competition for “*Swiss curtains*” began to arise from English woven articles; in the 1870s, this brought about the start of domestic manufacture of embroidery. In 1876, this also led to the relocation of the company premises to St. Leonhardstraße 38 and their expansion; in 1886, also to expansions around the office building on number 36.²⁸⁹ The invention of the Schiffli machine revolutionized the entire textile market and crowded out the high-quality, but costly and time-consuming manual embroidery on so-called “*hand machines*” still prevailing in the 1880s.²⁹⁰

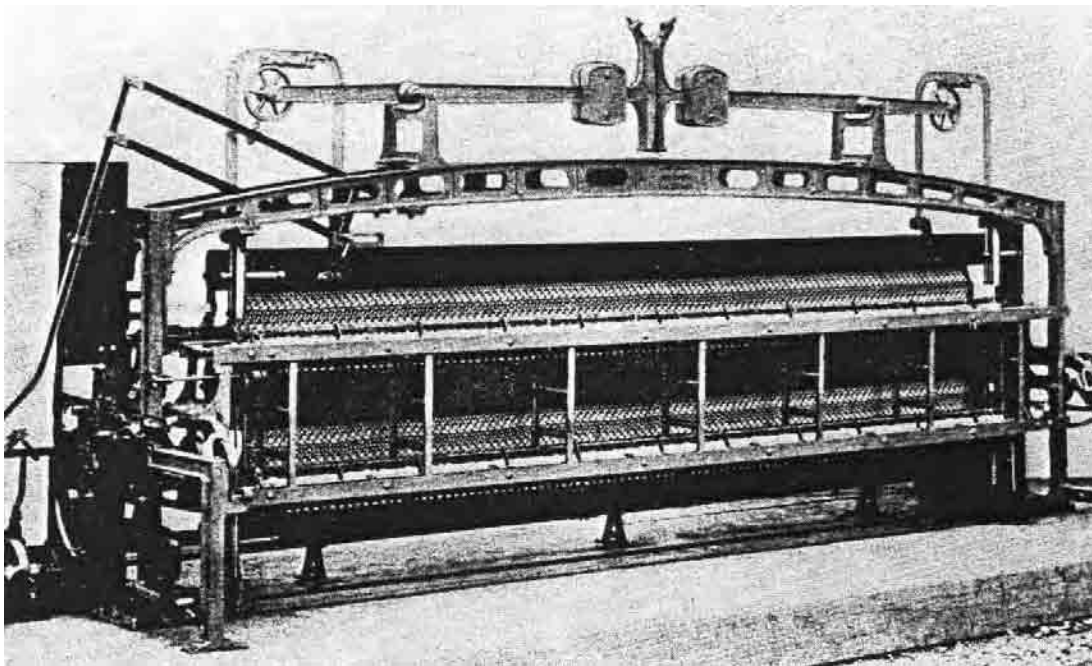


Fig. 47: Early manual Schiffli machine.
In: Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 11.

²⁸⁸ Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 6.

²⁸⁹ Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 10.

²⁹⁰ Stein, Industrie, 353-354.

Simultaneously with the expansion to the South American market in the 1880s²⁹¹ as well as the export to North America, Burgauer & Co established plants at home and abroad, such as in England²⁹² or else in Dussnang and Güttingen in Thurgau.²⁹³

Relations to the North American plants were special for the St. Gallen textile manufacture. Since the end of the Civil War in 1865, the United States had been evolving into the largest market for machine embroidery including the accompanying dependence on the economic situation there. Since 1870, the USA was purchasing more than one third of this industry sector's entire output. This gave rise to a growing number of American purchasing agents as well as the establishment of businesses by American enterprises in Switzerland, which in turn meant tough competition for local companies. It can be assumed that this transformation from foreign importers to local exporters has contributed to a revival of a latent anti-Semitism among the Christian manufacturers and their workers since the secretary of the St. Gallen trade board (*Kaufmännisches Direktorium*) noted "*that the newly immigrated American companies are all of Israelite origin.*"²⁹⁴ Thus, Jewish immigration to Eastern Switzerland did not only occur from Austrian and German areas close to the border, but also from overseas, whereby their original descent would require a discussion of its own.

Already in 1873, another Burgauer descendent, Josef Porges, son of head teacher Porges and Jeanette Burgauer, had moved from Pecs/Fünfkirchen to St. Gallen in order to start an apprenticeship in his uncle's business. In 1889²⁹⁵ or 1890, he married Adolf's daughter Flora, his cousin, and over the years rose to become authorized representative of Burgauer & Co. In 1898, he, too, obtained St. Gallen citizenship.²⁹⁶ In 1896, also Adolf's son Willi returned to St. Gallen. After completing high school, he had undergone

²⁹¹ Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 6.

²⁹² Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 4

²⁹³ Stein, Industrie, 354.

²⁹⁴ Arthur Wolffers, Die Geschichte der Juden in St. Gallen, in: Vorarlberger Landesarchiv, Landjudentum im Süddeutschen und Bodenseeraum. Wissenschaftliche Tagung zur Eröffnung des Jüdischen Museums Hohenems vom 9. bis 11. April 1991 (Forschungen zur Geschichte Vorarlbergs, vol. 11, entire series 18. Band), Dornbirn 1992, 145-148, here 147.

²⁹⁵ JMH, Hohenems Genealogie,

<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1203&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 22.05.2013.

²⁹⁶ Ortsbürgerbuch St. Gallen.

training with Birenstihl-Lanz & Co, a producer of cloth in Wattwil/St. Gallen, then with Reis & Herz in Plauen and Pausa/Sachsen and had become acquainted with working abroad at W.R. Snow & Co. in London. In his hometown, he initially assumed the position of sales manager at the business of his brother-in-law Leopold Braunschweig, Franziska's husband. This job regularly took him to Luxemburg, Alsace-Lorraine, Hamburg, and Paris. Two years later, he joined his father's company.²⁹⁷ In 1901, a change at the top of the company occurred; Adolf transferred leadership to his son and his nephew. In 1904, Adolf, the first Jewish citizen of St. Gallen, passed away.

In 1906, the existing company buildings were sold; the main post office arose in their stead. At first, Burgauer & Co relocated to Davidstraße 9; finally, in 1912, it moved to the house on Bleichstraße 11, in which it remained until its liquidation. Between 1912 and 1914, also the business in Germany underwent restructuring under Albert Uhlmann.²⁹⁸ The company increasingly turned into a family enterprise. In 1909, Adolf's youngest son, Otto, joined and became authorized representative in 1919. Willi's son Adolf Heinz followed in 1931; he was



Fig. 48: The company building in the course of time: 1945, 1960, and 2007.

Letterhead, State Archives St. Gallen; Stein, Industrie, 353; Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 4; Photo: Stefan Weis.

²⁹⁷ Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 6.

²⁹⁸ Willi's father-in-law. Willi marries Gretchen (Gretel) Uhlmann of Bad Cannstadt, today a district of Stuttgart.

appointed authorized representative in 1934; his brother Werner assumed this function in 1944. In 1932, Josef Porges retired; thus, the business was entirely in Burgauer hands²⁹⁹

The company survived the difficulties during and after World War I (in which Willi as well as many of his employees served in the Swiss army), inflation, and economic depression thanks to early modernizations, product changes (back to the original business, the manufacture of fabrics for curtains and the like), and built-up reserves. Acquisition of the Murg weaving mill in 1928 and conversion into a stock corporation contributed to the stabilization of the company,³⁰⁰ which well into the 1930s remained very much focused on Germany despite its numerous other foreign contacts. As alternatives to this market, which broke away in the wake of racial laws and war, export areas to South- and Central America or also Africa were tapped, which, however, due to political instability were no replacement in the long term.³⁰¹

Outside the company, Willi also emerged as chairman of the IKG, which he headed from 1930 until 1940.³⁰² His son Werner also assumed this position from 1961 until 1968 and again from 1976 until 1980.

Already in 1915, Willi Burgauer, Josef Porges, and eighteen other Jewish community members signed a collective surety for “*strangers*” to enable their settlement. Following the outbreak of war, Russian and Austrian citizens residing in St. Gallen and surroundings had encountered difficulties since their settlement permits could not be renewed due to discontinued diplomatic relations or missing documents. Therefore, a tolerance association was formed by wealthy St. Gallen Jews who pledged a bail of 40,000 francs, which had to be provided in case that

“pursuant to the provisions of the law on immigration, citizenship in Switzerland has to be acquired for persons to be specified or support has to be given in case of illness or indigence.”³⁰³

²⁹⁹ Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 10.

³⁰⁰ Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 10.

³⁰¹ Burgauer, Licht, 5.

³⁰² Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 373.

³⁰³ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 164.

5 1930s ANTI-SEMITISM AND PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS

The somber period of National Socialism—whose ideology was able to proliferate on a latent anti-Semitism and benefit from an anti-Judaism, not only in the Third Reich—meant a dramatic break not only in Burgauer & Co’s business activities, but also and mainly in the personal life of Benjamin Burgauer’s descendants.

5.1 Anti-Semitism in Switzerland

As could be seen in the City of St. Gallen’s belated issuance of the right of settlement and municipal citizenship or in the repeated attempts at prohibiting kosher slaughter, Switzerland was not free of, at times even institutionalized, anti-Judaism or also anti-Semitism. From the 1920s on, a crucial basis for argumentation was provided by the *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which had been translated into German in 1919; their exposure as forgery did not stop the text from being spread by various media and political groupings. In Switzerland, it was probably first printed in 1920 by the Catholic journal *Schildwache*. In 1922, the democratic *St. Galler Stadt-Anzeiger* published an article from the *Schweizerische Republikanische Blätter*, which explained the “Jewish program for conquering the world.” Unlike the IKG, which explicitly distanced itself from Zionist ideas, the Zionist Chapter St. Gallen reacted to these accusations.³⁰⁴

In the 1920s, National Socialist ideology also crossed Swiss borders and, thus, the so-called “swastika wave” erupted around 1924: people of Jewish origin were publicly insulted, Jewish institutions were smeared with swastikas as were commercial buildings in Bern and Zurich, facades of synagogues were defaced with inscriptions and the NSDAP symbol. While anti-Semitism took hold in the four St. Gallen daily newspapers rather early on, they were by no means the only place. In everyday life, Swiss Jews encountered hostility as well. Merchants were called “*Saujud*” (Jewish sow), notes imprinted with “*Don’t buy from Jews!*” were pasted on stores, even violent altercations occurred. Theodor Burgauer, for instance, was jostled by some guys on a trolley

³⁰⁴ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 219.

platform in spring 1924. From 1923, IKG St. Gallen became finally active against individual pamphlets or campaigns, but admonished at the same time to show humble restraint in public.³⁰⁵

In 1924, merchant Henry Reichenbach ran for election to the Cantonal Council as member of the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Despite widely supported recommendations from members, he was not elected. The anti-Semitic “*Schweizer Christenwehr*” campaigned against him by means of leaflets. Thereupon, the “*Vereinigung Schweizerischer Republikaner*” (Association of Swiss Republicans) organized a discussion on the Jewish question, in the course of which active anti-Jewish politics were demanded. Indeed, Reichenbach himself uttered an astonishing statement and looked for the cause of these attacks in himself. According to him, their main reason had been his candidature for the Great Council. Regarding the accusation “*that we [the Jews in Switzerland - A/N] still behave like strangers in Switzerland and are still far too insufficiently assimilated*” he said that the swastika movement was mainly directed against Jews “*who simply do not want to be Swiss. [...] If we wish to be better respected, then we must do more for the public at large and not slacken in our charity despite all those attacks.*”³⁰⁶

This demand was largely directed at the Jewish community “*Adass Yisroel*,” founded in 1917, which mainly addressed Jews who had migrated from Eastern Europe and had an Orthodox orientation.³⁰⁷ Saly Mayer, since 1921 municipal councilor for the FDP, took issue with him over this.³⁰⁸ Later on, Mayer was said to have “*always wanted to be the most patriotic Swiss of all;*”³⁰⁹ at that point, however, he (still) thought that assimilation should not go so far “*that we are hardly called Jews anymore. From the outset, every Jew must come to expect some reluctance, objection, and discomfort.*”³¹⁰ This conflict

³⁰⁵ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 219-220.

³⁰⁶ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 221-222.

³⁰⁷ In June 1918, Willi Burgauer supported the AJSG call for the construction of a synagogue of their own. Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 99, 138.

³⁰⁸ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 222.

³⁰⁹ Shraga Elam, Saly Mayer: Half er – oder schickte er verfolgte Juden in den Tod?, in: Aargauer Zeitung, 18.11.2007.

³¹⁰ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 222.

surrounding assimilation, autonomy, or participation could still be detected even after World War II when Rabbi Rothschild of St. Gallen supported Jewish youth in their endeavor to establish a scout group of their own in 1945. In a letter to the rabbi, Willi Burgauer, the former IKG president, criticized that hereby *“Jewish children are increasingly brought up to segregate themselves from the others.”* Until now, he wrote, *“our children [...] have been readily admitted to ‘Pro Patria’.”*³¹¹

It seemed that in the late 1920s anti-Semitism in St. Gallen had been on the decline. Nevertheless, the Jewish-Academic Association of the Handels-Hochschule St. Gallen was not admitted to the Corporations-Convent (fraternity) in 1929. From the letter of rejection, it can be gathered that thus far all Jewish fraternities had been denied admission. Following Hitler’s seizure of power in 1933, the situation in Switzerland aggravated. The St. Gallen section of the National Front openly and purposefully agitated against *“the Ostjuden”* (Eastern Jews), the synagogue of *“Adass Yisroel”* was smeared with red swastikas and the slogan *“Juda verrecka!”* (Jew, perish!). This slogan was also found on a poster on the Globus department store. In his function as IKG president, Willi Burgauer wrote in the annual report of 1934: *“Fortunately, this was the only case we had to regret so far thanks to the immediate intervention of the head of police as well as the Government Council who steadfastly stands by the side of us Jews.”* And went on in a mix of naivety and calculated optimism *“that Switzerland was an infertile breeding ground for anti-Semitism.”*³¹²

In July 1933, Saly Mayer, now head of the secretariat of the *“Schweizerischer Israelitischer Gemeindebund (SIG)”* demanded, contrary to his previous opinion, the *“creation of natural relationships with the political parties and the entire population by joining parties and associations, attending assemblies and showing interest.”*³¹³ At the IKG, it seems that this demand had already been met since it was steeped in a patriotic spirit. Not only Saly Mayer, but also Willi Burgauer and a few others joined the *“Schweizerischer Vaterländischer Verband (SVV)”* (Swiss Patriotic Federation), which can

³¹¹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 336-337.

³¹² Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 225.

³¹³ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 225

be considered part of the radical right ambience in Switzerland. With almost twenty members, St. Gallen constituted the largest “Jewish” section at the SVV. The relationship between these two committed men seems to have been characterized by mutual appreciation. In 1933, Burgauer repeatedly emphasized Mayer’s achievements and “*great merits.*”³¹⁴

In 1933, also a “*Bund Junger Juden (BJJ)*” (Association of Young Jews) formed in order “*to deliberately counter race-baiting with information.*” Among its thirty-five members, who came from the otherwise separately acting IKG and AJSJG, was also Curt Burgauer, Theodor’s son, as board member. Curt’s uncle, Willi, delivered the opening speech at the founding assembly although he was probably not a member of this group. Sceptically watched by the IKG under Willi Burgauer, the BJJ, which represented patriotic and nationalistic notions, did not last long and eventually had to toe SIG’s line.³¹⁵

In a text penned in 1970, Curt Burgauer, who had lived in Frankfurt and Berlin in the 1920s and returned to Switzerland in 1930, provides us with a deeper insight into this period and his experiences as a Swiss Jew:

“Then Hitler swept away, quasi overnight, the belief in a humane, tolerant present and future. For sure, ever since my school years, I was reminded, frequently in no uncertain terms, of the fact that I was born a Jew. But what was happening now, hardly a two hours’ train ride away from my hometown, this intolerance and racial hatred, contradicted all the impressions I ever had of Germany. In Frankfurt and Berlin, in particular, I thought it possible to forget a certain petit-bourgeois faintheartedness, which probably every Jewish person senses every now and then because of his origin. How cruel, therefore, to see this heap of stupidity and philistinism approaching our country from there of all places! Now all personal and business relations with Germany suddenly died of poisoning from the ‘Aryan paragraph,’ which carried the blatant conceit of the master race far beyond the country’s borders.

For us in Switzerland, it was almost impossible to stop such a plague at the border although efforts were made to disinfect the country. St. Gallen, a mid-

³¹⁴ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 225.

³¹⁵ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 226-227.

*sized city so close to the Lake Constance border, was far more exposed to the germs than larger places away from the pesthole*³¹⁶

Curt continues his description by telling how friendly relations became a political issue, how he left the Swiss Alpine Club so as to avoid sensing anti-Semitism on his beloved mountains, and how cultural life changed as well. The art lover and collector describes this using the example of an order:

*“Then everything that was looming in the German Reich became unpleasantly palpable. An example: At the “Fehr’schen Buchhandlung” (bookshop), I used to have fruitful talks with the manager about my time in Berlin and my great interest in contemporary art. One day, I inquired about the possibility of subscribing to the ‘Cahiers d’art,’ a renowned avant-garde monthly, which I had been attentively reading already in Germany. Cynically, I was asked by my interlocutor: ‘Are you still interested in this ‘degenerate art’?’ [...] A short while later, similar occurrences caused me to escape to Zurich.*³¹⁷

In 1938, after having moved to Zurich where he seemed to “*meet [more] kindred spirits*” not least thanks to the “*presence of numerous intellectual émigrés,*”³¹⁸ apart from his occupation in the paternal textile business, he increasingly devoted himself to art, which provided him with an escape from everyday life:

*“It had to be my alternative to all murky machinations of the sadly deluded, the like of which increased also in our country as time went on. Here, too, there was vociferous incitement by fanaticized ‘fronts’ against Jews, Communists, and ‘degenerated art.’”*³¹⁹

Following the outbreak of World War II, Curt attended military training school, from which he had been previously exempted due to severe shortsightedness. Upon his request, he was drafted for active service: “*Instead of passively serving in some office, I*

³¹⁶ Curt Burgauer / Erna Burgauer (Ed.), *Das lebenslängliche Interview*. Die Sammlung Erna und Curt Burgauer, St. Gallen 1970, 16-17.

³¹⁷ Kunstverein St. Gallen (Ed.), *Aus der Sammlung Erna und Curt Burgauer. Geschenke und ein versprochenes Legat – Fünfzig Jahre Zusammensein mit Kunstwerken der Zeit in der wir leben* (exhibition catalog), St. Gallen 1986, 70.

³¹⁸ Kunstverein St. Gallen, *Sammlung*, 70.

³¹⁹ Burgauer, *Das lebenslängliche Interview*, 18.

*did not want, should it come to this, to face the brown hordes unarmed.*³²⁰ Curt's cousin Werner also served for six months in the army and commented:



Fig. 49: Werner Burgauer's Walther pistol model 9. Jewish Museum Hohenems, Photo: Stefan Weis.

*"During the last days of August 1939, I was supposed to meet the company's [...] permanent South America representative in order to travel with him for a year through South- and Central America. The visas necessary for some of the states filled up a large part of my passport, which, however, lay useless and unused in my desk. The only document I needed then was my conscription book. Instead of Rio or Buenos Aires, I dwelled in St. Gallenkappel am Rickenpass. [...] We built wooden dugouts, and considered ourselves to be Maginot Line engineers. Apparently, everyone up to the regimental commander was firmly convinced of the usefulness of our work. In reality, all dugouts combined would not have stopped even one single off-road vehicle for even a quarter of an hour, and only few soldiers would have survived an attack."*³²¹

Likely, the gun, too, which Werner Burgauer had purchased in 1939, had nothing but a calming effect.

*"I am a Jew. Since nobody knows whether and when the Nazis will invade our country, I want to have a weapon with me even when I am not serving in the army. [...] I know that I cannot save my life that way. However, it is my intention to sell it at the highest possible price."*³²²

It can at least be assumed that the gun, unlike his grandfather's and father's self-defense arms on business trips, might have served another purpose as well. After his

³²⁰ Burgauer, Das lebenslängliche Interview, 18.

³²¹ Burgauer, Licht, 7.

³²² Note of Werner Burgauer of November 28, 1973, JMH resp. Pierre Burgauer.

escape from Berlin to Geneva, Franz Reichenbach, for instance, used to always carry a poison pill with him to have control over his life in case of an invasion.³²³

5.2 Victims of Brown terror

While circumstances had become burdensome for Swiss Jews, for many Burgauer descendants, the global political upheavals evolved into downright catastrophes. Here, we will not deal with National Socialism's curtailments of rights, persecution, and death machinery in Germany and the occupied territories. Rather, we will restrict ourselves to the enumeration of selected cases that will reveal the effects on Burgauer family members and their descendants.

Among the Jews persecuted in the Third Reich, the family of Elsie Neufeld, for instance, a granddaughter of Berthold Burgauer, was among the luckier ones. Elsie had already been born in Germany as daughter of Henriette Burgauer and Hermann Neufeld, a merchant from Pattensen near Hannover. In 1923, she had married the Doctor of Jurisprudence Max Weyl of Elberfeld (today Wuppertal). Max had been working in Düsseldorf since 1924 as independent negotiator of real estate contracts, later on as partner in the real estate company "*S. Gumpert*." As active member of Maccabi Düsseldorf and known as a rather active member of the Jewish Community as Second Chairman between 1936 and 1938, he was taken to police prison in the course of the November Pogroms, the so-called "Night of Broken Glass" on November 10, 1938. From there, Max Weyl was deported to the Dachau concentration camp on November 16, where he was registered on the 17th of that month under prisoner number 27983. Through negotiations, which brought about the loss of all his assets in Germany, he was able to attain his release on December 5, 1938. By way of England, he escaped to the United States. In California, he rejoined his wife and ten-year-old son who had separately escaped from Berlin to the USA via Moscow on the Trans-Siberian Railway and via Yokohama.³²⁴ Among Elsie's siblings, among others, Gustav, previously owner of

³²³ Conversation with Peter Reichenbach, Hohenems, August 2, 2008.

³²⁴ Bastian Fleermann / Angela Genger (Eds.), *Novemberpogrom 1938 in Düsseldorf, Essen* 2008, 301; Conversation with Benjamin and Daniel Weyl, Hohenems, August 1, 2008.

Café Capolino in Hamburg, and his wife, Lilo, an actress, or else Wily, owner of an advertising agency and his wife, Dorle, managed to reach the USA. (New York resp. Cleveland).

However, worth mentioning here is the “*Löwenstein case*,” supposedly recorded in files at the Moscow Special Archives,³²⁵ which can be considered exemplary—any reservations regarding its source notwithstanding. Moritz Löwenstein, brother-in-law of Max, had passed away in Cologne in April 1938. His wife, Max’s sister, was still living in Germany; their two sons, Frank (Franz) Löwenstein and Walter R. Lowe (Löwenstein), had already moved to the USA. In December 1940, after inheritance matters were resolved and income tax arrears paid, the inheritance in the amount of 133,179.54 Reichsmark was deposited with the approval of the *Devisenstelle* (foreign exchange board) Cologne in two preferred frozen accounts of the heirs at the Deutsche Bank Cologne. Because of the name change at the time of emigration, the *Devisenstelle* Berlin halted the process in February 1941 and demanded a will. Clarifying this detail took three months. As of May 17 and June 17, 1941, the eventual transfer approval of two foreign exchange allocations is registered internally. In the wake of the American president’s order of June 14, 1941 to freeze all German assets in the United States, Reich Minister Walther Funk mandated the discontinuation of all payment transactions to the USA. On July 18, 1941, the heirs’ lawyer was informed by the *Devisenstelle* Berlin that it will not be possible to carry out any further transfers. No description exists of what happened subsequently.

The family of Elsie’s sister Gretchen Dolcina met with a much more sinister fate. Gretchen had been married to Daniel Dublon; they had a daughter, Hilda, born in Lüneburg in 1924. On July 20, 1942, the entire family was deported from Hamburg on Transport VI/2 to the Theresienstadt concentration camp. There, Hilda passed away on May 15, 1943 aged only eighteen.³²⁶ An infection of the middle ear was indicated as

³²⁵ This information must be read with reservation since it originates from the homepage of “*Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsschreibung*,” a revisionist quarterly whose editors have been in violation of the Austrian Prohibition Act 1947 with utterances also elsewhere. Here, the source is indicated as Moscow Special Archives, 1467-2-121.

³²⁶ Mail Alice Berankova, Terezín Memorial, May 6, 2009.

official death cause;³²⁷ building E VI, the sickbay, was registered as place of death on May 17 by the Department of Internal Administration of the Theresienstadt concentration camp.³²⁸

³²⁷ Weyl genealogical tree, Benjamin and Daniel Weyl.

³²⁸ Department of Internal Administration, death cases of May 15, 1943, Terezín Memorial.

ABTEILUNG FÜR INNERE VERWALTUNG
Matrik und Beerdigungswesen.

Theresienstadt, am 17. Mai 1943.

G E B U R T E N :

Am 14. Mai 1943 wurde in E VI ein Knabe geboren.
Vater: Franz Neumann, Trs.Nr. 94/C1
Mutter: Ruth Neumann, geb. Müller, Trs.Nr. 95/C1

Am 14. Mai 1943 wurde in E VI ein Knabe geboren.
Vater: Siegfried Israel Loewinski, Trs.Nr. 9463/I/74
Mutter: Ilse Sara Loewinski, geb. Rosin, Trs.Nr. 9462/I/74

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S t e r b e f ä l l e
vom 15. Mai 1943.

<u>Lfd.Nr.:</u>		<u>Trs.Nr.:</u>	<u>Geb.- Jahr:</u>	<u>Ubika- tion:</u>
1	Alter Marjem Sara, geb. Weiss	669/IV/1	1874	L 316
2	Beck Elisabeth	433/Cd	1860	E VII
3	Bulling Hermine Sara, geb. Tachauer	151/IV/3	1875	A II
4	Davids Hedwig Sara, geb. Kiefer	375/VII/2	1876	L 116
5	Droller Jenni Sara, geb. Sonn	89/XII/2	1877	Q 507
6	Dublon Hilde Sara	118/VI/2	1924	E VI
7	Heilbrunn Berta Sara, geb. Traub	375/XII/3	1862	H V
8	Hirsch Elsa Sara	1019/XIII/1	1885	A II
9	Kaufmann Hedwig Sara, geb. Eckstein	818/II/17	1876	L 124
10	Kurzynski Martha Sara	367/VI/2	1870	L 206
11	Landsberg Frida Sara, geb. Wollenberg	135/IX/4	1869	L 306
12	Laufer Moritz	159/Ch	1861	H V
13	Lederer Valerie, geb. Kohn	384/Aw	1884	L 504
14	Lesser Sophie Sara, geb. Baer	826/XVI/1	1871	Q 808
15	Leubuscher Betty Sara, geb. Kuttner	2398/I/31	1874	E VII
16	Dr. Levy Ernst Nathan Israel	9036/I/71	1885	E IIIa
17	Lewy Mindel	406/VI/2	1876	L 504
18	Löwenherz Bernhard Israel	425/VI/2	1895	B IV
19	Menzel Moritz	141/U	1872	E VII
20	Meyer Jenny Sara, geb. Fechheimer	301/II/25	1863	Q 306
21	Moses Lea Sara, geb. Plaut	825/XVI/1	1868	A II
22	Neumann Olga	161/Bz	1877	E VI
23	Oolsner Emma Sara, geb. Kronheim	7697/I/66	1869	L 104
24	Perl Siegfried Israel	37/V/1	1869	L 225
25	Rosenstiel Henriette Sara, geb. Grünebaum	915/XII/3	1884	L 108
26	Salinger Rifka Sara, geb. Markiewitz	973/IX/1	1863	L 112
27	Salzer Helene Sara, geb. Fried	420/IV/10	1878	L 208
28	Seidl Dina, geb. Stein	477/C1	1862	E VII
29	Speier Moses	702/XI/1	1876	E I
30	Süss Gustav Israel	1056/XII/3	1868	E IIIa
31	Schneider Karl	578/Co	1867	L 501
32	Steiner Arnold Israel	270/IV/6	1868	L 408
33	Strauss Julius Israel	574/III/1	1871	E IIIa
34	Vogel Julius Israel	7358/I/65	1866	A II
35	Weihls Wilhelm Israel	866/IV/4	1874	A II
36	Wengraf Max Israel	69/IV/12	1873	E IIIa
37	Wiener Emma Sara	254/XVIII/5	1858	E VII
38	Wolf fromm Ida Sara, geb. Friedmann	490/II/26	1875	L 112

Fig. 50: Death register of May 15, 1943 of the Theresienstadt concentration camp. No. 6: Dublon Hilde Sara.

Cf: Department of Internal Administration Theresienstadt, death cases of May 15, 1943, Terezín Memorial.

✓ 121	Lewald Ella ✓	13. 7.77	Haushalt	I/44-3723
0 122	Lewald Cecilie 0	22. 8.72	Haushalt	I/44-3721
✓ 123	Levinger Clothilde ✓	24. 2.73	Haushalt	I/32-2469
✓ 124	Lode Walter ✓	11. 4.02	Schulmacher	VII-2/692
✓ 125	Nadel Regina ✓	22. 6.90	Krankenpfleg.	VI/2-520
✓ 126	Dublon Gretchen ✓	5.12.94	Haushalt	VI/2-116
✓ 127	Berliner Nanny ✓	6. 3.75	Haushalt	VI/2-41
✓ 128	Sänger Edith ✓	25. 5.93	Arbeiterin	VI/1-766
✓ 129	Kronthal Rosa ✓	30. 6.78	Haushalt	IX/2-781
0 130	Cohn Martha 0	22. 5.78	Haushalt	IX/2-208
✓ 131	Cohn Benno ✓	7.11.76	Arbeiter	IX/2-207
✓ 132	Katz Lina ✓	11. 6.87	Haushalt	XII/1-382
0 133	Nathan Henriette 0	3. 3.77	Haushalt	VII/1-628
✓ 134	Nathan Karl ✓	18.12.78	Arbeiter	VII/1-629
✓ 135	Neuberger Meta ✓	27.10.91	Haushalt	XII/3-303
0 136	Neuberger Adolfo 0	28. 3.76	Arbeiter	XII/3-302
✓ 137	Pase Josef Isidor ✓	1. 8.71	Arbeiter	IX/2-800
✓ 138	Meyer Albert ✓	28.12.67	Arbeiter	XVII/1-668
0 139	Oppenheim Bertha 0	15. 1.73	Haushalt	XVII/1-36
✓ 140	Oppenheim Samuel ✓	31. 1.83	Schneider	XVII/1-35
✓ 141	Pondi Bertha ✓	20. 2.01	Haushalt	I/69-7968
✓ 142	Heymann Emma ✓	22. 2.73	Haushalt	I/67-7811
✓ 143	Blumenthal Toni ✓	4. 3.80	Haushalt	I/59-6145
✓ 144	Militscher Elise ✓	16.12.73	Haushalt	XXI/1-24
✓ 145	Schlesinger Herta ✓	6. 2.91	Kunstgewerbl.	XVIII/5-247
✓ 146	Schlesinger Eugen ✓	23.11.77	Apotheker	XVIII/5-246
✓ 147	Ucko Siegfried ✓	1. 9.73	Arbeiter	XVIII/3-153
0 148	Rothenberg Rosa 0	4. 7.78	Haushalt	IX/3-48
✓ 149	Rothenberg Emil ✓	17. 2.76	Arbeiter	IX/3-47
0 150	Schreiber Adolf Aron 0	8. 3.78	Kaufmann	X/3-28

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Fig. 51: Transport list of the special transport from Theresienstadt to Switzerland from February 5 to 7, 1945. No. 126: Dublon Gretchen.

Hilda's mother, Gretchen, was freed on February 5, 1945, three months ahead of the camp's liberation, and arrived by special transport in Switzerland.³²⁹ The latter had come about following negotiations conducted by Jean-Marie Musy,³³⁰ the right-wing two-time Swiss president of 1925 and 1930. In the thirties, his ideas had largely conformed to those of the National Socialists, therefore, he could not be suspected of being close to the Jews. Yet, from 1944 on, he committed himself to the cause of threatened and already imprisoned Jews who oftentimes had Swiss relatives. Likely, he did that to secure for himself a moral and political alibi for the time after the war. At the request of Isaac Sternbuch, the *Va'ad Hahatzalah*³³¹ representative, Musy contacted Heinrich Himmler in October 1944 to negotiate with him about the release of Jews living in the German sphere of control. After several rounds of talk, Musy met again with Himmler on January 1 in the Southern German spa of Wildbad. The latter demanded five million francs in order to get food and medicine to Germany with the help of the Red Cross. According to Sternbuch, the prospect of 30,000 Jews was held out as counter deal, in groups of 1,500 per month against transfer of 250,000 dollars per transport. After further negotiations between Musy and Schellenberg, 1210 persons were released from Theresienstadt on February 5, 1945 and brought to Switzerland. Whether the close relationship between the former IKG St. Gallen president Willi Burgauer and Saly Mayer and perhaps other negotiators, the family in Switzerland, or else pure coincidence

³²⁹ Mail Alice Berankova, Terezín Memorial May 6, 2009.

³³⁰ In his negotiations, Musy built on those of Saly Mayer who had repeatedly obtained improvements for individual or groups of Jews through counter deals and considerable payments. Initially, Saly Mayer's role was seen as entirely positive, but new research reveals a divisive role. Not only did these deals enable war-prolonging purchases through foreign currency needed by the Third Reich, which eventually brought about the death of many imprisoned Jews; there is, moreover, evidence that Mayer had intervened against the St. Gallen cantonal police commander Paul Grüninger or even caused his dismissal. Grüninger had helped Jewish refugees to illegally cross the Swiss border, which had been closed since 1938. At the SIG, too, Mayer pursued a hard line against the admission of refugees; this led to his removal as president in 1943. Mayer refused to cooperate with political adversaries toward a reversal of the restrictive asylum policies, but collaborated with Heinrich Rothmund, head of the immigration authorities, whom leading Jewish functionaries supported in his anti-Jewish politics. They did this, among others, to avoid further financial burdens through providing for board and lodging. Cf: Elam, Mayer; Yehuda Bauer, „Onkel Saly“ – die Verhandlungen des Saly Mayer zur Rettung der Juden 1944/45, in: Hans Rothfels / Theodor Eschenburg / Helmut Krausnick (Eds.), *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, issue 25 1977, no. 2, 188-219, here 204.

³³¹ Orthodox rescue committee from the USA, in competition with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which collaborated with Saly Mayer.

brought about Willi's cousin Gretchen being on the restricted transport list remains unknown.³³² In any case, this official transport remained unique. In the wake of media reports and after Hitler was told about it, Ernst Kaltenbrunner was ordered to no longer permit any Jew to leave the Reich's territory.³³³ On May 8, 1945, the concentration camp, which hardly two weeks earlier had been transferred by the SS to the Red Cross, was liberated by the Red Army. Among the surviving inmates was also Daniel Dublon.³³⁴ Another example of how a family was torn apart and destroyed by the Holocaust is the Baum family. Leopold Baum of Nonnenweier, today Schwanau in Baden-Württemberg, had married Erna Harburger, daughter of Leonie and granddaughter of Adolf Burgauer. They had two sons: Fritz and Heinz. The family sensed notable restrictions already starting in 1933, which were also reflected in the interpersonal realm. Yet, help was available, surprisingly swiftly for the time: in 1934, Heinz was supposed to apply for the *Oberrealschule* (type of highschool). However, since another Jewish boy had already been admitted there, the application was initially rejected. Thereupon, Leopold directly



Fig. 52: Letter of Leopold Baum to his brother Paul in Auschwitz, December 1943; JMH / Leopold Baum, Photo: Stefan Weis.

³³² According to some reports, the concentration camp inmates had been aware of SS preparations for a transport to Switzerland, but nobody could believe this. Hence, the *Judenrat* had difficulties providing the required number of individuals. Cf: Kulturverein Schwarzer Hahn e.V., Theresienstadt 1941-1945 – Ein Nachschlagewerk, <http://www.ghetto-theresienstadt.de/pages/t/transporte.htm#schweiz>, accessed 20.5.2009.

³³³ Bauer, Onkel Saly, 204-214.

³³⁴ Mail Alice Berankova, Terezín Memorial, May 6. 2009.

intervened with the mayor by pointing out that he and his five brothers had fought on the frontlines of the Great War. Following a brief phone call with the minister of cultural affairs in Karlsruhe, school admission was approved without any hesitation.³³⁵ As the situation in the Third Reich worsened, Leopold, cigar manufacturer in Offenburg, tried to immigrate to Switzerland in late 1937. However, since there was almost no chance of obtaining a work- or operating permit, Leopold acquired a coconut weaving mill in Eschen, Liechtenstein; they relocated in March 1938. In Liechtenstein, too, they were exposed to Brown ideology. Thus, a firecracker of the “*Volksdeutsche*” exploded in front of the Baums’ home in the fall of 1938; in the Eschen middle-school, Fritz had a National Socialist teacher, Alfons Goop; however, neither he nor the other pupils ever accosted him in an anti-Semitic manner. Fritz and Heiny were denied admission to the local scouts—but unlike numerous relatives, they did survive the war.³³⁶

In 1933, Leopold’s brother Otto managed to escape to Palestine;³³⁷ his sister, Fanny Haberer, like many others, was denied entry into Liechtenstein by the government.³³⁸ From France, where she had fled during the war, she was at first taken to Chervonaya Zorka in Ukraine. From there she was deported on November 4, 1942 to Auschwitz Birkenau where she was murdered that same day.³³⁹ Her brothers Paul and Arnold were also deported to Auschwitz. Paul, who initially worked as forced laborer for the German Reich Railway,³⁴⁰ was brought to the extermination camp on February 19, 1943 and murdered there that same month.³⁴¹ Prior to his deportation, Arnold had lived with

³³⁵ Manuscript Heinz Baum, JMH.

³³⁶ Peter Geiger, *Krisenzeit. Liechtenstein in den Dreissigerjahren 1928-1939* (vol. 2) Vaduz/Zurich 2000, 427-447; Verein der Lichtensteiner Freunde von Yad Vashem, *Zuflucht auf Raten. Lichtenstein und die Juden* (exhibition catalog), Ruggell 2010, 26.

³³⁷ JMH, Hohenems Genealogy,

<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I14907&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 20.5.2013.

³³⁸ Verein der Lichtensteiner Freunde von Yad Vashem, *Zuflucht auf Raten*, 40.

³³⁹ Yad Vashem, The Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names,

<http://db.yadvashem.org/names/nameDetails.html?itemId=3182823&language=de>, accessed 18.5.2009.

³⁴⁰ JMH, Hohenems Genealogy,

<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I14562&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 20.5.2013.

³⁴¹ Yad Vashem, The Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names,

<http://db.yadvashem.org/names/nameDetails.html?itemId=4087910&language=de>, accessed 18.5.2009.

his wife Lili and son Hans in Paris. On July 24, 1942, the family was taken from Drancy to Auschwitz on Transport 10 and murdered there on August 9.³⁴² The last remaining child of Wilhelm and Sophie Baum, Emil Baum, probably became a Holocaust victim as well.³⁴³

There were more victims among the descendants of Benjamin Burgauer. Whether Klara Löwenberg, a granddaughter of Zemirah and great-granddaughter of Mayer Benjamin Burgauer, who converted to Christianity in 1936/37, was at least indirectly one of them, is unclear. In 1914 and 1918, she was still registered in Innsbruck, on February 6, 1941, she died in Vienna.³⁴⁴ Her brother Erwin Emanuel was resettled to Vienna in 1939,³⁴⁵ on October 15, 1941 he was deported on Transport 6, Train Da 1 to the Łódź Ghetto where he died on November 20, 1941.³⁴⁶ Paula Rosenthal, a great-granddaughter of Brendel and great-great-granddaughter of the “patriarch” Benjamin Burgauer, was arrested together with her husband, Josef Goldschmied, on October 6, 1944 in Conegliano, Veneto, and was taken to the only concentration camp on Italian soil, Risiera di San Sabba near Trieste and deported to Auschwitz on October 18, 1944.³⁴⁷ While Paul probably died shortly after his internment in the concentration camp, Paula’s death is assumed to have occurred in February 1945.³⁴⁸

³⁴² Yad Vashem, The Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names, <http://db.yadvashem.org/names/nameDetails.html?itemId=3158987&language=de>, accessed 18.5.2009; JMH, Hohenems Genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I14904&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 20.5.2013.

³⁴³ Manuscript Heinz Baum, JMH.

³⁴⁴ JMH, Hohenems Genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0855&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 20.5.2013.

³⁴⁵ JMH, Hohenems Genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I0835&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 20.5.2013.

³⁴⁶ Yad Vashem, The Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names, <http://db.yadvashem.org/names/nameDetails.html?itemId=4956428&language=de>, accessed 18.5.2009.

³⁴⁷ Yad Vashem, The Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names, <http://db.yadvashem.org/names/nameDetails.html?itemId=4966002&language=de>, accessed 18.05.2009.

³⁴⁸ JMH, Hohenems Genealogy, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I1335&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 20.5.2013.

Salomon Marx, husband of Adolf Burgauer's daughter Emma, died in 1940 aged eighty-five in Thann, Alsace; his wife was forced to leave her home "*because of the monsters Hitler-Pétain*," but survived the war in refugee camps in the Pyrenees.³⁴⁹

Willi Burgauer's relatives by marriage survived National Socialist persecution by escaping to New York and Buenos Aires³⁵⁰—two emigration destinations, which not just in the context of persecution provided new homes for the Burgauers.

³⁴⁹ Photo album Burgauer, Pierre Burgauer.

³⁵⁰ Photo album Burgauer, Pierre Burgauer.

6 THE BURGAUERS' MIGRATION TO AMERICA

Even though Hohenems emigration was mostly to St. Gallen, some also immigrated to the United States of America directly from Vorarlberg. Family members of subsequent generations then did the same from St. Gallen as well; in South America, too, there is a Burgauer line. Here, we want to provide a brief overview of those migrations.

6.1 Emigration from Hohenems to the USA

Through Mayer Benjamin's estate, we have already learned about the two emigrants from Hohenems. Benjamin, sometimes also called Benjamin Maier to distinguish him from his father, and his brother Leopold left their hometown of Hohenems around 1850 and emigrated—illegally, that is, without notice of departure—to the United States of America.

Emigration from German-speaking areas to America remained low between 1700 and 1820, but kept continually rising until 1854, peaking at 215,000 persons that year. The American Civil War, in particular, brought about a significant decrease before another peak was reached in 1882 with a quarter of a million German-speaking immigrants. In the 19th century, a total of six million German-speaking individuals immigrated to the United States, four million of them in the wake of the failed Revolution of 1848.³⁵¹ Whatever push- and pull motives might have applied to the Burgauers' emigration, they were probably similar to those that induced their own brothers to leave for Switzerland: the prospect of more liberties and rights elsewhere, better economic outlook, mainly, however, the founding a family, which was impossible at home due to maximum limit (*Normzahl*) and registration number (*Matrikelnummer*). Another emigration motive might have been the escape from military service, which became a reason for many a Vorarlberg Christian as well. The fact that the USA was developing into an increasingly important market for St. Gallen products was probably another significant incentive for the family. Emigration overseas was not desirable in the eyes of the Austrian authorities.

³⁵¹ Meinrad Pichler, *Auswanderer. Von Vorarlberg in die USA 1800-1938*, Bregenz 1993, 15-16.

They tried to obstruct the Swiss “*agencies for the transport of emigrants to America*” in their work and instead, to promote the “*from a national-economic aspect desirable immigration to Hungary.*”³⁵² This likely did not concern Jews at all since at the time the prevailing policy was still to strictly curtail their rights and keep their numbers as low as possible. Of the fifty persons known by name who emigrated from the Hohenems Jewish community to America between 1845 and 1938, at least thirty left Vorarlberg between 1846 and 1860; among the remaining twenty, ten women married overseas in the space of sixty-eight years. In 1860, the Jewish Community head compiled a list, which showed that forty-five young men from the conscription years 1817 until 1840 were absent; twenty-four of them were living in the United States. Of the forty emigrated men, all were single; not a single family moved overseas, probably because of the emigration tax, which amounted to almost a quarter of a family’s assets.³⁵³

The strong desire for social and economic liberties is reflected in the percentage distribution within Hohenems. While the Jewish population constituted initially 10%, later on 5% of the total population, 25% of emigrants to America were from the Jewish community. This also meant that the Burgauers were able to draw on the migration experiences of their fellow Jews: there was a Löwenberg in Philadelphia in 1836, Simon Hirschfeld was a founding member of the emigrants’ association in Ohio in 1844, or Samuel Bernheimer in New York and New Orleans in 1845. Thus, it was, for instance, possible to benefit from the latter’s experience in establishing a trade in colonial goods and textiles.³⁵⁴

³⁵² Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 37.

³⁵³ Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 209-210.

³⁵⁴ Pichler, *Auswanderer*, 210-211.

As early as March 27, 1852, the army draft card arrived. From the enlistment protocol, we learn a few personal details about Leopold: twenty-two years old, black hair, pink skin color, 5 feet 6 inches (168 cm) tall, from Tyrol, Austria, weaver (laces). He was hired by Captain McLane in Baltimore and released on July 30, 1853.³⁵⁵ During the American Civil War, he was called up again. He served in the first company of the 27th Pennsylvania Infantry³⁵⁶ of the Union, enlisted as corporal and signed off as sergeant.³⁵⁷ On April 27, 1861, J. Tostenbacher wrote to the Secretary of State in Washington:

*“Regarding my inquiries of April 19, 20, 21, and 22, I respectfully ask you to send me passports and certificates of citizenship for the following five individuals who were granted United States citizenship. Descriptions of the individuals:
[...] Leopold Burgauer [...]
In case you have received these documents, I request the forwarding of these passports. If not, I am subject to your instruction, which of these letters has failed to reach you.
It is my honor to be your most humble servant...”*³⁵⁸

Probably just after his naturalization, Leopold Burgauer married Louisa Meyers of Lengnau³⁵⁹ and settled in Philadelphia. In 1847, her mother, Rachel Regina, and stepfather, Simon Meyer Guggenheim, had emigrated from the Swiss “Judendorf” (Jews’ village) in the Canton of Aargau

Fig. 53: Enlistment Leopold Burgauer, 1852.

³⁵⁵ Enlistment, Ancestry.com, accessed 14.04.2010.

³⁵⁶ The 27th Regiment, Pennsylvania Infantry was founded in January 1861 a year in Baltimore, in June around Washington. Five officers and 67 soldiers result of illness. Cf. http://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-regiments-detail.htm?regiment_id=UPA0027RI, accessed 14.4.2010.

³⁵⁷ Film number M554 roll 15, familysearch.org, accessed 14.4.2010.

³⁵⁸ Ancestry.com.

³⁵⁹ <http://trees.ancestry.de/tree/19421097/person/799904100>, accessed 7.10.2015.

to Philadelphia, a move that enabled them to get married. They were joined by their twelve or thirteen children from their respective previous marriages. Both were widowed. Thus, Rachel's sister Barbara met her stepbrother and future husband already on the way to Philadelphia: Meyer Guggenheim, the founder of the legendary US "family empires." In Philadelphia, the Guggenheims started out with peddling and later on with the production of cleansing material. However, they soon became successful with the import of St. Gallen textiles (shortly after Adolf Burgauer, their brother in law, settled in St. Gallen starting his own career in textile production) and eventually the establishment of a large mining- and metallurgical company before becoming art collectors, patrons, and museum founders.³⁶⁰ Yet, Leopold Burgauer would not witness much of this rise to the top of American society. In 1863, his first daughter was born, until his death in 1875, he would father five children. Rachel married a Levy and had four children. Jenni (Jeanette) married the merchant Samuel L. Elzas of Maryland (His father is from Holland, his mother from Germany.)

In 1910, the two of them live in Milwaukee City, Wisconsin.³⁶¹ Flora married Ferdinand Goldberger, they had two children. (These lines can be tracked well into the present via Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Diego.)³⁶² In 1910, Meyer lived at his sister's Jenni,³⁶³ and Celia married Barry Nachman, they had one child. Except for his minor military career, not much additional information exists about him. In 1866, he worked as a retailer, in 1880, his wife emerged as a widow working in an intelligence office. In 1890, her profession was indicated as fashion shop assistant, her children worked as employees.³⁶⁴

³⁶⁰ Cf. Avraham Barkai, *Branching out. German-Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820-1914*, New York 1994, 54-55.

³⁶¹ Census 1910, Ancestry.com.

³⁶² JMH, Hohenems Genealogie, <http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/getperson.php?personID=I9290&tree=Hohenems>, accessed 14.4.2011.

³⁶³ Census 1910, Ancestry.com.

³⁶⁴ Cencus 1880, 1890, Ancestry.com.

Philadelphia April 27th 1861

all sent
as before

To his Excellency William H. Seward
Secretary of State
Washington
D. C.

I begged leave to request You by my respects of
April 19, 20, 21. & 24th to send me Passports for the
following five adopted Citizens of the United States
inclosing their Certificates of Citizenship & description
of their persons:

- 1, John Baumann 639 Apr 26
- 2, Urban Laethy 638 Apr 26
- 3, Conrad Bender 654 Apr 27
- 4, Leopold Burgauer 691 Apr 27
- 5, Anthony Weist 700 Apr 27

In case You should have received those papers
I beg to repeat my request for sending the Passports, if
not, I will feel much obliged for Your advice which
of those letters failed to reach You

I have the honor to be

Your obed^t Serv^t
J. Fortenbacher

S.W. Corner of 3^d & Greenstreets
Philadelphia Pa

Fig. 54: Request for sending the citizenship, 27.4.1861; www.genealogybank.com

Leopold's brother Benjamin also wanted to settle in Philadelphia, which already early on featured a vibrant Jewish, but also "German" life. Thus, already in 1838, the first Jewish Sunday school was established, in 1865, a Jewish hospital.³⁶⁵ The "City of Brotherly Love" became, apart from New York, a major destination for numerous Jewish immigrants. The Jewish population increased from 500 in 1820 to 4,000 in 1848, and redoubled until 1860.³⁶⁶

Benjamin married Mary, a German-speaking Jewish emigrant, with whom he had four children: Morris, David (a publisher, married to Swedish-born Christine, daughter Delphine),³⁶⁷ Harriet, and Joseph. Following a general request, he received US citizenship³⁶⁸ already on September 30, 1856. In 1860, he worked as a language teacher, three years later as a peddler.³⁶⁹ Later on, scattered reports appear about the family such as in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* of December 12, 1874, which relates that Morris Burgauer was arrested on Ninth and Green Street after having attacked a Germantown train conductor; on November 30, 1893 there is an article, which tells about a dispute surrounding a horse. Also in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* are the obituaries of David on November 20, 1906 and his wife on February 28, 1907.³⁷⁰

6.2 From St. Gallen to the USA

Around 760 settled Jews, registered between the time of emancipation and 1910, eventually left St. Gallen. Two hundred of them moved to unknown destinations. Of the two hundred families, 5% emigrated to Austria, 15% to Germany, and 10% to other parts of Western Europe; 35% relocated within Switzerland, 10% moved overseas. Among the 280 single men, too, New York and Philadelphia became a popular destination apart from the 45% who migrated within Switzerland.³⁷¹ One of them was Morris (Moritz) Burgauer, Adolf's eldest son. When he moved to New York in the 1890s,

³⁶⁵ Arthur A. Goren, *American Jews (Dimensions of Ethnicity)*, Cambridge/Massachusetts 1982, 32.

³⁶⁶ Barkai, *Branching out*, 54-55.

³⁶⁷ Census 1900, Ancestry.com

³⁶⁸ Naturalizations Records 1789-1880, Philadelphia, genealogybank.com.

³⁶⁹ Census 1860, Steuerliste 1863, Ancestry.com.

³⁷⁰ Genealogybank.com.

³⁷¹ Schreiber, Hirschfeld, 64-65.

he was still unmarried and met his future wife, New York-born Julia Roth, there; they married on January 5, 1893.³⁷² In June, their son Elwood was born; their second child, Ruth, arrived only twelve years later. Initially, he worked as merchant and embroidery manufacturer at the Kahn & Burgauer Company. Later, he would establish the Royal Embroidery Works, in which numerous former St.Gallen inhabitants did their apprenticeships. There, they not only learned the business, but also the language.³⁷³ It can be assumed that New York was chosen as place of immigration not only because of the parental company's core business, but also because of its commercial relations. It seems that the business went well; already in 1910, a housekeeper is mentioned in the statistics.³⁷⁴ In 1921, Morris was awarded citizenship by the New York City Court.³⁷⁵ Elwood was drafted to the army in World War I, his son Daniel R. in World War II; as of September 24, 1942, he is reported "*Private*."³⁷⁶ After the war, Daniel worked at "*Manny's Music*" store in New York, which belonged to his father-in-law, Mr. Goldrich. On August 15, 1965, he delivered to the first stadium concert in music history a drum kit, which would be played by Ringo Starr at the Shea Stadium. Apparently no avid fan of the Beatles, he left the place already before the start of the concert, thus missing the best-attended performance (55,600 spectators) in the career of the "Mop-Tops."³⁷⁷

³⁷² Citizen's register St. Gallen.

³⁷³ Fotoalbum Burgauer, Pierre Burgauer bzw. Burgauer & Co, 1860-1960, 6.

³⁷⁴ Census 1910, Ancestry.com.

³⁷⁵ Passenger list to Bermuda, 1924, Ancestry.com.

³⁷⁶ Enlistments, Ancestry.com.

³⁷⁷ www.mannysmusic.com, accessed 27.8.2009.

Ueberseeische Auswanderung Emigration dans les pays d'outre-mer Emigrazione per i paesi d'oltre mare		19 <u>53.</u>	Nr. <u>2</u>
1. AGENTUR - AGENCE - AGENZIA	FRITZ EICHMANN, ST. GALL		
2. a) Name - Nom - Cognome:	Burgauer		
b) Vorname - Prénom - Nome:	Paul, David		
3. Geschlecht - Sexe - Sesso:	m xxx		
4. Geburtsjahr - Année de naissance - Anno di nascita:	1926		
5. Zivilstand - Etat civil - Stato civile:	ledig		
6. a) Heimatgemeinde - Commune d'origine - Comune d'origine:	St. Gallen		
b) Heimatkanton - Canton d'origine - Cantone d'origine:	St. Gallen		
7. a) Letzter Wohnort - Dernier domicile - Ultimo domicilio:	St. Gallen		
b) Wohnkanton - Canton de domicile - Cantone di domicilio:	St. Gallen		
8. Beruf - Profession - Professione			
a) des Auswanderers - de l'émigrant - dell'emigrante:	Dr. chem. <u>S</u>		
b) des Ernährers - de celui qui l'entretient - di chi lo mantiene:			
9. Datum der Abreise - Date du départ - Data di partenza			
a) aus der Schweiz - de Suisse - dalla Svizzera:	31.3.1953		
b) vom Abfahrtshafen - du port de départ - del porto di partenza:	2.4.1953		
10. a) Abfahrtshafen - Port de départ - Porto di partenza:	LE HAVRE		
b) Flugunternehmen - Entreprise aérienne - Impresa di aeri:			
c) Schiff - Bateau - Bastimento:	ss "AMERICA"		
d) Schiffsgesell. - Entrepr. de navig. - Impresa di navigazione:	USL		
e) Ankunftshafen - Port d'arrivée - Porto d'arrivo:	New York		
f) Bestimmungsort - Lieu de destination - Luogo di destinazione:	USA		
11. Gesamttransportpreis - Prix total du transport - Prezzo globale del trasporto:	Fr. 1012.65		
Détails s. Rückseite - Détails au verso - Dettagli v. retro			
12. Ist der Reisende Auswanderer oder Passagier? Le voyageur est-il émigrant ou passager? Il viaggiatore è emigrante o passeggero?	Auswanderer		

Fig. 55: Datasheet on Paul David Burgauer's emigration, 1953.

Several other people migrated to the United States, for instance, Paul David, a grandson of Adolf; he worked as a chemist in Cincinnati and later settled in Libertyville, Illinois, together with his wife Margrit (Margaret) Roos of Berlin. They had three sons: James Otto, Richard Allen (Dicky, died when he was only five years old), and Steven. In 2002, Steven—a science fiction author and teacher at Eureka College, Ronald Reagan’s alma mater—was the Libertarian Party candidate for the US Senate from Illinois.³⁷⁸

Apart from voluntary emigration such as, for instance, Rolf Adolf Burgauer’s, Burgauer immigration to the USA also took place in the context of escape from National Socialism: Gustav and Willy Neufeld went to New York and Cleveland, Henriette Burgauer with her husband, Charles, and her daughter, Fanny Bloch, to New York.

6.3 From St. Gallen to Buenos Aires

Today, the largest known family can be found in Buenos Aires. It all started with an individual emigration from St. Gallen. Carl, a son of Adolf, immigrated to Argentina in 1899. Registered as merchant in the passenger list, it can be assumed that—as was the case for his brother Morris—the family business was also an emigration reason since at this point in time, Burgauer & Co was already very active both in North as well as in South America.

At the transition to the 20th century, Buenos Aires witnessed an intense influx as did all of Argentina. The city’s population rose from 230,000 in 1875 to over a million around 1905 and 1.5 million in 1914. In this period, Argentina’s capital became Latin America’s largest city. Thanks to its location at a river and port and to a general economic boom, it offered a favorable basis for economic development. However, immigrants from German-speaking areas were the minority; about half of the immigrants came from Italy, a quarter was Spanish-speaking, only 2% of the population was of German origin.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸ Library of Congress, <http://lcweb4.loc.gov/elect2002/catalog/1178.html>, accessed 27.8.2009.

³⁷⁹ Richard J. Walter, *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires: 1910-1942*, Cambridge 1993, 7-9.

1899

Verzeichniss

der mit dem *Lissun* Dampfschiffe *Belgrano* am *10. März* von *Hamburg*

über *Spanien* nach dem Hafen *La Plata* beförderten Auswanderer

Die zu einer Familie gehörenden Personen sind unter einander zu schreiben und durch eine Klammer als zusammengehörig zu bezeichnen.		Geschlecht		Alter (in Jahren)	Bei deutsch-Männern v. 15 bis 25 Jahren, bei den Entlassungs-urkunden oder des Eintrags § 23 des Ausw.-gesetzes vermerkt?	Familienstand (Jede u. s. v.)	Bisheriger Wohnort	Staatsangehörigkeit	Bezeichnung des bisherigen Berufs	Stellung im bisherigen Berufs	Ziel der Auswanderung (Ort und Staat)	Davon sind:	
N.	Zuname	Vornamen	männlich	weiblich								Erwachsene und Kinder über 16 Jahre	Kinder unter 16 Jahre
<u>I. Klasse</u>													
	<i>Cajista</i>												
1	<i>Burgauer</i>	<i>Carl</i>	1		28		<i>H. Jellen</i>				<i>Montevideo</i>	1	
2	<i>Philipp</i>	<i>Eustas</i>	1		18		<i>Hamburg</i>				<i>Euenos-Aires</i>	1	
3	<i>Lindwiel</i>	<i>Ernst</i>	1		34		<i>St. Louis</i>					1	
4	<i>Witschauer</i>	<i>Theodor</i>	1		32		<i>Polen</i>					1	
5	<i>Steyer</i>	<i>Carl</i>	1		35		<i>St. Louis</i>					1	
6	<i>Mela</i>	<i>Mela</i>	1		34							1	
7	<i>Katlich-Bohm</i>	<i>Erika</i>	1		21								1
				5	2								7
<u>II. Klasse</u>													
1	<i>Brückmann</i>	<i>Adolph</i>	1		35		<i>Leipzig</i>	<i>Meiss, Säch.</i>	<i>Kriegs-führ.</i>		<i>Montevideo</i>	1	
2	<i>Jöllner</i>	<i>Otto</i>	1		29		<i>Berlin</i>	<i>Preussen</i>			<i>Euenos-Aires</i>	1	
3	<i>Müller</i>	<i>Adolf</i>	1		25							1	
4	<i>Spinsky</i>	<i>Berta</i>	1		11		<i>Warski</i>	<i>Russen</i>				1	
5	<i>Christensen</i>	<i>Mathias</i>	1		28		<i>Köln</i>	<i>St. Louis</i>	<i>Angest.</i>	<i>Hamburg</i>		1	
6	<i>Luna</i>	<i>Luna</i>	1		17		<i>Bayern</i>						1
				4	2								5

Hamburg, den 10. März 1899

Hamburg-Amerika Linie.
Abteilung Passagierverkehr.

Carl Burgauer
1899

Ernst
14. 12. 99

L. S.

Fig. 56: Passenger list of Carl Burgauer's emigration. "Montevideo" is indicated as destination.

Upon arrival in Argentina, Carl married Emilie Luise Theodore Finck; she came from a devout Catholic family and converted. They had three children: Edith Rosalie, who died childless, Adolfo, and Carlos Eugenio. Adolfo became the first Argentinian president of a North American company, the American Rolling Mill Company (ARMCO, now AK Steel), which in 1909 developed a



Fig. 57: Carl's grave in Argentina.

Photo: Marina Burgauer.

manufacturing method for 99% pure iron, hereby consolidating its position on the world market. Adolfo married the Hamburg-native Maria Civila Flossmann; they had two children who as second-generation Argentinians still spoke German. Their eldest son, Rodolfo Walter, who had married an Argentinian woman with Austrian roots, worked for the automobile manufacturer Ford for thirty years and participated between 1975 and 1979 in the establishment of the Ford Valencia plant in Spain. By happenstance, he came across fabrics of the St. Gallen Burgauer & Co textile company at a local market there.³⁸⁰

Carl's second child, Carlos Eugenio, a merchant, also married an Argentinian woman originating from Germany, Teresa Margarita von der Wettern, daughter of Johann Walter and Bettina Seeli.³⁸¹ They had three children.

Over the years, contacts to the ancestral family in Switzerland tapered off. It remains open whether it had been possible to provide help and support during the National Socialist persecutions of the Jews. Parts of Gretchen Uhlman-Burgauer's family, Carl's

³⁸⁰ Skype chat of January resp. mail correspondence of February 2007 with Marina Burgauer, a great-granddaughter of Carl.

³⁸¹ Citizen's register St. Gallen.

sister-in-law, left Germany for Argentina. Willy Schwarz, Gretchen's nephew, had at first been lawyer in Stuttgart, after his escape, he worked as legal adviser for refugees in Buenos Aires.³⁸²

A total of close to fifty descendants can be traced back to Carl Burgauer.³⁸³

³⁸² Photo album Burgauer, Pierre Burgauer.

³⁸³ Skype Marina Burgauer.

7 SUMMARY

Much more could be told about the descendants of Judith respectively Benjamin Burgauer, many an anecdote emerged from our investigations. One could recount the amusing stories of mistaken identities of the twins Otto and Eugen who unwittingly had worked similar sales routes, hereby causing confusion among customers all over the world.³⁸⁴ One could write extensively about the art collections of Curt Leopold and his wife Erna who bequeathed Andy Warhol's classic "Campbell's Condensed Tomato Soup"³⁸⁵ together with other masterpieces and coin collections to the Art Museum (Kunstmuseum) St.Gallen, and whose house was filled with Picassos, Miros, Hundertwassers, Ernsts, Magrittes, etc.³⁸⁶ Same is true for the unique mint collection of Switzerland, that Werner Burgauer donated to the Historical- and Ethnographical Museum (Historisches- und Völkerkundemuseum) of St. Gallen.

And one might cast a glance over to England and talk about Gilbert De Botton's patronage of the arts, about his portrait sessions with Lucian Freud and Francis Bacon, and about the Tate Gallery of Modern Art, cofounded by him.³⁸⁷ But it would be equally possible to look into the descendants'



Fig. 58: Andy Warhol, Campbell's Condensed Tomato Soup, 1962. Donation of Erna and Curt Burgauer, 1987. Photo: Kunstmuseum St. Gallen.

³⁸⁴ Burgauer, Licht, 66-67.

³⁸⁵ Kunstmuseum St. Gallen, http://www.kunstmuseumsg.ch/sammlung_8.html, accessed 5.2.2008.

³⁸⁶ Burgauer, Das lebenslängliche Interview.

³⁸⁷ David Landau, Gilbert de Botton. Self-made financier who revelled in money, markets and modern art, in: The Guardian, 20.9.2000, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/2000/sep/20/guardianobituaries1>, accessed 4.2.2008.

everydaylife and tell about the field hockey players and models in Argentina or the volleyball players in California, about biologists, chemists, managers, writers, teachers, professors, traders, engineers, lawyers, journalists, and retirees.

The history of this family, which began with a widow's and her son's immigration to Hohenems, has produced several surprising and astonishingly comprehensive documents such as, for instance, the completely preserved divorce files of Mayer Benjamin or the naturalization documents of Adolf and Berthold Benedikt.

However, through the family's biography, Jewish history in the respective region could be tracked as well: economic and social activity within the tight boundaries of a tough legal situation for Jews, migration along economic routes and toward less restrictive places, everyday life in a particular society.

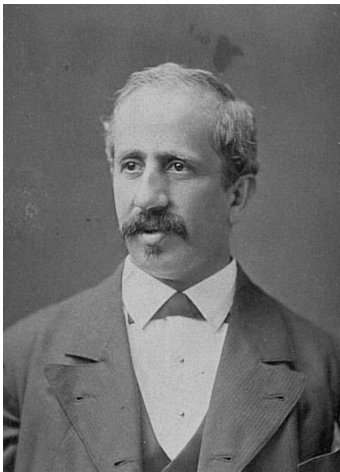
Sometimes the Burgauers proved to be among the vanguard, sometimes they remained inconspicuous—though for the researcher, they never lost their appeal. From the Further Austrian Burgau, he followed old economic, perhaps also familial connections to the small Countship of Hohenems, which offered Jews a home and a base for their activities in Vorarlberg. Limited by registration numbers, maximum limit, and special taxes, descendants frequently migrated; by the mid-19th century, the entire family had left the now Austrian Hohenems and had found a new home in the United States, but mainly in Switzerland.

*"Entirely unknown to [their] homeland,"*³⁸⁸ Benjamin's descendants found their new homeland all over the world. The fact that they did not become completely estranged from their former homeland is reflected, among others, in their closeness to the town's Jewish Museum. Also the old Burgauer house in the Jewish quarter of Hohenems, which in the meantime has been restored with great care, makes sure that the name *Burgauer* remains in the awareness of this small Vorarlberg community even one and a half centuries after the family's departure.

³⁸⁸ State Archives St.Gallen, citizenship records, naturalizations 1803-1938, LA 88-5.

8 PORTRAITS

“A picture is worth a thousand words... .” In the course of this research, not only documents and and lists were found, but also many a photograph of descendants of Benjamin Burgauer. A small selection will be presented here to better acquaint the reader with the individuals behind the names.



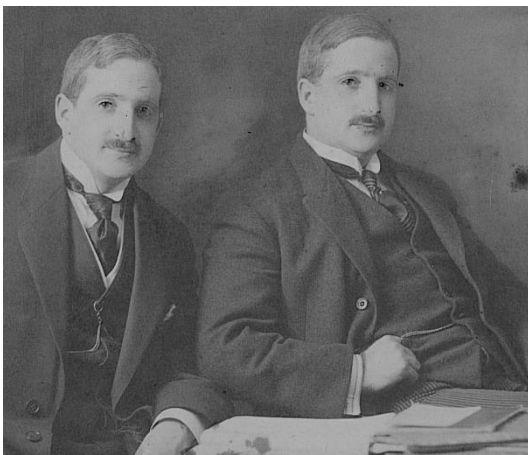
The founder of „Burgauer & Co“
Adolf Burgauer *1837 (pb)



Adolf's wife Rosalie David
Burgauer *1841 (pb)



Simon Harburger *1861, Leonie
Burgauer Harbuer *1871 (pb)



The twins Otto Burgauer *1886, and Eugen
Burgauer *1886 (pb)



Betty Kahn Burgauer *1895, Otto Burgauer *1886
(pb)



The Porges family: Arthur Porges *1896, Flora Burgauer Porges *1871, Josef Josko Porges *1860, Oskar Porges *1891 (pb)



From Burgauer to Baum: Erna Harburger Baum *1901, Leonie Burgauer Harburger *1871, Simon Harburger *1861 (pb)



Gretel Uhlmann Burgauer *1888, Willi Burgauer *1875 (pb)



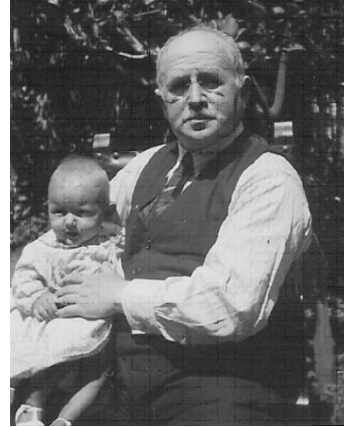
Charlotte Burgauer Meyer *1877, Helene Meier Burgauer *1899 (pb)



Carl Meyer *1901, Rudi Meyer *1903 (pb)



Willi Burgauer *1875 (pb)



Rodolfo Burgauer *1934, Carl Burgauer *1878 (mb)



Edith Rosalie Burgauer Meyer Sabini *1906 (pb)



Helene Meier Burgauer *1899, Eugen Burgauer *1886, Yvonne Fanny Burgauer Dreier *1925, Theodor Dreier (pb)



Fanny Bloch Freidmann Fred *1888, Henriette Burgauer Bloch *1868, Charlotte Burgauer Meyer *1877 (pb)



Elsa Dina Stern Burgauer *1879, Theodor Burgauer *1867 (pb)



Paul David Burgauer *1926 (pb)



Janine Dreyfuss Burgauer *1925
Werner Burgauer *1917 (pb)



Curt Leopold Burgauer *1908
(pb)



Riverside Drive West about 85th, New York: Rolf
Burgauer *1923, Eugen Burgauer *1886, Helene
Meier Burgauer *1899 (pb)



Werner Burgauer *1917, Adolf Heinz Burgauer
*1909, Ruth Sophie Burgauer Bollag *1912 (pb)



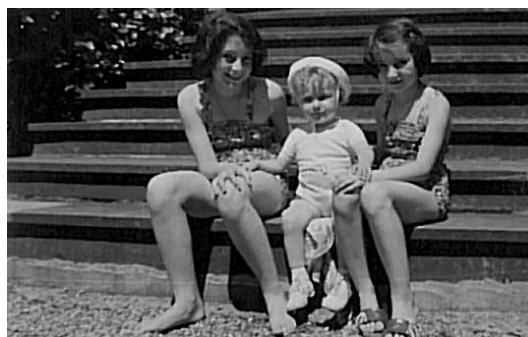
Heinz Baum *1923, Erna Harbuger Baum *1901,
Leopold Baum *1884, Fritz Baum *1925 (pb)



Adolfo Burgauer *1908, Emilie Luise Theodore
Finck Burgauer *1878, Maria Civila Flossdorf
Burgauer (mb)



Rodolfo Walter Burgauer *1934, Maria Civila
Flossdorf Burgauer, Adolfo Burgauer *1908 Alfredo
Jorge Burgauer *1941 (mb)



Jacqueline Diana Burgauer DeBotton *1942,
Alexander Patrick Burgauer *1950, Antoinette
Rita Burgauer Raubäck Stern *1944 (pb)



Pierre Burgauer *1950 Liliane Sophie Burgauer Wolf
*1947 (pb)



Elinor Ann Burgauer *1956, Erica Madeleine
Burgauer *1958 (pb)



Steven Burgauer *1952 (a)



Alain De Botton *1969 (b)



Scott Leserman *1987 (c)



Marina Lilian Burgauer Menard
*1964 (mb)



Benjamin Weyl *1978, Daniel
Weyl *1972 (sw)



Maria Burgauer *1982 (d)

Picture sources:

- (pb) ... Photo album Pierre Burgauer
- (mb) ... Mail Marina Burgauer
- (sw) ... Stefan Weis
- (a) ... <http://www.midlandauthors.com/burgauer.html>, accessed 2.3.2008.
- (b) ... <http://www.thejc.com/our-jewish-moments/my-jewish-moments-alain-de-botton>, accessed 4.5.2013.
- (c) ... <http://www.nusports.com/sports/w-volley/spec-rel/043012aab.html>, accessed 21.9.2010.
- (d) ... http://www.eye4umodels.com/featured/maria_burgauer/index.html, accessed 1.2.2008.

9 GENEALOGICAL TREE

A genealogical tree was compiled from the examined sources, starting with the first male Burgauer in Hohenems. His mother, Judith, and her deceased first husband would need to be placed ahead of him. Additional full-scale research, especially into the matrilinear descent, might reveal further family lines well into the present, which would complete the picture. This genealogical tree presents the family relations investigated as part of this thesis.

The genealogical research in the Jewish Museum Hohenems is ongoing and you can look up the actual chart of descendants of Benjamin Burgauer on:

<http://www.hohenemsgenealogie.at/gen/register.php?personID=I0313&tree=Hohenems&generations=15>

1. Benjamin, *Dez. 1741 +13.12.1796
 - °° Jeanette (Schönle) Moos, *1751 +26.1.1833
 - 2. Elisabeth, *August 1772/3 + 25.6.1853
 - Ehe am 8.1.1799
 - °° Jakob Weiler *1765 +1826
 - 3. Henriette Weiler *25.8.1799 +25.2.1880
 - °° David Guggenheim *8.3.1794 +20.6.1885
 - 4. Rachel Guggenheim *20.1.1828 +26.4.1899
 - 4. Samuel Daniel Guggenheim *6.3.1829 + 9.4.1910
 - Ehe am 22.1.1856
 - °° Adele Bernheim *23.9.1829 +3.5.1894
 - 5. Emma Elise Guggenheim *29.6.1866 +11.10.1957
 - Ehe am 6.8.1895
 - °° Leopold Thorner *16.12.1864 +26.10.1937
 - 6. Henriette Thorner *8-8-1899 +19.2.1969
 - Ehe am 16.7.1929
 - °° Moses Marksitzer *4.7.1900 +19.1.1978
 - 7. ??
 - 4. Herzel Guggenheim *16.2.1831 +23.3.1871
 - 4. Benjamin Guggenheim *22.2.1833
 - 4. Brunetta Guggenheim *1.7.1835
 - 4. Meier Marx Guggenheim *10.9.1837 + 6.6.1904
 - 3. Clara Weiler *30.11.1801
 - 3. Franziska Weiler *13.4.1804 +13.9.1866
 - 3. Wilhelm Weiler *19.7.1807 +3.12.1829
 - 3. Esther Weiler *25.9.1810 +15.6.1893
 - °° Jakob A. Schwarz

3. Emanuel Weiler *1814 +1818

2. Esther, *März 1775

2. Brendl (Babette, Bertha), *Jan. 1780 +1.1.1856 bzw. 04.1.1856

°° Baruch Guggenheim *19.10.1794

Sohn des Baruch Simon Guggenheim und der Blume Gutmann (Levi)

3. Benjamin Guggenheim *15.11.1804 +2.4.1860

°° Clara Hirschfeld *3.1.1819 +11.1.1902

4. Malwine Guggenheim *1837

Ehe am 25.5.1856

°° Jakob Bernheimer *11.3.1817 +1885

5. Karoline Bernheimer *8.4.1858

°° Levi

5. Marco Bernheimer *1860

4. Cäcilie Guggenheim *1839 + 1862

Ehe am 10.5.1857

°° Hermann Brunner *31.1.1821 +1867

5. Helene Brunner *27.4.1860 +20.11.1914

°° Maximilian Brunner *27.11.1852 +1942

6. Armin Brunner *1882 +1940

°° Hilda Brunner *1897 +1986

7. Carlo Felice Brunner *1920 +1964

°° Irene Mann *1914 +1985

8. (Tochter)

8. (Sohn)

7. ??

°° Jenny Tonoli *1929 +1983

8. (Tochter)

8. (Sohn)

8. (Sohn)

9. (Tochter)

9. (Tochter)

6. Richard Brunner *1884 +31.5.1941

°° Frida Schwarz *12.7.1882 +25.11.1958

6. Egon Brunner *9.9.1888 +1944

6. Paul Brunner *1890 +1931

4. Rosa Guggenheim *1843

Ehe am 7.4.1862

°° Moritz Hirschfeld *19.8.1837 +7.4.1880

5. Josef Hirschfeld *1865 +1913

°° Jenny Reis *1879 +1940

6. Daisy Blanche Hirschfeld *1902

°° Leo Gerstle

4. Selmar Guggenheim *24.8.1845 +6.9.1845

4. Stefanie Guggenheim *8.10.1846

Verheiratet am 28.5.1865

°° Friedrich Rosenthal, *21.1.1866 +16.11.1886

5. Frieda Rosenthal *21.1.1866 +16.11.1886

5. Cäcilie Rosenthal *17.1.1867

°° Paolo von Zencovich

5. Paula Rosenthal *1.6.1870 +2.1945

°° Josef Goldschmied *12.12.1861 +18.10.1944

5. Ignatz Rosenthal *1.1.1872 +1919

Ehe am 7.12.1898

- °° Ruth Gumberts *17.10.1876 +14.11.1939
 - 6. Ruth R. Rosenthal *21.1.1907
 - 6. Jean Rosenthal *um 1912
 - 4. Karl (Carl) Guggenheim *1.2.1848 +1913
 - 5. Karl (Carl) Benno Guggenheim *13.10.1884 +1955
 - °° Bertha Nelly Zollikofer *1893
 - 5. Werner Johannes Guggenheim *30.9.1895 +25.5.1946
 - °° Ursula von Wiese *21.4.1905 +1.5.2002
 - 3. Salamon Guggenheim *2.5.1811 +23.9.1881

Ehe am 5.1.1846

 - °° Julie Hirschfeld *5.11.1822 +11.5.1895
 - 4. Jenny Guggenheim *18.10.1846 +13.3.1884
 - 4. Clementine Guggenheim *4.2.1848 +9.2.1854
 - 4. Emilie Guggenheim *1.1.1850 +1924
 - °° Ludwig Neuburger *15.9.1842 +1919
 - 5. Jenny Neuburger *1874 +7.1919
 - °° David Oskar Hirschfeld *1868 +1961
 - 6. Lily Hirschfeld *16.4.1894 +1935
 - Ehe 1916
 - °° Henry Reichenbach *1879 +um 1943
 - 7. (Sohn)
 - aus der zweiten Ehe
 - 8. (Sohn)
 - 9. (Sohn)
 - 9. (Tochter)
 - 8. (Tochter)
 - 6. Harry Albert Hirschfeld *21.12.1900 +19.2.1941

Ehe 1927

 - °° Clarice Hahn *um 1904
 - 7. (Sohn)
 - 8. (Tochter)
 - 8. (Tochter)
 - 7. (Tochter)
 - 6. Alice Hirschfeld *13.8.1903

Ehe am 8.2.1930

 - °° Arthur Diener, +um 1931
 - 7. (Tochter)
5. Hugo Neuburger *11.10.1875 +24.2.1955
 - °° Lorle Schönfeld *1888 +1948
 - °° Elisabeth Weil *8.3.1868 +17.3.1986
5. Arthur Neuburger *4.10.1876 +13.2.1952
 - °° Elise Reichenbach, 4.6.1889 +1965
 - 6. Fred Erik Neuburger *27.11.1910 +12.1980

Ehe 1935

 - °° Hanna Lande *4.3.1909
 - 7. (Sohn)
 - 8. (Sohn)
 - 8. (Tochter)
 - 6. (Sohn)
 - 7. Robert Neuburger *13.3.1950 +10.9.1994
 - 8. (Tochter)
 - 8. (Sohn)
 - 7. (Tochter)

7. (Tochter)
 8. (Sohn)
 8. (Sohn)
 6. Victor Arthur Neuburger
 5. Selma Neuburger *28.9.1881 +2.7.1963
 °° Karl Jandorf +1943
 6. Erika Jandorf +1930
 6. Hilde Jandorf +1905
 °° Alfred Feuchtwanger
 7. (Tochter)
 7. (Sohn)
 4. Fanny Guggenheim 11.10.1852 +5.1.1853
 4. Bertha Guggenheim *3.6.1859 +27.7.1859
 2. Mayer (Maier, Markus, Benjamin), *Dez. 1781 +7.9.1862
 °° Dina Lazarus, *1767 +14.12.1837
 Witwe des Berman Wolf Levi Weiler
 geschieden
 °° Henriette Frei, *1788 +7.10.1853
 Ehe 12.11.1826
 3. Benjamin (Mayer), *21.8.1827
 °° Mary
 4. Morris *1852
 Ehe am 8.11.1900
 °° Katie C. Krebs
 4. David *1854
 4. Harriet *1855
 4. Joseph *1857
 3. Berthold (Benedikt), *27.8.1828 +16.6.1912
 Ehe am 09.11.1859 bzw. 7.11.
 °° Caroline (Karolina) Schwarz, *15.9.1839 +11.1.1915
 4. Bernhard (Leonhard), *13.11.1860 +12.10.1873
 4. Henriette, *10.9.1862
 Ehe 4.8.1884
 °° Hermann Neufeld *29.4.1856
 Sohn von Gutkind Neufeld und Röschen Markus
 5. Otto Neufeld
 5. Gustav Neufeld
 °° Lilo ??
 5. Willy Neufeld
 °° Dorle ??
 6. Evelyn Neufeld
 5. Elsie Neufeld (Weyl) *7.1.1887
 Ehe am 29.9.1923
 °° Max Weyl *31.1.1889
 Sohn von Simon Weyl und Helene Löwenstein
 6. Werner Weyl *26.4.1928
 °° Maria Mußhoff *6.3.1938
 7. Daniel Weyl *19.2.1972
 7. Benjamin Weyl *15.5.1978
 5. Grete Neufeld (Dublon) *5.12.1894
 °° Daniel Dublon
 6. Hildi Neufeld *1924 +15.5.1943
 4. Max, *16.04.1865 +19.02.1946

1901: 9.8. Ehe
 °°Selma Dannenbaum, *19.8.1876 +11.6.1963
 Tochter des Jsaia und der Minna Dannenbaum
 5. Arnold (Bernhard), *17.11.1904 +27.7.1995
 1948: 1. Ehe 12.10. mit Margot Louise Biedermann
 1951: am 20.6. geschieden
 1960: 2. Ehe 16.7. mit Margaretha Maria Bosshart
 °°Margot Luise Biedermann, *09.06.1914 +??
 Tochter des Johann Karl und der Louise Gesa Bertha Rahloff
 °°Margaretha Marie Bosshart, *16.7.1903 +3.3.1966
 Tochter des Rudolf und der Maria Zwahlen
 5. Vera (Wera) Regina *9.10.1905 +7.2.1995
 5. Margit Wilhelmine *9.3.1911 +8.11.1990
 4. Frieda, *26.8.1867 +28.2.1869
 4. Julius, *3.8.1870 +16.4.1933
 1903: 1. Ehe am 25.7. mit Ida Benz
 1915: am 25.5.1915 geschieden
 1919: 2. Ehe am 8.3. mit Helene Rosa Luise Perillard
 1921: am 30. 6.1921 geschieden
 °°Ida Benz *4.8.1877 +7.8.1941
 Tochter des Johann Ulrich und der Anna Katharina Freihofer
 5. Ida Carmen *27.5.1905 +??
 1936: 1.2. Ehe
 °° Hans Ulrich Jacob Traber *?? +1974
 5. Julius Ernst *9.8.1906 +11.4.1984
 1943 Ehe
 °° Lina Thekla Widmer *11.12.1908 +22.3.1996
 Tochter des Heinrich August und der Lina Bächtold
 6. Peter Ernst *2.7.1938
 Ehe 1975
 Geschieden 1989
 °° Margaretha Bachmann *1947
 Wiederverehelicht mit Albert Karl Armin Waldvogel aus Zürich
 7. Michael Peter *1975
 7. Manuel Christian *1978
 6. Rene Herbert *22.3.1941
 Ehe 1970
 °° Cäcilia Erminia Gertrud Cuoni *1945
 7. Marina Elena *1977
 7. Cedric Dimitri *1979
 6. Marcel Andre *22.3.1945
 Ehe 1977
 °° Maria Ingrid Pick *1942
 7. Robin Marius *1981
 7. Dominique Raphael *1981
 5. Otto Rene *29.11.1909 +29.1.1911
 °° Helene Rosa Luise Perillard *22.11.1872 +18.7.1960
 Tochter des Francois Eduard und der Jeanne Susanne Kunz
 Geschiedene Mieg von Guttannen, Bern
 3. Leopold, *26.12. bzw. 26.10.1829 +?? (zwischen 1874 und 1880)
 °° Louisa Meyers (Luisa Meyer)
 4. Rachel (Regina) *1863
 °° Levy

- 5. (Tochter)
- 5. Edmund D. Levy
- 5. (Tochter)
- 5. (Sohn)
- 4. Jenni *1866
 - °° Elsz
 - 5. Larry Elsz
 - 5. Lee Elsz
- 4. Flora *02.1.1868 +1949
 - °° Ferdinand (Fred) Goldberger *03.12.1863 +9.11.1924
 Sohn von Joseph Goldberger und ?? Mantler.
 - 5. Barbara Goldberger *25.9.1901 +06.01.1956
 - °° Leister (Elezer) A. Leserman *6.4.1902 +8.1984
 Eltern Jacob Leserman (*3.1.1868 +13.3.1952) und Lena Marcus (*1868 +21.10.1949)
 - 6. Frederic Leserman
 - °° Jean Greenebaum
 Großeltern Greenbaum, Kramer, Marks, Block
 - Eine weitere Ehe mit Cahrles Curb
 - 7. James Robert (Yaakov) Leserman
 - °° Amy Elaine (Chaya) Weisz
 Großeltern Weisz, Grunseid, Weinstein, Shanavoy
 - 8. Miriam Eleanor Leserman
 - 8. Daniel Benjamin Leserman
 - 8. Judith Ilana Leserman
 - 8. Jonathan (Yoni) Paul Leserman
 - 7. Thomas Leserman
 - °° Kym Rhodes
 - 8. Jennifer Leserman
 - 8. Steven Leserman
 - 7. Richard Leserman
 - °° Carolyn Caesario
 - 8. Scott Leserman *28.4.1987
 - 8. Eric Leserman
 - 8. Ellen Leserman
 - 7. Andrew Leserman
 - °° Kimberly Walters
 - 8. Jack Leserman
 - 6. Paul Leserman
 - °° Ruth Kessler
 - 7. Barbara Leserman
 - 7. Margery (Maggie) Leserman
 - °° Daniel Bacher
 - 8. Zoe Bacher
 - 8. Darwin Bacher
- 5. Madeline Rose Goldberger *12.3.1904 +25.12.1951
 - °° Harry Weil Strauss *1894 +1933
- 6. (Sohn)
- 6. (Tochter)

- 4. Meyer (Myer) *7.3.1870
- 4. Celia *5.11.1874
- °° Barry Nachman
 - 5. (Sohn)
- 3. Zimira (Zemire), *11.7.1831 +1900

Ehe am 7.6.1852

°° Max Guggenheim

4. Betti Guggenheim *1.5.1858 +6.7.1929

Ehe am 22.12.1879

°° Josef Löwenberg *25.7.1840 +26.5.1909

5. (Sohn) * und + 27.1.1881

5. Emanuel Erwin Löwenberg *27.6.1882 +20.11.1941

5. Klara Löwenberg 22.4.1886 +6.2.1941

4. Emma Guggenheim *3.1928

°° Rafael Wyler *20.3.1856 +20.10.1927

5. Wilhelm Eugen Wyler *um 1885 +1937

°° Elise Heilbronn *1900 +1964

6. (Tochter)

6. (Sohn)

5. Otto Wyler *27.3.1887 +30.3.1965

°° Anna Elisabeth Jäger

6. (Tochter)

7. (Sohn)

7. (Sohn)

7. (Sohn)

6. (Tochter)

7. (Sohn)

6. (Sohn)

7. (Sohn)

7. (Tochter)

7. (Tochter)

6. (Tochter)

7. (Sohn)

7. (Sohn)

4. Paul Guggenheim *1871

°° Clara Homburger *1877 +1941

Tochter des Eduard und der Julia Wolfers

5. Alice *1908 +1947

Ehe 1941

°°Bernhard Laemmle in Schaan

3. Karoline, *18.9.1832 + 10.11.1832

3. Jeanette, *12.9.1834 bzw. 12.3.1834 +??

Ehe am 27.10.1856

°° Eduard Porges *1819 *1904

4. Elise *24.11.1857 +18.7.2011

°° Josef Schön

4. Josef *3.2.1860 +1.1926

°° Flora Burgauer *20.2.1871

5. Oskar Porges *9.8.1891 +1958

5. Arthur Porges *27.7.1896

°° Yvonne Emond *8.8.1899

4. Max

4. Bela

4. Henriette

°° Kondor

3. Lucian, *22.9.1835 + 2.2.1836

3. Adolf, *16.4.1837 +22.4.1904

°° Rosalie David, *16.1.1841 +23.5.1906

Tochter des Carl, Rentners, und der Franziska Gemsheim

4. Morris (Moritz), 17.2.1866

1893: 5.1. Ehe

°° Julia Rooth (Roth), *22.12.1870 + 3.1965

Tochter des Henry und der Henriette Newburg

5. Elwood, *30.6.1893 +1975

°° Ethel Grossmann *1899 +1974

6. Daniel *22.1.1922 +2.5.2006

°° Helen Goldrich

7. Ayne Ruderman

5. Ruth, *29.7.1905

4. Theodor, *06.5.1867 +3.12.1941

1907: 29.8. Ehe

°° Elsa Dina Stern, *4.2.1879 +24.5.1961

Tochter des Leopold und der Sophie Kaufmann

5. Curt Leopold, *21.8.1908 +09.10.2002

1942: 30.4. Ehe in Zürich

°°Erna Guggenheim, *11.11.1907 +24.12.1995

Tochter des Jakob und er Theresia Bollag

4. Henriette, *3.8.1868 +8.1.1960

1887: 23.11. Ehe

°° Charles (Karl) Bloch

5. Fanny Bloch *8.10.1888 +9.6.1947

°° Bernhard Freidmann (Fred) *1.3.1880

6. (Sohn)

7. (Tochter)

6. Arlette Fred *19.4.1914

°° Arnold Ramie 26.10.1911

4. Franziska, *20.8.1869 +9.1.1960

1890: 14.5. Ehe

°° Leopold Braunschweig

5. Hugo Braunschweig

5. Alfred Braunschweig

6. (Sohn)

6. (Sohn)

5. Eugen Braunschweig

6. (Sohn)

*(der 5. Generation unzugeordnet: 6. Pierre Marcel Braunschweig *13.9.1926; 6. Ernst*

*Braunschweig *14.11.1926 +1.5.2001 mit 7. Beatrice Schluchter Braunschweig *26.9.1960 7.*

*Anita Morandi Braunschweig * 5.7.1962 7. Christine Braunschweig *11.3.1968 7. Stefan*

*Walter Braunschweig *8.6.1970)*

4. Flora, *20.2.1871

siehe Porges

4. Emma, *30.7.1872 +1954

1894: 19.6. Ehe

°° Salomon Marx *18.10.1859 +13.5.1940

5. Gabriel Marx *18.3.1898

5. Georgette Marx *4.10.1896 +1982

Ehe 1921

°° Georges Bloch *1894 +1947

6. Jean Bloch

°°Janine Assa

7. Georges Bloch

7. Evelyn Bloch
 6. Gabriel Bloch *1898 + 1968
 4. Leonie, *7.4.1874 +8.9.1954
 1897: 4.3. Ehe
 °° Simon Harburger *13.11.1864 +13.2.1954
 5. Erich Harburger *12.12.1897 +5.5.1958
 5. Erna Harburger *9.7.1901
 °° Leopold Baum *3.5.1884 +5.11.1970
 6. Heinz Baum *1923
 7. (Sohn)
 6. Fritz Baum *11.6.1925 +9.6.2012
 7. (Tochter)
 8. (Tochter)
 8. (Sohn)
 7. (Tochter)
 8. (Tochter)
 8. (Sohn)
 7. (Tochter)
 4. Willy (Willi), *20.11.1875 +21.6.1960
 1908: 31.3. Ehe
 °° Gretchen Uhlmann, *25.5.1888 +26.11.1959
 Tochter des Albert und der Sophie Elsas
 5. Adolf Heinz, *3.6.1909 +9.8.1952
 1939: 21.10. Ehe
 °° Irma Frida Ammon, *7.7.1915 +13.12.1997
 Tochter des Johann und der Frida Gehri
 6. Jacqueline Diana, *28.3.1942
 1962: 6.7. Ehe
 °° Gilbert De Botton *16.2.1938 +27.8.2000
 7. Miel de Botton Aynsley *1968
 °° Angus Aynsley *1966
 8. Zachary Aynsley *1999
 8. Talia Aynsley *2003
 7. Alain de Botton *20.12.1969
 Ehe 2003
 °° Charlotte Neser
 8. Samuel de Botton *24.9.2004
 8. Saul de Botton *9.2006
 6. Antoinette Rita, *1.10.1944
 1964: 11.2. Ehe
 °° Nils Tommy Raubäck
 °° Martin Stern
 7. Annika Rita Stern
 Geschieden
 8. Leonardo Matteo Stern *08.08.2000
 7. Antoinette Stern
 7. Carola A. Stern *14.5.1966 +7.8.1990
 6. Alexander Patrik, *26.10.1950
 5. Ruth Sophie, *13.4.1912 +22.7.2003
 1934: 7.8. Ehe
 °° Silvain Bollag *24.5.1897
 6. Fredy *23.9.1935
 °° Silvia

7. (Tochter)
 6. Annette Barcello-Bollag *1943
 °°? Barcello und (°°)Thomas Daetwyler
 7. Nuria
 7. Jordi
 7. Francis
 7. Marc
 5. Werner, *28.5.1917 +12.8.1982
 1946: 29.07. Ehe
 °°Janine Dreyfuss, *26.4.1925 +28.3.2007
 Tochter des Rene und der Georgette Weil
 6. Liliane Sophie, *19.5.1947
 1974: 9.8. Ehe
 °°Robert Wolf
 7. Simon Wolf
 7. Iris Wolf
 6. Pierre Henri (Peter), *7.1.1950
 Ehe 1977
 °°Blanka Ehrlich, *1951
 Geschieden 1996
 Wiederverheiratet mit Ferdinand Richard Wenzel Paul Wild
 7. Dana Stella, *4.9.1979
 6. Edith Gretl, *8.2.1960
 1984: 1.6. Ehe
 °°Robert Louis Heymann *17.1.1950
 7. Michele Heymann
 7. Monique Heymann
 4. Charlotte, *18.3.1877 +1959
 1900: 6.7. Ehe
 °° Jakob Meyer *25.8.1872
 5. Karl Meyer *21.7.1905
 5. Rudi Meyer *16.2.1903
 °° Grünbaum
 °° Trude ??
 5. (Tochter)
 4. Carl (Karl) , *10.8.1878 +27.7.1955
 1906: 10.3. Ehe
 °°Emilie Luise Theodore Finck, *16.5.1878 +2.6.1962
 Tochter des Oskar Louis und der Josefine Thole
 5. Edith Rosalie, *18.12.1906 +1997
 Zwei mal verheiratet, kinderlos
 °° Rodolfo Meyer
 °° Adolfo Sabini
 5. Adolf (Adolfo), *16.2.1908 + um 1999
 °°Maria Civila Flossdorf *31.10.19?? +22.2.2002
 6. Rodolfo Walter *16.8.1934 +14.1.2006
 °° ?? Gesell
 Tochter von ?? Chermak
 7. Rodolfo Alejandro *9.9.1962
 7. Marina Lilian *14.10.1964
 °°Marcelo Menard *26.11.1960
 8. Andres Maximilano Menard *2.1.1995
 8. Erik Nicolas Menard *1.10.1998

7. Adolfo Walter *12.8.1967
 7. Rodolfo Alejandro *9. 9.1962
 °°Andrea Iagna Fietta
 8. Barbara *1996
 8. Patricio Alejandro *31.7.1998
 7. Adolfo Walter *12.8.1967
 Lebt in Toronto, Kanada
 °°Daniela Palau
 8. Maria Candelaria *11.2002
 8. ?? *2007
 6. Alfredo Jorge *1.9.1941
 °°Silvia C. Scarpino *26.9.1940
 7. Christian *29.8.1966
 7. Santiago Hernan *16.3.1972
 7. Malena *06.8.1974
 7. Dolores *26.1.1976
 7. Soledad *15.7.1977
 °°Fabian Jose Taberna *7.7.1972
 8. Francisco Taberna *17.6.2006
 7. Maria *2.7.1982
 7. Christian *29.8.1966
 °°Valeria Maria Maldonado *11.8.1969
 8. Lourdes *27.1.1991
 8. Matias *28.8.1992
 8. Gonzalo *24.10.2000
 8. Juan Pablo *24.7.2002
 7. Santiago Hernan *16.3.1972
 5. Karl Eugen (Carlos Eugenio), *19.10.1918 +6.3.1982
 1945: 7.7. Ehe
 °°Teresa Margarita Von der Wettern, *7.5.1924 +??
 Tochter des Johann Walter und der Bettina Seeli
 6. Susana Alicia, *23.11.1947
 °°Horacio de Arienti 4.1.1945
 7. Gabriela de Arienti *4.2.1976
 7. Cecilia de Arienti *17.12.1978
 7. Nicolas de Arienti
 6. Cristina Margarita, *26.8.1949
 1977: 5.8. Ehe
 °°Roberto Osvaldo Calvo *16.4.1945
 7. Laura Calvo *11.5.1979
 7. Tomas Calvo *30.5.1980
 7. Sebastian Calvo *10.11.1981
 6. Juan Carlos, *17.8.1956
 °° Gabriela Arnold *25.3.1961
 7. Carolina *11.6.1982
 7. Federico *8.4.1984
 7. Maria Victoria *19.11.1986
 7. Juan Guillermo *5.5.1992
 7. Barbara *14.1.1993
 7. Angeles *22.12.1994
 4. Jenny, *29.11.1879 +20.3.1881
 4. Eugen, *13.12.1886 +6.9.1971
 1923: 8.2. Ehe

°° Helene Meier *16.4.1899 +14. oder 15.5.1977
 Tochter des Samuel und der Fanny Bollag
 5. Rolf Adolf *27.12.1923 +11. oder 12.10.1978
 1955: 3.4. Ehe
 °°Irene Reisher *14.9.1929 +??
 6. Elinor Ann *2.1.1956
 6. Erica Madeleine *20.3.1958
 6. Marc David *10.2.1964
 Ehe 1997
 °°Amanda Kathryn Payne *1956
 5. Yvonne Fanny *9.5.1925 +??
 1950: 5.9. Ehe in Zürich
 °° Theodor Dreier (Dreyer)
 4. Otto, *13.12.1886 +1.11.1954
 1919: 2.10. Ehe (Ehe 27.10.1919)
 °°Betty Bertha Kahn, *9.4.1895 +28.2.1986
 Tochter des Abraham und der Elise Guggenheim
 5. Ellen Rosalie (Rosy, Rosalie) *2.11.1920 +??
 1945: 9.4. Ehe in Genf
 °°Henri Adler
 6. Jean-Claude Adler
 6. René Adler
 6. Francine Miriam Adler
 7. (Sohn)
 7. (Tochter)
(zwei der 6. Generation nicht zugeordnete Söhne)
 5. Paul David *21.5.1926+28.1.2003
 1953: 3.10. Ehe in Nordwood, Ohio
 °°Margit (Margaret) Roos *27.5.1931
 Tochter des Siegfried Jakob und der Edith Jeannette Elfriede Schlachcic
 1952: 30.6. geschieden von Bernhard Albert Kramarsky
 6. Steven *1952
 °° Debra Laaker
 6. Richard Allen (Dicky) *8.10.1954 +27.6.1959
 6. James Otto *15.11.1957
 Ehe 1980
 °°Twila Jan Van Bibber *1959
 7. Janene Elizabeth *1987
 7. Richard Paul *1993

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VLA, KA II, Schachtel 28.

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VLA, KA 1, Schachtel 276, Pol 6466.

VLA, KA I, Schachtel 114, Judensachen: 1815-1827.

VLA, KA I, Schachtel 114, Judensachen: 1815-1827.

VLA, Landgericht (LG) Dornbirn, Schachtel 369, 2174/471.

VLA, LG Dornbirn, Schachtel 389, 2716/377.

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VLA, Vfb Db 1863/10341.

VLA, Vfb Dornbirn.

VLA, Zettelkasten „Auswanderer“.

VLA, Zettelkasten „Hohenemser Juden“

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